

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

A TRIBUTE TO MARINE SGT. ROBERT J. CHICCA

**HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 30, 1969

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased and honored to have participated in the celebration which welcomed home and honored Sgt. Robert J. Chicca, U.S. Marine Corps and former crewman aboard the U.S.S. *Pueblo*. Recently, Sergeant Chicca also gave of his time to address a breakfast meeting of the Republican 91st Club of the House. He held the rapt attention of all present by his modest, revealing account of what happened in the *Pueblo* incident.

I am extremely proud that he resides in my district at Chillum, Md., but beyond that he personifies the finest qualities and ideals which I like to think are representative of young Americans. Sergeant Chicca is not only a credit to the Marine Corps, but the country. His conduct aboard the *Pueblo* and in captivity was the ideal of courage and dedication to duty.

The following is an article which appeared in the Marine News of May 1969 describing the event when fellow Marylanders, and other distinguished guests, welcomed this young man home:

CROWDS WELCOME HOME HERO FROM U.S.S. "PUEBLO"

One of the few entirely undisputed heroes of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* affair—Sergeant Robert J. Chicca, United States Marine Corps, returned home last month to the cheers of his fellow Marines and his fellow Marylanders.

Chicca, of Chillum, Md., is one of 10 *Pueblo* crewmen who were recommended for decorations by the official Court of Inquiry. Chicca also received the purple heart for wounds received during capture of the ship off North Korea.

A gigantic welcome-home celebration was organized by the Prince Georges County Detachment Marine Corps League, under the energetic leadership of State Commandant James E. Merna, last year's MCL Marine of the Year.

Chicca was welcomed at the Friendship Airport, Baltimore, by his family and League members and escorted to the celebration at the Maryland National Guard Armory in Greenbelt, Md., on April 23. Later the same day, the sergeant was presented Maryland's highest award—the Certificate of Distinguished Citizenship—at the State House in Annapolis by Governor Marvin Mandel.

Around 1,100 persons were present at the welcome home, including half a dozen members of Congress and a number of top State and local officials. Several sports figures also showed up to honor Chicca, and screen actor Robert Mitchum sent a telegram from Europe, saying he wished he could have been there and that "it would have been my honor."

Messages were also received from the White House on behalf of President Nixon and from Vice President Agnew, a former Maryland governor.

A cousin of Chicca's, Corp. John Bosley of Indiana, was flown to Maryland from Camp Lejeune, N.C. His transportation and leave were arranged by Lt. Gen. Lew Walt, Assist-

ant Commandant of the Marine Corps. Two other members of the *Pueblo* crew were also present—Lt. (j.g.) Fred C. Schumacher and Seaman Steve Robbin of Silver Spring, Md.

A message read to the assemblage by Merna was from the attorney who represented Captain Lloyd Bucher at the Court of Inquiry Proceedings, E. Miles Harvey. He said Marine Corps Leaguers had "every right to be proud of Bob—a wonderful example for all Marines and for all the citizens of the United States."

Among the Congressmen present was Representative Frank Evans of Pueblo, Colo., a member of the House Armed Services Committee, who heard an announcement that Chicca's family and family friend—Helene C. Monberg, Washington correspondent for the *Pueblo* Chieftain and *Star-Journal*, Pueblo—had set up a scholarship in Chicca's name to be awarded to a disadvantaged Spanish-speaking resident of Pueblo in the amount of \$300 at Southern Colorado State College, Pueblo.

Mrs. Marjorie Merriweather Post, well-known Washington, D.C., socialite, helped defray the cost of the celebration with a cash contribution.

Press, radio and TV coverage of the event was heavy, with film footage included on NBC's *Today* show the next morning.

CHICCA SCHOLARSHIP

A \$300 scholarship at Southern Colorado State College, Pueblo, Colo., in honor of Sgt. Robert J. Chicca (USMC) of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* crew will be provided by the Chicca family and a family friend.

The formal announcement was made Wednesday evening, April 23, Mal Campbell, master of ceremonies, at a Welcome Home Reception and Party for Sgt. Chicca sponsored by the Prince Georges County Detachment of the Marine Corps League at the Maryland National Guard Armory, Greenbelt Road, Greenbelt, Md.

Rep. Frank E. Evans, (D-Colo.), of Pueblo made a brief response.

The scholarship is being presented by the Edward A. J. Chicca family of Chillum Terrace, Md., the Robert J. Chicca family of Fort Meade, Md., and a family friend, Helene C. Monberg, Washington correspondent for the *Pueblo*, Colo., Chieftain and *Star-Journal*.

The Chicca family and Miss Monberg said, "This is a time of prayerful thanksgiving for us, for our beloved Bob Chicca of the U.S.S. *Pueblo*. During this period of thanksgiving, we extend this scholarship in honor of Robert J. Chicca to show our thanks and appreciation," they said.

"The scholarship will be awarded to a Spanish-American youth from Pueblo because it was City Councilman John A. Rosales—the only Spanish American on the City Council—who last October initiated the resolution in the Pueblo City Council which resulted in the city of Pueblo adopting the entire crew of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* as honorary citizens of the city of Pueblo. It was done at a time when the outlook for the crew did not look hopeful from many standpoints.

"We have selected Southern Colorado State College at Pueblo for obvious reasons. It is in Pueblo, the adopted city of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* crewmen. Frank S. Hoag, Jr., publisher of the *Pueblo* paper, is the godfather of SCSC and put the *Pueblo* papers behind both the drive for the new college and behind the drive to help us get our U.S.S. *Pueblo* crewmen back. Frank Evans also worked for the creation of SCSC at Pueblo and as a Member of Congress did some work on behalf of the U.S.S. *Pueblo* crew. John Rosales is on the administrative staff of the college and gave us a tremendous boost in October," they said.

THE ECONOMICS OF AGING IN NEW YORK CITY

**HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, the Senate Special Committee on Aging is making a major study this year of the economics of aging—toward a full share in abundance. We are taking testimony and conducting special studies of individual problem areas, such as high health costs and difficulties in maintaining homeownership in the face of rising taxes and other expenses.

In the course of our inquiries we have relied heavily upon a task force working paper which gave the best report yet made on the economic facts of life among most of the 20 million Americans now past 65 and the many millions of others near that age.

The statistics used by the committee are deeply significant and moving. A nation should be concerned, for example, when 7 million persons past 65 live in poverty or near poverty. And every American should take notice when he is told that the income gap between retired persons and those still in the work force is widening, not narrowing.

What do such statistics mean in terms of everyday existence for those who know all too well how real they are? The *New York Times* of June 30 provides part of the answer with an excellent story by Francis X. Clines. His story tells of the grave problems faced by the majority of the 1 million persons past 65 in New York City. His story cites the Senate committee findings and shows how economic insecurity intensifies all other problems faced by the elderly. His story reminds us that the old people of New York City are proud: of 500,000 living in poverty, only 54,000 have applied for welfare. His story also makes it clear that the elderly are beginning to mobilize and to protest when they bear the brunt of service cutbacks or governmental inaction. His reference to Mr. Walter Newburgher as "one of the new breed of elderly activists" is especially welcome; Mr. Newburgher has worked for many years—and been of considerable help to the Senate Committee on Aging—in awakening all Americans to the special problems and promise of older Americans.

Mr. President, Mr. Clines' excellent article is worthy of careful study. I ask unanimous consent to have it reprinted here.

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

[From the *New York Times*, June 30, 1969]

CITY'S ELDERLY FIGHT AILMENTS AND ECONOMICS TO SURVIVE

(By Francis X. Clines)

Like most of the elderly people in the city, Mrs. Minnie Harkins is facing a lonely struggle against a haunting paradox—a

longer life that is becoming more expensive and difficult to live.

Daily life for the 79-year-old widow begins with leg pains before dawn, followed by morning tea and toast.

Then the dainty, semi-invalid woman is at her window in a Bronx housing project for another day of watching mostly young people pass by and, later when her eyes hurt, praying in bed.

"God loved that bent little Puerto Rican man!" she remarked recently as an old man with a cane returned slowly from his daily walk for a newspaper.

With such limited celebration and a seventh-story perspective on the world, Mrs. Harkins is receiving welfare after retiring as a cook for the J. P. Morgan family. She is uncomplaining and tucked away, like most old people.

While there are one million elderly—defined as aged 65 and over—now in the city and this total is expected to grow to 1.7 million by 1985, government and private specialists concede that examination of the problems of the aged is a relatively unexplored social field.

But they warn that the outlook is for the financial problems of old people to worsen. Already, they say, housing, dietary, and social problems have begun to press in on the elderly poor. These include:

Reductions in Medicaid and welfare allocations, along with a reduction of city welfare services that already is causing a storm among the elderly.

An intensification of the housing problem as the elderly try to stay rooted in their old neighborhoods at low rents, while landlords and developers seek a more profitable clientele.

Increasing isolation in neighborhoods where younger residents are of a different background. Such problems are often intertwined.

#### SENIOR POWER ASSERTED

Old people are starting to organize along modern lines, with blue-and-white buttons proclaiming: "Senior Power." They have begun competing for such things as anti-poverty funds and political power, winning benefits like the new half-fare for the elderly on the city transit system.

They attend more neighborhood club meetings than ever before, sitting as some of the friendliest audiences in town these days, where a cupped ear is more likely than a shouted interruption.

But these activities have failed to solve the elderly's basic financial problem.

This older generation, the one that had to bear the brunt of the Depression, now is finding still another economic squeeze just as severe, in many ways.

At the same time, decades-old pride is still apparent, for while more than 500,000 of the city's elderly are reported below the official poverty level, only about 10 per cent—or 54,000—have applied for available welfare aid.

According to the Special Senate Committee on Aging, the income gap is widening between older and younger Americans. In 1961, the median income of the elderly was 51 per cent that of younger families, but by 1967 it was only 46 per cent.

"What is happening is that people who were not poor most of their lives are becoming poor in retirement," declared Alice M. Brophy, director of the city's Office for the Aging, one of the newest branches of local government.

#### SILVER-HAIRED PICKETS

"Old age is a kind of leveler," Miss Brophy added, noting that whites who were richer in earlier years could quickly join nonwhites in the indigency of old age.

The financial problem will increase, according to the forecast of the Senate committee. A couple retiring in 1950 found that the average Social Security payment met half

their budget, according to the committee, but today it meets less than one-third of the Bureau of Labor Statistics' recommended "moderate" income for a retired couple of \$3,869 annually.

In the competition for limited social-reform funds, the elderly poor traditionally have finished last, according to James J. O'Malley, deputy director of the state Office for the Aging.

In recent days, Mr. O'Malley has been confronted by silver-haired pickets. There was a demonstration in Albany to protest the welfare and Medicaid cuts ordered by the Legislature to balance the budget.

Some aged leaders boycotted the Governor's annual conference on the aging last spring; other old people have marched outside City Hall, and a few have even ventured to take on the younger, louder voices in neighborhood anti-poverty programs.

"We had to fight for what was ours," declared Mrs. Elizabeth M. Steicher, director of Project Find, an anti-poverty project for the elderly that recently fought off extinction. Elders in the program, which was originally financed directly from Washington at \$100,000 for only one year, helped the younger Mrs. Steicher to fight for \$51,000 of the city's limited Community Action funds.

#### AIDES' STAFF REDUCED

Project Find's staff of elderly "home aides" who run errands for shut-ins was severely cut from 32 to 7, but its three senior centers between 34th and 74th Streets are still open, with staff workers searching out the neediest cases among the 27,000 elderly who are densely crowded into the Lower West Side.

The group currently is embroiled in one of the city's severest housing problems—the eviction of old people from hotels that are to be renovated for business or other costlier space.

Three hundred old people recently received eviction notices because of plans to enlarge the Port Authority bus terminal at 41st Street and Eighth Avenue, according to Mrs. Steicher.

The project keeps a registry of available hotel space but this is dwindling because of redevelopment, and many of the elderly "are paying desperate rents—more than 60 per cent of their income—not to join the exodus of old people to northern Manhattan," the director explained.

#### HOTEL RENTS NOT CONTROLLED

Hotel rents are not controlled by the city and, according to Project Find, the rates for old people have increased in the last year from an average range of \$23 to \$25 a week, to that of \$30 to \$35.

Even where the elderly can obtain space in a public housing project, the need for the familiar remains.

"This place in the project is the first new thing I've ever had," 79-year-old Percy Pullins said of his housing apartment at Third Avenue and 149th Street in the Bronx.

"But I go back every day to see the boys," Mr. Pullins said of his cronies who hang out near Jimmy's Restaurant at 121st Street and Lenox Avenue in Harlem.

State cutbacks in welfare and Medicaid can only worsen the problems of the elderly, according to Jerry Shroder, director of the Citizens Committee on Aging of the Community Council of Greater New York.

Carfare payments to clinics and allotments for special diets prescribed by physicians have been ruled out, along with telephone allowances. This last item is particularly alarming to elderly living alone in slum neighborhoods where the crime rate is high and the telephone comforting.

Currently, in fact, the telephone amounts to a lifeline in a number of special programs in which elderly volunteers call shut-ins each day all over the city simply to check on their health.

Most severely hit would be the "loners"—the elderly who live in hotels and have to eat out. They had been receiving up to \$1,444 annually for all their non-rent needs, but the new limit is \$840, or \$2.30 a day to cover three meals, besides clothing, books and any other needs.

Beyond money, there are supposed to be welfare services for the elderly, but the city Commissioner of Social Services, Jack R. Goldberg, concedes that these have been a "myth."

Under a reorganization plan now being introduced, the Commissioner said he hoped to serve at least 15 per cent of the 54,000 elderly on welfare through the department's new reorganization plan in which caseworkers are no longer to be preoccupied with paper work.

However, the program's implementation thus far in Brooklyn was described as "calculus" and "ludicrous" by Martin Morgans, president of the caseworkers' union. Only 12 workers, he said, had been assigned to serve 6,000 aged, blind and disabled recipients, and long lines are the result.

Mr. Morgans contends that the city's latest attitude is: "You will get your money until you die, but don't bother us for anything else."

Mr. Goldberg says the staff will be increased as needed. Instead of waiting for what the Commissioner describes as "the caseworker who never showed," the elderly now will have to travel to the centers for help or mail a postcard to the centers.

The city terms such procedures "out-reach," but one caseworker among the elderly described them as a "kiss-off."

Various self-help groups of the elderly have been organized recently in the city and the trend is toward their forming to gain a greater voice. Charles H. Alvarez, a 70-year-old retired railroad worker, is president of the South Bronx Council for Senior Citizens, a group of 15 local senior clubs.

"Loneliness is the greatest problem," Mr. Alvarez commented. "Most of them don't know anybody now. They've clung to neighborhoods which have changed. And they're afraid to go out at night because of crime."

Making the rounds of the Mott Haven houses, Mr. Alvarez booms out reassurances through triple-locked doors: "It's only me, dear." There have been several cases in which the bodies of old people were found in their apartments, he said, adding: "Such a simple thing as a headcount of these hidden old people would be a marvelous city service."

#### FRIENDLY VISITORS

For reasons of survival and friendliness, there are now various private "drop-in" programs. The Friendly Visitors, for example, are 60 retirees of the garment workers' union who regularly visit retired garment workers in the city.

Death is a matter of individual philosophy with the elderly, according to Luther Route, a city social worker who runs a busy senior club in West Brighton, S. I.

Mr. Route told of one man having a heart attack while playing cards in the center. Some old people fluttered about nervously, others helped Mr. Route to attempt first aid, but one man, he recalls, engrossed himself in shuffling the cards for the next game.

"Old people are people," he said in summary.

Lawrence Harding, a 63-year-old ship engineer who was forced onto welfare after a crippling fall, disputes the notion that no one, least of all the wrinkled and gray, has to beg in this city. He sometimes enters heavy traffic in his wheelchair so as to beg at a subway station.

Small and gray-haired, Mr. Harding has had an eye removed in a dozen operations. To someone who questioned his needs, he pulled out his undershirt to show fresh, yellowish stains from a gallbladder operation.

## TIMIDITY IS FOUND

"I need bandages," he explained, "and I spent my last \$1.50 going to the hospital yesterday for head pains. My welfare worker said extra money would come soon and that's fine. You don't want to pester the welfare and hospital."

Such timidity is one of the roadblocks to organizing the elderly, according to Walter Newburgher, a peppery, 77-year-old retired merchandiser who puts in long days as one of the new breed of elderly activists. He is vice president of the National Council of Senior Citizens, a three-million-member organization, and president of the Congress of Senior Citizens of Greater New York, which claims 150,000 members.

Mr. Newburgher has a direct line to "Tim"—Dr. Timothy W. Costello, the Deputy Mayor, who is widely praised by the elderly as someone in government who listens and serves more than as a vote harvester.

Dr. Costello is considered instrumental in attaining the half-fare for the elderly. Mr. Newburgher said that this might amount to only small savings but would provide momentum for larger drives for greater Social Security and other benefits.

## ONE PROGRAM RUNNING OUT

Of particular concern is the refinancing of the Older Americans Act, a three-year-old program that has helped set up various elderly projects but that is about to run out. Representative Ogden Reid of Westchester is one of the leaders trying to at least double the \$28.3-million budgeted by the Administration to continue the program next year.

One important change the Representative is seeking would permit the Government to pay minor expenses, such as carfare and lunch, for thousands of retired professionals who would otherwise be able to volunteer their help to colleagues.

This kind of volunteering already is under way in Project Serve, operated on Staten Island by the Community Service Society. Close to 400 retired persons work there without pay in such activities as "foster grandparents" for children at the Willowbrook State School for Mental Defectives.

They also maintain telephone checks on old people, tutor youngsters, help in nursing homes and conduct comparison shopping for the Mayor's Council on Consumer Affairs.

"As you can see," said Commissioner Brophy of the city Office for the Aging, "tea, ceramics and sympathy are on their way out in this business."

FREE AND DECENT WORLD ONLY  
POSSIBLE ANSWER TO VOICE OF  
WAR DEAD

## HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 30, 1969

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, with the Fourth of July approaching, a day commemorating America's fight for independence, I would like to submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article of writing truly representative of the finest that is the American spirit.

This editorial, written by Mr. Hubert Roussel, originally appeared in the Houston Post, January 10, 1945. Although this was written 24 years ago, and its writer was speaking about an American conflict of another time and place, I think its sentiments and profound thoughts hold truths applicable to all American conflicts, past to present.

In short, the impact of its meaning is eternal.

The editorial is as follows:

FREE AND DECENT WORLD ONLY POSSIBLE  
ANSWER TO VOICE OF WAR DEAD(An editorial by Hubert Roussel, the  
Houston Post, Jan. 10, 1945)

In a war such as this, prolonged expression of grief over personal loss is a luxury that no one can afford. Sorrow is too widespread. If everyone gave way to his feelings, as he is tempted to do, the burden of agony pressing down on the nation would become of insupportable weight. We would lose heart, spirit, and determination, and that would lead surely to the swift loss of those sacred and priceless possessions that are ours only because other generations of Americans had the courage to set an ideal above any consideration of self, and to suffer for it the greatest of hardships. To fail them now would be the deepest of treachery. The first nation that whimpers in this war is lost.

Our son has given his life for his country. I know the feelings he had, and the motives that led him to take one of the most terrible risks asked of the men who are waging this battle for freedom. They were not merely the urges of reckless youth. He gave himself for an order of life which he believed to be worthy of any sacrifice. And among the good things of American life which enjoyed his respect were the arts of the drama and music he loved them in their best manifestations, as he loved all that was food for the spirit. Were it not for this knowledge, I could hardly hope to recover my own interest in the work I followed throughout most of his lifetime.

Today would have been his twenty-first birthday, but he was already mature in thought. He had seen a good deal of the world and had formed his opinion of many things. He was the most strongly individual character I have ever known, and personal freedom with him was a passion. He was not quick to evaluate people or the habits of life, but once he had done so, there was no changing his mind by any pressure, persuasion or argument. He knew perfectly his reason for whatever he did, and for all that he liked or disliked.

He was impatient of any form of pretension, so that many people thought he was brusque, but that was only because he saw clearly and could not tolerate false values in anything. In serious mood, he spoke to the point and with great brevity, but he had a wonderful sense of the humorous. His observations on whatever came under his eye were invariably seasoned with a quiet, penetrating wit that got into his school themes and destroyed the decorum of teachers.

I was proud of a letter received the other day which described him as a typical American boy. I think that is what he was. He would not have wished a more eloquent tribute.

With high spirits he had a deep, mystic appreciation of Nature that only poets and artists would understand. He loved to be alone under the sky with the good things of the earth, and I think his happiest moments were solitary. He found something in the stillness of a clear night, or the bluster of a windy day, that had a particular meaning for his spirit, and which nobody else could share with him.

He was given that complete love and understanding of Nature that makes the storm as acceptable as the sunshine. In the midst of a great hurricane, when houses shuddered and little souls were in terror, I have known him to go calmly to bed and fall into a sleep as peaceful and untroubled as though the tempest outside were a summer breeze. His attitude toward those who lamented the upheavals of Nature was amused. It was as though he understood something that others

failed to divine about the laws of the elements.

This mysterious chamber of his spirit, which nobody could enter, perhaps gave him the unusual poise and reserve that determined his course in the war. When he joined the Army Air Corps, two years ago, he volunteered as an aerial gunner. The sky and the great spaces were without terror for him, and perhaps he felt that his temperament, no less than certain physical qualifications, made him better adapted to this service than to any other assignment in the war.

In the midst of grim and increasingly ominous preparations, he reported only the beauty of the scene. I have a letter in which he wrote: "It is good to look down on the earth from a great height. It seems then so peaceful and orderly."

He loved this country itself—the broad land and the free sky, the colors and shapes, the good feel of the ground and the play of the sun on water. He went to his death for what he loved, doing the hard duty he chose for himself, as thousands of other typical American boys have done in this battle for decency.

In a sense they were all my boys; in a sense my own boy belonged as much to every family of this country as he did to me. I have wept for the others as I have wept for him, but we can not repay them with tears. We can only resolve, with all the fury and fire in our souls, to carry on with the fight they have left, to win the victory for which they died, and having won it, to secure the peace in which they truly believed—a peace that will actually make the world better and safer, and not merely a training ground for another generation of youth to be slaughtered at the whim of warmakers.

The voice of the dead in this struggle is the most terrible command ever given the races of man. It is more terrible than all the engines of destruction combined. Let it ring in the ears of the politicians and statesmen, and let us see that they never escape it.

God pity any man who shall fall those who have died in this war.

## COWGER VOTES AGAINST TAX

## HON. WILLIAM O. COWGER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 30, 1969

Mr. COWGER. Mr. Speaker, on June 30, 1969, I once again voted against the 10-percent income surtax. I cannot preach Federal fiscal responsibility and then bend to pressure from my own party to continue a tax that is unnecessary. From personal experience I know that Government can and must live within its means.

During the 4 years that I was mayor of Louisville, we balanced the city budget every year. One of those years we cut the budget for the first time in two decades. We voted a \$20 million bond issue without any increase in taxes, and when I left office, Louisville was in better fiscal condition than it had been in 30 years.

As a businessman, I know you cannot long continue spending more money than you take in. If my votes in Congress last year had prevailed we could have cut \$15 billion from the budget. The Federal Government is the biggest spender and the biggest lender in the world and is creating its own inflation.

When President Johnson asked for a

10-percent income tax surcharge last year I knew his pledge to also cut spending was phony. I voted against the tax even though it was ballyhooed to stop inflation. Interest rates and the cost of living have continued their upward spiral.

Now, President Richard Nixon asked the Congress to continue this burden on the American taxpayer, promising that it will be reduced to 5 percent in January and dropped altogether at this time next year. I can clearly remember that during his campaign he strongly intimated that the tax should be discontinued. Circumstances have not changed except for the better. The billions of dollars spent by President Johnson to establish our military bases in Vietnam have been written off. President Nixon is withdrawing 25,000 troops from the battle area and has promised further cuts in overall service personnel. Now is the time to also cut expenditures. Frankly, I have found that the only way to reduce this spending spree is to deny sources of revenue. When I was mayor everyone of our department directors submitted budgets that we then had to cut to the bone. The job was always done with less money and more work.

The 10-percent income tax surcharge was passed in the Congress by a vote of 210 to 205. Knowing the vote was going to be close, the White House put pressure on all of us to be "team players." This I have always tried to be, but not at the expense of the people I was elected to represent.

I will continue to vote against increased taxes when it is tax reform that is really needed. We still have no tax reform bill that would plug the loopholes that allow foundations and the privileged wealthy to escape taxation.

The burden of taxation triggered the Boston Tea Party that led to the American Revolution and our independence from England. We will soon celebrate that liberty on the Fourth of July. May I suggest that you keep the enclosed tea bag as a reminder that the voice of government is always with the people.

#### RAIL SAFETY—WHEN?

### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 30, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, how many more major rail accidents is it going to take before we get some corrective action?

Nearly 100 rail accidents a day—think of it.

The latest involved a Miami-bound streamliner which was derailed just 18 miles from our Nation's Capital. A Catholic priest was killed and at least 93 other persons were injured in the derailment.

There were 592 passengers on the Seaboard Coast Line Railroad train, which was traveling over the same tracks of the Penn Central Railroad which are used by Penn Central's high-speed Metroliner. The last six cars of the 18-car train were derailed.

Ironically, perhaps, the accident oc-

curred near the Glenn Dale crossing which was revamped just about a month ago, with new asphalt bedding and welded ribbon track.

Legislation will not halt rail accidents completely and I do not pretend to imply it will. But legislation will put teeth in our rail safety laws which have been too little for too long. What is more, the agency responsible has never had the backing in its safety efforts that it should have.

I have introduced rail safety legislation. It probably does not go far enough, but certainly it is a start in the right direction. I hope sincerely, as I told the House committee in hearings last week on a specific safety matter, that we can get some meaningful rail safety action soon—and the sooner the better.

The Wall Street Journal has done an excellent front page story on the problem. It tells the story which I have repeatedly sought to bring to the attention of the House. Following is the text of the June 26 article:

#### RAILROAD ACCIDENTS SOAR TO NEARLY 100 PER DAY, BUT BLAME IS IN DISPUTE

(By Todd E. Fandell)

CHICAGO.—"So far we've been lucky," says a top official of a Midwestern railroad. "One of these days we're going to wipe a whole town right off the map."

The man is talking about railroad accidents, and he isn't exaggerating. Already this year, Laurel, Miss., and Crete, Nebr., were almost wiped off the map. In Laurel, a derailment resulted in explosions of tank cars that killed two people, hospitalized 33, demolished 54 homes and two factories and damaged 1,350 homes, four factories, six schools, five churches and 100 small businesses. Total damage was \$3.5 million. In Crete, a derailment ruptured a tank car, which spread a deadly chemical mist over the town, killing nine persons and injuring 40.

Those figures are astonishing enough, but here are some more:

There now are about 30,000 railroad accidents a year—approaching 100 a day. The number of accidents where damage to railroad property totaled \$750 or more was 8,028 in 1968, up 83% from 4,378 in 1962, despite a decline in miles traveled.

There now are about 15 derailments a day, compared with nine in 1964.

Last year 2,359 persons were killed in railroad accidents and 24,608 were injured. In contrast, 351 persons died in airline accidents.

And in 1967, the latest year for which figures are available, accidents cost the nation's railroads \$266.3 million in out-of-pocket expenses—a figure equal to more than half of the net income of all U.S. railroads that year.

#### SOME CAUSES

What's the matter? It depends on whom you talk to, but there apparently are several reasons for the rash of accidents. Negligence, faulty rolling stock and improper maintenance or defects in track are about equally to blame as the immediate causes of the accidents. But the underlying causes are in dispute or unknown.

"There is nothing being done in the way of research," says the president of one big road. He says he was appalled at the inadequacy of the answers he was given when he recently began a personal investigation into a costly rise in the number of derailments on his line. He says he would ask for the cause and be told it was a broken rail. But no one ever seemed to know how or why the rails broke. "To say the cause is a broken rail and drop it at that is ridiculous," he says. "But that's what we've been doing."

One reason rails are breaking is that roads

are using bigger, longer, heavier and faster trains on the same old track and roadbeds. But why the tracks and roadbeds haven't been improved along with the rolling stock seems to be unanswerable. Unions blame the managements. The managements blame the unions and the Government. And the Government says it doesn't know who's at fault—but that somebody better do something quick to halt the rise in wrecks.

Indeed, mounting public concern is likely to prompt Congress to give the Department of Transportation broad powers to establish and enforce comprehensive safety regulations for the railroads, which are the only major mode of transportation not covered by copious safety rules.

#### "SAFETY CAN'T BE LEGISLATED"

Talk of such regulation doesn't sit well with railroad officials. "Safety can't be legislated," asserts Thomas M. Goodfellow, president of the Association of American Railroads. Some railroad executives claim legislation would stifle their own efforts to solve the problems. Other railroad executives say that instead of legislating safety the Government should let the roads raise rates so they could afford to buy better equipment and make more frequent repairs. In support of this argument, they say that richer roads have better safety records than the poorer ones.

The richer roads do, in fact, have better safety records. The well-heeled Union Pacific, for instance, had 4.2 accidents per million miles traveled in 1967. The loss-ridden Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad had the worst record that year, 33.3 accidents per million miles. The Katy's track is so bad that a few years ago an engine derailed while standing still.

On the whole, claims Harold C. Crotty, president of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, "rail and tie replacement work has been neglected and, as a direct consequence, railway accidents caused by track and roadway defects have increased."

#### CUTTING TOP SPEED

Mr. Crotty says that a decline in maintenance of way workers to 88,000 from 251,000 in 1951 reflects a decline in inspection and maintenance standards. The roads reply that the drop in maintenance workers instead reflects improved work methods, materials and mechanization. And some road executives say they could afford to hire more maintenance workers were it not for union "featherbedding" practices in other areas that eat up railroad money.

Wherever the blame rests, a number of roads are taking steps to cut down the accident rates. Some have ordered lower maximum speeds for freight trains. The Soo Line, for instance, has trimmed its freights' maximum speed to 40 miles an hour from 60. "It was one of a number of steps we took to do something short range about the accident problem while we stepped up study efforts to discover causes and long-term solutions," says a spokesman. A large Western road has cut its top speed to 50 from 70 miles an hour.

The cutting of speeds hasn't been publicized, and most industry officials don't like to talk about it. "That's rather embarrassing and sure won't help us in Washington," says one official, who fears legislators will interpret the moves as admission of unsafe conditions.

#### U.S. FARM-SUBSIDY LIMIT HAS TOUGH ROW TO HOE

### HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 30, 1969

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, for the information of my colleagues who sup-

ported my amendment putting a \$20,000 ceiling on farm subsidies, and that of the Members in the other body who will be voting on the matter soon, I am including in today's RECORD a copy of an excellent article on the subject by David R. Francis, published in the Christian Science Monitor of June 27, 1969.

The article rightly stresses how popular this measure is with urban Congressmen at a time when, as my distinguished colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. COHELAN), points out, we are spending many times more on agriculture than on such needed legislation as model cities and urban renewal.

As I have indicated earlier, however—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 16, 1969; June 17, 1969—there is also substantial and growing support for this reform among rural legislators as well.

Mr. Francis also accurately describes the degree of commitment to this legislation. I, and many of my colleagues, will not vote for an agriculture appropriations bill without some form of payments ceiling. And it is certainly true that Congress will insist on such a ceiling before approving any new farm bill.

Mr. Francis concludes:

Thus the question is whether the limitation will be imposed within the next few days or later, when the farm bill comes up.

My own conviction, and that of many others in both Houses is that these outrageously high payments must be stopped now. The main business of the House today, in response to the growing menace of inflation, requires all of us to honor our commitment to the taxpayer who now faces another year of the surtax by ending waste where we can. And the \$300 million we can save by this legislation is enough by itself to offset the \$270 million requested by the administration to pay for an expanded food-aid program.

Mr. Francis also adds his voice to others who have suggested that some payments ceiling opponents hope to reduce support for my amendment by trading their support for larger appropriations for food stamps and other antihunger legislation. Too much is at stake here for such a cynical political deal. Moreover, support for an expanded fight against hunger is so strong that such a trade is unnecessary.

Mr. Speaker, I must take issue with one comment made by Mr. Francis in his otherwise excellent article. This is his suggestion that a Senate payments ceiling amendment which also repeals the "snapback provision" might be rejected by the House as not "germane" to an appropriations bill.

First of all, I am convinced through consultations with Members in the other body that such an amendment would in fact be "germane."

But, even assuming such an amendment might be considered not germane, the gentlemen in the other body should know that it is a common occurrence for this House to accept Senate amendments to House bills which might have originally been considered nongermane in this body. The reasons for this are not only the traditional respect which this House has for the more flexible pro-

cedures of the other body, but, more importantly, because my colleagues and I would be powerless to attempt to overrule Senate procedures.

Examples of this practice abound in fields, as diverse as agriculture and civil rights. Only last Friday, this House accepted a conference report on H.R. 8644, suspending the duty on crude chicory roots, to which the other body had added two social security amendments—one of which, it will be recalled repealed the freeze on Federal aid to dependent children. See CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 27, 1969, 17628-17632.

No one, of course, would suggest there is a closer connection between chicory roots and ADC payments than there is between a farm payments ceiling and the repeal of a device designed to permit large cottongrowers to escape the intent of that ceiling.

In short, there are no procedural barriers preventing the enactment of this needed legislation. We can put an end to the scandal of these huge payments at this time. And I am convinced that popular feeling, as well as simple justice, require that Congress act now.

The article referred to follows:

U.S. FARM-SUBSIDY LIMIT HAS TOUGH ROW  
TO HOE

(By David R. Francis)

WASHINGTON.—Back in 1936, President Roosevelt asked Congress—unsuccessfully—for a limit on the amount of federal subsidy money paid to any one farmer. Any day now, the same controversy will produce a fight on the floor of the Senate.

Last year, 1,084,000 farmers got subsidies, though less than \$500 each, from the government. Yet 5,885 farmers each received payments of more than \$25,000. Three got more than \$1 million.

"Small wonder," says Rep. Paul Findley (R) of Illinois, "that Congress—confronted with a fiscal crisis so great that an unpopular surtax must be extended and many popular programs dropped—has rebelled."

Last month the House voted 225-142 to limit to \$20,000 the total federal payments any single farm operator could receive under the cotton, wheat, and feed-grain programs. The amendment passed despite the opposition of the administration and congressional leadership of both parties.

"Few votes have been more significant to farmers," commented Reuben Johnson, lobbyist for the National Farmers Union (NFU).

The vote indicated the great dissatisfaction of urban congressmen with the farm program. They now are by far the great majority in Congress. Of 435 House districts, only 83 have as much as 15 percent of the population living on farms.

The complaints of Rep. Jeffery Cohelan (D) of California are typical. In the House debate, he spoke of the "sacred cows" in the agricultural appropriations bill.

"The bill," he said, "provides the staggering sum of \$4,965,934,000 for capital replenishment of the Commodity Credit Corporation. This sum represents money which has been lost by the corporation because it has supported commodity prices above the open-market price.

"This enormous sum, nearly \$5 billion, is three times what we will appropriate for the operations of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

"It is five times what we will spend for model cities and urban renewal.

"It is five times what we will spend for manpower training.

"It is several times what we will provide in federal support for public education."

He concluded: "There must be a less expensive and more efficient way to both help transfer income to needy farmers and to maintain a stable agricultural-production base."

When the bill reached the Senate, the payment-limitation amendment was knocked out by the Appropriations Committee. Sen. Spessard L. Holland (D) of Florida, chairman of the agricultural appropriations subcommittee, says he is opposed to the commodity programs for wheat, cotton, and feed grains (but not sugar and wool programs, which are more important to his state).

Yet the lanky, white-thatched Southerner argues that the House-passed payment limitation would be "unwise and self-defeating." Senator Holland says he expects the administration to suggest a "more workable" payment-limitation plan when it recommends new legislation to replace the 1965 Food and Agriculture Act. The act expires at the end of 1970.

Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin has hinted this would be the case.

Even if the administration does not offer a payment limitation, it is almost certain Congress will insist on one before approving any new farm bill.

Seeing the drift of congressional opinion, the NFU has suggested a graduated formula for payment limitation with a ceiling of \$37,500.

Thus the question is whether the limitation will be imposed within the next few days or later, when the farm bill comes up.

At the earliest, the agriculture appropriations bill could reach the Senate floor Friday. Senator Holland would like a vote before the July 4 recess.

#### CONFERENCE SESSION DUE

A floor battle is assured. Sen. John J. Williams (R) of Delaware has promised to propose limitation amendments.

The Senate generally has been more sympathetic to the big farmers. Last year, when Senator Williams made his perennial appeal for a \$25,000 ceiling, the vote was 47 to 25 against. But this majority fell to 40 to 30 when the ceiling was raised to \$75,000 in subsequent amendments.

Senator Williams hopes he has picked up some support this year. But his opponents may have cut some of the ground from under him by obtaining Senate passage of an emergency resolution approving a boost in the food-stamp authorization to \$750 million for fiscal 1970. This is more than double the \$340 million authorized now by law.

Supporters of a limitation on payments had previously noted the willingness of Congress, especially the Southern members, to vote for large subsidies to big farmers at the same time they were reluctant to provide food for the poor.

In any event, the limitation will have to go to a House-Senate conference committee. If the Senate has eliminated a payment limitation, the conferees are expected to do likewise. The agricultural appropriations subcommittees are dominated by cotton-state congressmen, and cotton farmers get most of the big payments.

#### EASTLAND OPERATION CITED

However, Mr. Findley says he will fight in the House to send the bill back to conference if the payment limitation has been knocked out. Should he be successful, the conferees and the administration might feel obliged to come up with some compromise limit.

The opponents of the House-passed limitation have two objections:

1. They argue it will cause big farmers to step up their production. The large farmers will not be getting any payments to keep a portion of their acreage out of production. So they will plant these acres.

This, it is said, will mean that small farmers staying in the program will have to cut

back further on their planted acreage to maintain a reasonable balance between demand for farm products and supply.

Rep. W. R. Poage (D) of Texas, chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, holds it would be better to take 5,000 acres out of production on the cotton plantation of his colleague, Sen. James O. Eastland (D) of Mississippi, and pay him for that, than to take an extra acre out of production of small cotton farmers. Eastland Plantations, Inc., of Doddsville, Miss., received \$116,978 in federal payments in 1968.

More small farmers, he says, would be driven from the land by limits on payments.

2. A "snapback" provision in the farm bill requires the Agriculture Department to guarantee program participants 65 percent of parity for their cotton should a payment ceiling be imposed.

Mr. Hardin told the Senate agriculture appropriations subcommittee that the snapback would jump the government crop-loan rate by more than 50 percent. In effect, this new rate would be the government purchase price since most farmers would surrender their crops instead of repaying the loan. The loans are nonrecourse loans.

In addition, Mr. Hardin said, the higher price would stimulate an additional 2 million bales of unneeded fiber and end up costing the federal government \$160 million more than the program benefits will total this year.

#### \$250 MILLION SAVINGS TARGET

Also, many large farms could be split into smaller units to make them come under the payments ceiling. Mr. Hardin testified that "perhaps as much as 70 percent to 85 percent of the potential cotton acreage affected by the \$20,000 limit would be able to maintain its eligibility for full payment."

However, proponents of the payment limitation readily offer rebuttals.

John A. Schnittker, who was Undersecretary of Agriculture in the Johnson administration, sent a letter to Senator Holland admitting that the \$20,000 limitation amendment introduced in the House by Rep. Silvio O. Conte (R) of Massachusetts would not accomplish any savings. But then he suggested amendments "which would accomplish annual savings up to \$250 million."

The proposed amendment would limit payments to no more than \$10,000 for a single producer for each crop (wheat, feed grains, and cotton). And it would repeal the snapback provision.

#### SPENDING-BILL DELAY HINTED

Mr. Schnittker maintained that with these changes "the glaring excesses in individual payments can be limited in fiscal year 1970 without creating serious inequities or interfering with the basic purposes of farm programs. . . ."

Senator Williams has already introduced an amendment that would repeal the snapback provision.

Should such an amendment reach the House through conference committee, however, it may be rejected as not "germane" to an appropriations bill.

However, proponents of payment limitations hope to force the agricultural committees to come up with their own limitation in a separate bill, holding up the agriculture appropriations bill if necessary.

When the issue was raised last year, President Johnson instructed the Agriculture Department to study the effects of payment limitation. The study, prepared under the direction of Mr. Schnittker, was eventually leaked to the press and put in the record by Mr. Findley.

It concluded that payments could be limited to \$20,000 "without serious adverse effects on production or on the effectiveness of production adjustment programs."

Department of Agriculture records show that about 34 percent of the cotton, 5 per-

cent of the wheat, and 2 percent of the feed grains were grown on the large farms that would have had their payments reduced in 1967 had a \$20,000 limitation been in effect at that time.

### CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES SALUTES INDIANAPOLIS ANTICRIME CRUSADE

#### HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 30, 1969

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, volume 2, No. 4, of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's *Spotlight on Women in Public Affairs* was devoted solely to "The Indiana Story: Women's War on Crime." The text of the chamber's report follows:

#### SALUTE FROM THE NATIONAL CHAMBER

"Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." Ecclesiastes 9:10.

Three women are pictured above (pictures not printed in Record): Mrs. Mattie Coney, Mrs. Veneta LaDine, Mrs. Margaret Moore.

Ordinarily, they might never have met. Race, education, occupation, social environment—factors such as these might have kept them apart.

But the death of a 90-year-old retired Indianapolis teacher—mortally injured in a purse snatch on March 21, 1962, by a teenager—was fated to bring them together. From that incident, viewed indignantly and irately, sprang the movement in which these three women figure:

#### THE ANTI-CRIME CRUSADE

It began in Indianapolis . . .

Soon, its momentum built and spread as Indianapolis women from all walks of life joined hearts, heads and hands to form a solid, dedicated corps of more than 50,000 volunteers. Indignation-inspired, the movement swept outward from the State Capital.

It now covers all Indiana . . .

This issue of *Spotlight on Women in Public Affairs* is devoted to telling *The Indiana Story: Women's War on Crime*. True, it began in Indianapolis, but its meaningful strength pervades effectively the whole of Indiana—especially so its alert cities and towns as Anderson, Elwood, Evansville, Hammond, South Bend.

First though, let's identify the three women above: Mattie Coney, who carries the Crusade to her people; Veneta LaDine, who carries the Crusade to the State of Indiana; and Margaret Moore, who carries the Crusade to the Nation.

Here is the gist of their story. Their roles in it, as each will readily say, are merely representative. Any or all of literally tens of thousands of other Indiana women might equally be spotlighted here. For the work of all is significant, the work of each is essential, to the now-evident, now-continuing success of their individual and integrated venture: the war on crime.

At best, the account here can be but a bare-bones minimum of all these women have done. But the essential point is: it is revealing. It suggests succinctly what happened, what can be. We leave it to you to fill in, read between the lines.

Fundamentally, it underlines: Properly briefed, and adequately organized, the determined women of a state can fight crime and win!

Tersely, this is the meaning of the Indiana Story.

It carries strength and substance for us all.

ARCH N. BOOTH,  
Executive Vice President, Chamber of  
Commerce of the United States.

#### HOW DO YOU START AN ANTICRIME CRUSADE?

With a factor of one: one crime, one drop-out, one job, one bright light, one court watcher, one determined woman.

Then you add to the latter, and multiply. It works in Indianapolis, throughout Indiana.

In crime prevention, here are some of the things Indianapolis women do:

Help keep youth in school—so far, more than 2000 of them;

Aid in exposing unqualified personnel, and in getting better ones to replace them;

Testify to legislators—giving information they need;

Honor policemen—and reduce ridicule of their performance of duty;

Raise money for needed city/county projects;

Teach children about laws that affect them—and encourage respect for the law;

Help high schoolers study government—on-the-spot, in action;

Carry through vast clean-ups—devise projects that innovate, resuscitate;

Work with public officials, as the police, the courts, the corrections department;

Serve as consultants—improving how-to-fight-crime know-how in other communities;

Communicate with others elsewhere who want to crusade too.

Can't add it up? It won't multiply? Maybe not, mathematically. There are no real formulae, no equations. The Crusade is too simple for that; in fact, it can be expressed in a word: volunteering.

That's the formula—what it reduces to: a will to do! And how do you add or multiply will power? Particularly when it is expressed to the nth degree?

Let's look at the structure of the Anti-Crime Crusade. Maybe it will tell us something more. It's simple too! Fourteen division chairmen are responsible for progress—each in her area of concern.

Of course they have subchairmen, committees, projects, meeting times. And periodically division heads meet with the general chairman and the coordinator for the Crusade. What do they do at the meetings? Again, it's simple: they talk over problems; study the situation; decide: where do we go from here.

How does the Anti-Crime Crusade work out in practice? Let's take an Indianapolis example, a rather novel one: *Court Watchers Watching*.

Why novel? Well, what self-respecting Indianapolis woman, for instance, would ever show up in court—she didn't have to? Not one, you say? You are wrong! Thousands of Indianapolis women have been showing up in court—decent, upright, non-arrested but super-charged citizens: Two a day per court, over more than a five-year period.

What's it got them for their trouble? This: 70,000 court-watcher reports—each from an eagle-eyed, ear-attuned woman.

Why make reports? Reports show patterns, as: too often, arresting officers don't appear to press charges; too often judges are late.

Whose fault? Women court watchers in Indianapolis asked questions of half-a-dozen judges. What followed! For one thing: Court procedures were tightened up.

More questions were asked. Example: why does the median age of defendants in Criminal Court keep dropping? (Could the reason be in homes, not in courts?)

Raising questions raises other things. An irred defense attorney urged the judge: get these women court-watchers out of here! The judge reminded: remember Magna Carta? These watchers are here to protect the defendant—whose legal rights you are said to be representing. You should be grateful, not resentful.

The defense attorney took the matter to the Supreme Court however. And Indiana's highest judicial body said, in essence: We agree with the judge—and the court watchers."

How to be a court watcher? It's simple in Indianapolis—just ask. When your time comes—study, and fulfill your daily assignment one day at a time. It's easy!

Court-watching is one part of the Anti-Crime Crusade in Indianapolis. Its women can cite many others—just as revealing, just as interesting, just as productive. As a Crusader, you don't need to limit yourself either to just one part of the crime front—you can work on others, each fascinating in turn.

For instance, you can:  
Support the police in their jobs;  
Help young people, children;  
Get to know teenager problems, and prospects;

Improve uses of tax monies;  
Help young people who have had a bad start get on the path to rehabilitation, trust;

Be a lamp leader and lighter (As more lights go up, rates of crime go down—a Crusade finding and lesson);

Scent out five-finger-discounters (shoplifters) and save shopowners and yourself \$\$\$;

Encourage churches and church attendance—at study tables, programs, youth-activity events, young-mother panels, court-visiting, help to the gone-wrong, the physically handicapped, the disturbed ones;

Beautify—by shaping up, sprucing up blocks and neighborhoods with brooms and rakes and people power (Clean blocks mean new pride, more respect for others' rights).

Tersely, even pithily perhaps, the above is the gist of *The Indianapolis Story: Anti-Crime Crusade*.

It began in 1962. It's still going strong. It's healthfully contagious.

Of a certain great English architect/builder it was said (in Latin): "If you seek his monument, look about you."

Much the same can be said for Indianapolis, or as the Londoners said of their pride Christopher Wren—just "circumspice" (look about you).

#### INDIANA WOMEN'S WAR ON CRIME

##### ANDERSON

"... where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." Matthew 6:21.

"One of the ladies in our YWCA Bible Class—it's interdenominational—read in *Guideposts* about the Anti-Crime Crusade in Indianapolis."

That's how the Crusade came to Anderson, Indiana.

The words above are those of Executive Secretary Mrs. Elizabeth (Frank) Worley of the Anderson Young Women's Christian Association. She continues:

"The lady contacted Margaret Moore. She and Mattie Coney agreed to come to Anderson.

"The Bible Class sent letters to all the ladies' church groups, the Police Department, city officials, school leaders and counselors, inviting them to the meeting.

"In fact, we made the invitation open to anyone—anyone, that is, interested in helping youth. The media responded with advance publicity.

"The response was more than gratifying."

In Anderson, naturally enough, there is developing an Anderson plan, using the Indianapolis experience as a guide or inspirational pattern. Two years' experience of its own have convinced Anderson women that the words of Mrs. Rachel (Muriel) Howard—the lady in the Bible Class—were precious and prescient.

Upon reading the *Guideposts* article she said: "We have studied long enough. It's time we moved into action."

Action is what the voluntary Anderson program has got. Here are just a few of its undertakings:

School drop-out counseling;  
A regular school tutoring program;

A publication program; e.g., *What Is The Law?*;

A clothing room, volunteer-womened, at the High School Administration Office, to make apparel available to students of all ages;

A park-watch-sitting program, a la Indianapolis.

Looking back over the first 24 months of action, Mrs. Worley comments:

"Rachel (Mrs. Howard) said it was time we got going. We have. Volunteer help, volunteered funds, have made this a most meaningful program. Truly, these are 'helping hands.' I can tell you this: the cooperation is great!"

"Helping Hands" has a special meaning—to Andersonites. It's the title of a program, launched by Mrs. Howard in 1965, dedicated to youth. More than that, it's a chief concern to her: to encourage and qualify older women to "teach the young women," as counseled by the Apostle Paul.

##### EVANSVILLE

"... whatever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things." Phillipians 4:8.

How did the word spread—of what was happening in Indianapolis as results of the Anti-Crime Crusade?

Many ways, and yet—one way: with a determined individual.

For instance, in Evansville, someone like Mrs. Mildred (Dale) Morgan. She says:

"My daughter in Indianapolis was active in the Crusade. She invited me to attend one of their luncheons, a little more than two years ago.

"I was much impressed with their Crusade, its many facets. My daughter, Mrs. Elaine (John W.) Brookwalter, is Chairman of the Youth Division Sponsors. Back in Evansville, I thought: where do I start? As National Defense Chairman, Mary Anthony McGary Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, I took the proposal to the group.

"The DAR Chapter agreed to print *The Teenager Wants To Know What Is The Law*. School officials, the Police Department, gave approval; Citizens National Bank paid for the printing. Many helped to fold and staple 25,000 booklets.

"With the help of two young policemen, we took the booklet into schools.

"City Court Judge Wayne Kent, interested and cooperative, likewise volunteered and got the project into the schools.

"Two more policemen joined—working in uniform, but on their own time. Officer Larry Qualls offered to teach class after school to boys who want to learn about the law. Qualls suggested a class of 10 volunteers. Fifty-two asked to participate!"

Mrs. Morgan spoke of the "facets" of the Crusade. Others as well "sparkle" in Evansville:

Mrs. Ann (James) Lowenthal, Drug Committee Chairman for Evansville Women's Club, led a drive to buy and show films to school and PTA's. Other groups promptly asked to use them, multiplying their effectiveness.

Two instructors—Judy Jenkins and Jean Lewis—voluntarily teach on their own time reading, writing and arithmetic to probationers—up to 110 at a time. Others are volunteering to teach these and related subjects to probationers.

Eleven teenage collegians under direction of another volunteer, Mrs. June (Chester A., Jr.) Schmidt, help with court work on a one-for-one program.

Mrs. Sheila (Jack) Lewis, Mrs. Marian (Edward) Ash, and Mrs. Ruth Hush individually contact teenager probationers up to three times weekly over periods up to six months.

On completion of the new City Complex, telephone numbers will be assigned and *Crime Alert* instigated. Innumerable volun-

teers are ready to participate. Groups, too, are cooperating: the Chamber of Commerce, telephone company, bar association, police news media.

At City Court, volunteers have set up a clothing bank to aid probationers (age 17 to 70) "get on their feet." Many volunteers are men like James Gilliam who devotes hours and personal skills weekly to the rehabilitation of alcoholics, especially young people, with "phenomenal" success.

Are Evansville volunteers rewarded? Are they inspired to continue? Absolutely, replies Mrs. Schmidt. Here are her words:

"My children were nearly raised. This was an opportunity to 'help your brother.' It was a simple way to become involved, and an education too. I soon learned!

"I went to observe court—to see first-hand what the problems were.

"They are people problems . . . and people must help solve the problems. We have a good start.

"I am so happy, I volunteered. The boys and girls on probation are timid, skeptical at first. But they soon realize: we are people they can trust. They look forward to our visits. So do we!

"We work with Black families, too. They are very responsive. They want to help themselves. They want to know how.

"Here is one very important thing: You don't have to cut through yards of red tape in this work and that's the case in so many community programs. I'd say this is, well, 'instant programming.' Believe me, it gets the job done." Husband-wife teams form part of the Evansville volunteer movement. "An interested and understanding husband helps," says Mrs. Julia Mallory, referring to her husband, Ralph Mallory, Jr. They are parents of children, aged 20 and 4 months. Mrs. Mallory formerly taught the Fourth Grade.

Mrs. Mallory is a charter member and Immediate Past President of the Evansville Junior Women's Club, organized in 1967. She served as Chairman and Coordinator of the Club's first—and continuing—Block Mother project. Adding:

"All 49 of our Charter Members have been active in the project." Noting too:

"We select mothers who will help children who are frightened, injured, or lost. We give temporary first aid and protection until parents, police, or emergency vehicles can be called.

"Children recognize our homes by a card in the window reading **BLOCK MOTHER** and showing our symbol—a large red helping hand.

"We have the whole city involved! News media—newspapers, radio, tv—help us recruit Block Mothers. They tell parents and children about us. TV spots come on Saturdays, when children are viewing cartoons. Spot announcements are on everyday: early for children, late for parents.

"School personnel, PTA's, and the Police Department screen potential Block Mothers. On approval, Red Cross gives them a First Aid Course. A consulting attorney volunteers his services.

"To date, 75 mothers have been certified, trained, and are at work.

"Through a 4-page coloring book furnished public, private, and parochial school children in the Kindergarten through Third Grade classes, teachers guide them on how to recognize a Block Mother and what she does. Mead-Johnson Company pays for all the coloring books that we use.

"Our Block Mothers are scattered all over—near city bicycle routes, recreation areas, schools, etc.

"When tornado warnings occur, Block Mothers move outside, encourage children to go home promptly. They are on the watch continually for potential child molesters."

Continuity is necessary to the success of the Evansville effort. As Mildred Morgan says:

"An attorney's wife, Mrs. Anne (John) Early, is Chairman of the Evansville Anti-Crime Crusade. Our work, under her energetic leadership, will continue and expand. More and more, people are becoming involved."

## ELWOOD

"For precept must be upon precept . . . line upon line, here a little, and there a little." Isaiah 28:10.

To residents of Elwood, Indiana, a city of 12,000, metropolitan-crime reports at first seemed to have little relevancy. After all, crime in Elwood? Unthinkable!

Then, last year, Mrs. Veneta (C. B.) LaDine of Indianapolis came to speak with members of the Elwood Department Club and their guests.

From Mrs. LaDine's words, it became increasingly obvious: *In terms of Elwood, a local version of Indianapolis' Anti-Crime Crusade would provide a positive program of community betterment.*

Led by Mrs. Alberta (Gus) Meyer and Mrs. Mabel (Ernest) Davies, the Club started a Court Watcher program.

Every Tuesday night finds two women voluntarily observing Elwood court sessions. Others are responding to the program: sorority members, the Travel Club, churchwomen.

"We are in the fact-finding stage," says Mrs. Meyer. "We look forward to a continuing program. It will be helpful to our community."

## HAMMOND

"And let us not be weary in well-doing . . ." Galatians 6:9.

Ask Lieutenant Jack Rose of Hammond's Police Department to describe her, and he'll reply: "Well, she gets things done; oh yes, and she used to teach school."

This is Mrs. Crystal (Carl) Redden's reputation and occupational background in the 120,000-population Indiana community.

Likewise, she heads Project Alert—Hammond's version of the Indianapolis Anti-Crime Crusade.

Mother of a 13-year-old son in junior high and a daughter in college, Mrs. Redden says P.A. is really a family affair. They all pitch in.

"In everyone's life, certain community responsibilities must be assumed. Some women wait until children are older to give time away from home," she said. And adds:

"My family is helpful, tolerant; they help me to look at the problems objectively.

"We have to face up to the problems. We need to know people. We need to know how our city government works. Who is responsible for what, so we can get to the right people in the first place.

"Hammond—well, some call it a 'melting pot.' We do have many nationalities. I call it a 'fruit cake.' Each here keeps his identity; you can tell the raisins from the cherries."

Hammond's Project Alert is simple. Almost austere so. There's no treasurer because there are no membership dues. There are no meetings except when necessary. Place of meeting is as convenience may suggest—Chamber of Commerce, the City Hall Planning Room, etc. Some volunteers are "organization" members; others just "care."

As Mrs. Redden suggests: "We just work together." It isn't who's right, but what's right that sets Project Alert going.

Groups do work hand-in-glove with the Project: Jay-shees, sororities, all PTA's, the United Council of Church Women, Federated Women's Clubs, the B&PW, Altrusa, others.

What do they accomplish? Here's a quick but incomplete tally; they help: clean up the city—an over-all program; see to it street lighting is improved; invite Hammondites to really get to know—friendly-like—their police (for instance, by sponsoring open houses); they keep themselves continually informed.

This last may seem cryptic. It isn't really. Hammond women just go see for themselves;

as when 48 of them paired off in police cars to ride the city by night. Host officers opened their eyes:

"We saw things we overlooked, or never thought of. We were too busy, too 'involved' to notice before."

You can take that quote straight—or in reverse. Both police and women learned from the venture. And for each the lesson is complete: "They keep us on our toes."

Hammond is way-up on Helping Hand for school children; a sign in neighborhood homes tells children where to get help—in case of accident, storm, or a potential molester.

Godfather to Project Alert is Executive Director Walter D. Ford of Hammond Chamber of Commerce. On his staff is Mrs. Mildred (Harvey) Pritchett, first Chairman of Project Alert. She tells how it began:

"Early in 1967, Hammond was at low ebb; the community needed a shot in the arm.

"Mr. Ford had an idea. The Chamber invited representatives of groups for a Saturday talk—250 came. Many ideas were developed on the topic: *How to make Hammond a better place to live.*

"A few weeks later, these findings were reviewed at a second meeting. Chief of Police James Dowling and Police Lieutenant Herman Funk asked if citizens would work with them to combat crime—citing the Indianapolis precedent.

"This was the beginning then of Hammond's Project Alert—a group of volunteer men and women, but mainly of women.

"We invited Mrs. Moore and Mrs. LaDine of Indianapolis. They talked to us. And we felt: *If they can do it, we can too!*"

## SOUTH BEND

"Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good."—Romans 12:21.

Involvement in an Indianapolis-inspired Anti-Crime Crusade comes in many ways. Speaking from her home in South Bend, Indiana, President Mrs. Beatrice (Ray I.) Moore of the Progress Club comments:

"We got involved last year—after our National Convention in Boston. We had heard Margaret Moore at our Indiana State Convention, and again, at National. We came back and presented the idea to our group.

"It was decided: *we must move the Anti-Crime Crusade through community involvement.*

"First, though, we had to find the right approach.

"We have done some fact-finding. After consultation with the Chief of Police, Judges of the Courts, our Chamber of Commerce, and so on, we invited all of the women's organizations and the governmental agencies involved to meet in South Bend.

"This meeting was scheduled for June 13 of this year. According to our plan, Margaret Moore will present a blueprint.

"This will serve as a guide to us—in developing our own South Bend version of the Anti-Crime Crusade. The meeting will be a learning and a working session.

"Women's groups interested? Off hand, I can name some but there are many many more. Altrusa, the DAR, Hospital Auxiliary, Medical Women's Auxiliary, Business and Professional Women, Women's Bureau—Chamber of Commerce, etc.

"Personally, speaking for our group, we are not concerned about credit for getting a program started. *Someone has to do it.* It takes patience. Many of us are not too patient. *We must stick to it.* And we must recognize—*this is a program that must continue. We are on the right track. Many can help in many ways.*"

For further information, write Mrs. Margaret Moore, 4429 Brookline Place, Indianapolis, Indiana 46220.

## WHO THEY ARE

Mrs. Mattie (Elmo) Coney

Founder and Executive Director of Citizen's Forum, Inc., active since 1964 in devel-

oping nearly 800 Block Clubs in Indianapolis "to spread the gospel of good American Citizenship."

Indiana's Woman-of-the-Year award in 1967, Theta Sigma Phi, professional fraternity for women in Journalism.

School teacher in slum-area locales for 30 years; wife of a former teacher and businessman.

Responsible for massive cleanup campaigns in Indianapolis (In 54 days in 1966 and 1967, disposed of 242,000 tons of collected waste materials)

Continuing author of "Mattieisms"—straight-from-the-shoulder plain-spoken Hoosier talk:

"You can't act like an inferior and then demand respect as an equal."

"Bad neighborhoods develop because individuals fail."

"No one is so underprivileged that he cannot keep clean."

"The biggest drug on our market today is the pill of apathy."

To Block Club leaders: ". . . soap, water, work, responsibility and commitment are simple words. Use them often." And "Be a good neighbor."

"Slums are made by people, not by plaster or bricks."

## Mrs. Veneta (C.B.) LaDine

Chairman of the Indianapolis Anti-Crime Crusade. With Margaret Moore, attended the First National Conference on Crime Control, Washington, D.C.

Fulfills requests for the Hoosier Anti-Crime Control "pattern" from hundreds of cities and towns, overseas replies from individuals and others totaling between 2500/5000 a year.

Wife of a general medical practitioner on Community Hospital's staff.

Formerly a teacher of English and Latin for 14 years.

President of Indiana Federation of (Women's) Clubs. Peripatetic speaker on Crusade activities throughout the State of Indiana to community audiences, organizations, interested individuals.

Author of directly-on-target quotations:

"We must begin to work with children while they are young. Work with dropouts, then with brothers, sisters. We must do something to help with their home life."

"Parents need to be concerned about the associations of their children, about where they are going, with whom, whether they are making their grades."

"Children don't need to be brilliant, but parents need to know that they are learning. It's not the responsibility of teachers to raise the children. The basic moral things of life parents should teach at home."

"Women compliment women—working together. Women can work together if they don't care who 'gets the credit.' Work together to do a job. Do some thing: Take a child, get him clothed, to school. Who cares who did it if it's done."

## Mrs. Margaret (Everett) Moore

Arranger of the 1962 luncheon at which 30 Indianapolis women became the first members of the Anti-Crime Crusade. Now, Crusade Coordinator.

Continuing consultant, the Indianapolis Anti-Crime Crusade, speaking throughout America to interested individuals and groups.

Political and Special Feature Writer, The Indianapolis News.

Indiana Mother-of-the-Year (1965).

Crusade "idea-producer" as of the "knit-in" staged by women in University Park to stop vagrants from loitering, to bring more police surveillance to parks.

Widow of a newspaper editor/publisher; mother of two daughters.

Former teacher in high school and college. Author with son-in-law M. Stanton Evans of *The Lawbreakers: America's Number One Domestic Problem* (Arlington House, New Rochelle, N.Y., 1968, 288 pages, \$5.95).

*Vivid writer on crime and crime-prevention subject:*

For the next six hours, from the safety of an unmarked prowler car, the women took an eye-opening look at their city. In the shadows of a parking lot they watched prostitutes work on conventioners. They saw a smooth-talking con man fleece an unsuspecting pedestrian. They stood by while police officers arrested law violators on the strip, broke up savage family fights, mopped up after a gambling raid, helped a bleeding robbery victim to the hospital. They saw skid-row drunks herded into paddy wagons and witnessed a frightened teenage girl, who had been raped by a roving gang, single out her attackers from a police lineup."

#### INDIANA'S FIRST LADY

Wife of Indiana's Governor Edgar D. Whitcomb, Mrs. Patricia Whitcomb is First Lady of Indiana but "a volunteer" in the State Anti-Crime programming.

Her fields of service particularly concern law enforcement, crime prevention, and "other areas of great concern to entire families." She says:

*"Women in every Indiana county are needed as volunteers. I will do all I can to help with this program emphasizing individual responsibility."*

Here Mrs. Whitcomb is pictured (left) [picture not printed in RECORD] with two attendees at Governor Whitcomb's two-day Anti-Crime Conference held early this year and attended by state-organization women representing more than 500,000 members. Center is President Mrs. Sylvia (K. D.) Schneider of the Auxiliary to the Indiana Medical Association. Right is President, Mrs. Ann (Richard) Glasser of the Indianapolis Council of Women. Mrs. Schneider is from Columbus.

#### MEMORANDUM ON THE "GUIDELINES RACKET"

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 30, 1969

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, a friend and constituent of mine, Mr. Benjamin Ginzberg, of Arlington, Va., who until recently was research director for the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights in the Senate, has presented me with a very carefully prepared and documented memorandum, which he calls Memorandum on the "Guidelines Racket."

Mr. Ginzberg has shown how a small group of people, operating within four agencies of the executive branch, have by "progressive interpretation" stretched an act of the Congress so far beyond its original intent that they are actually in violation of the law in their interpretation.

Mr. Ginzberg is hopeful that the Members of this Congress, on being made aware of such violations of law by the executive branch, will take action to halt such violations. I certainly share his concern about this situation, and commend his memorandum for careful consideration by all who read this RECORD.

The memorandum follows:

#### MEMORANDUM ON THE "GUIDELINES RACKET"

I am a retired civil servant, whose last post was that of Research Director for the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. I have devoted some of my leisure to testifying before Congressional committees

on public issues (e.g., I testified against the confirmation of Abe Fortas as Chief Justice) and to protesting abuses of power (when I come across such things) by government agencies. In March and April of this year I came across linked abuses by 1) the Equal Employment Opportunity agencies, 2) the Office of Civil Rights of HEW, and 3) the Housing Assistance branch of HUD. In all three cases, the authority of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was being invoked in support of policies that not only were not authorized by that law, but were in several cases specifically forbidden. Since all this was being done under cover of the authorization by the Civil Rights Act that the various agencies may develop guidelines or interpretations of the substantive provisions, I baptized the linked abuses as the "guideline racket."

Here is some of the evidence about the linked abuses. At the end of March, Senator Dirksen protested to a Senate committee that the Equal Employment Opportunity agencies were harassing businessmen by seeking to impose Negro employment quotas—something which the Civil Rights Act of 1964 specifically forbids. Most of the press omitted the reference to employment quotas and merely reported Dirksen's complaint about the harassment of businessmen—a complaint which they proceeded to dismiss as motivated by the Senator's desire to protect employment discrimination. Since I knew from personal acquaintance with the experience of one firm that there was substance behind the Dirksen complaint, I wrote letters to the New York Times and Washington Star taking them to task for their attacks on Dirksen. Neither letter was published.

In the last week of March, the press reported that the Office of Civil Rights of HEW issued orders to the heads of state college systems with a past history of segregation (Pennsylvania and Maryland, among others) directing them to desegregate their colleges under penalty of forfeiting all Federal financial assistance. I was aroused by a startling passage in the desegregation orders. The passage reads: ". . . to fulfill the purposes and intent of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 it is not sufficient to maintain a nondiscriminatory admissions policy if the student population continues to reflect the former racial identification of that institution." The reason why I was startled by this passage was that I had just finished reading the text of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and found that it defined "desegregation" as nondiscrimination in the assignment or admission of pupils or students. That act also prohibits the assignment of students in order to overcome racial imbalance. I wondered therefore how the order could be implemented—how the racial identifiability of a predominantly Negro or a predominantly white college could be overcome—without running afoul of the law. Shortly after the orders were issued, the Star carried a story about the perplexity of the Maryland educators, with one of them coming up with a "Rube Goldberg" proposal for the state to grant scholarships to Negroes good only in predominantly white colleges and scholarships to whites good only in predominantly Negro colleges!

On April 20 I came upon tell-tale evidence that the Department of Housing and Urban Development was also among the agencies abusing the authority of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The evidence came in the course of an article by Ben Gilbert in the Washington Post praising the Regency House project for the elderly poor and urging that it be put through without delay. The Regency House is a luxury apartment house with air conditioning and a swimming pool situated in the high income area of upper Connecticut Avenue. Under the plan, which barring last-minute legal difficulties has now been signed, sealed and delivered, families of elderly poor will occupy apartments in this house and pay about one third of the commercial rents charged to present occupants. Gilbert, using

official sources, defined the new policy adopted by HUD requiring the location of public housing projects in high income areas as follows:

"Nearly a year ago, Don Hummel, then HUD assistant administrator for renewal and housing assistance, told local housing authorities to do what they could to locate public housing outside the ghettos, in accordance with the nondiscrimination requirements of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. [Emphasis my own] Hummel pointed to a 1967 low-rent housing manual directing authorities to select sites 'which will afford the greatest opportunity for inclusion of eligible applicants of all groups regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin, thereby affording members of minority groups an opportunity to locate outside of areas of concentration of their own minority group.'"

The low-rent housing manual is supposed to function as a set of guidelines for the application of the provisions of Title VI with regard to non-discrimination in public housing projects. But what are the housing provisions of Title VI? They are included in a general paragraph reading as follows:

"No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."

In my simple mind I could not help wondering about the magic that derives the Ben Gilbert paragraph, with all its tortuous formulations, from the simple language of Title VI.

A friend of mine, a retired government lawyer, suggested that I might be able to clear up my difficulties in understanding the policies of these agencies by asking them for the legal opinions (that is to say, opinions of their own counsel) on the basis of which the policies which I am complaining of were adopted. I realized that in the case of the Equal Employment Agencies the policies complained of were probably not put in writing, but in the case of the other two agencies (HEW and HUD) I followed my friend's suggestion and wrote letters on April 22 asking for the respective legal opinions justifying the policies I was questioning.

To date I have not received a satisfactory answer from either agency, but as a result of correspondence, conversation and research my worst fears have been confirmed. We are in the presence of a conspiracy by civil rights agencies to frustrate the will of Congress and carry out policies pushed by minority group agitators—policies which are doctrinaire and destructive of the welfare of the nation as a whole, including the welfare of the minorities.

To begin with HUD, I addressed my letter of April 22 to Secretary Romney. Under date of May 5, Assistant Secretary Lawrence M. Cox replied that "the Secretary has asked me to reply, and I shall do so shortly." On May 26 he wrote to Congressman Broyhill (whose assistance I had requested) assuring him that a detailed reply was being prepared for me. I am still waiting for that reply, but I learned in conversation (June 2) with Mr. Notti, of his office, some of the reasons for the delay. He told me that the adoption of the new site policy for public housing projects was not preceded by a legal opinion justifying the policy from the point of view of legal authority, but that the lawyers had simply cooperated with other officials in drawing it up. For this reason, he explained, it was necessary to prepare a legal justification from scratch in answer to my inquiry, and this required careful preparation and clearance, particularly in view of the fact that it was expected that I would publicize the agency reply. I wrote Mr. Cox yesterday expressing my amazement at the novel development in government, whereby the administrators of a great agency embark on a policy without a written statement

of the legal authority therefor. I thought it was on a par with trying to run a business without possessing a fire insurance policy.

From HEW I received a reply dated May 22 and signed by one, Burton Taylor, civil rights specialist. The letter simply asserted the proposition for which I wanted a reasoned proof—to wit, that "under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, state college systems which had previously segregated components must take steps to eliminate the racial identifiability of institutions within the system if a nondiscriminatory admissions policy has not had this result." The letter appended three court case references, and it turned out that the one court case which dealt with education on the college level *rejected* the demand that colleges have to take steps to eliminate racial identifiability, in addition to maintaining a nondiscriminatory admissions policy. This decision has been affirmed by the Supreme Court (over the objection of Justice Douglas).

The fact that HEW was taking a position in advance of what the Supreme Court is willing to accept and is being "more Catholic than the pope" led me to delve into the mysterious relationship between HEW's Civil Rights Office (which is charged to withhold funds from school boards not meeting the desegregation requirements specified in the Civil Rights Act) and the Department of Justice (which brings and stimulates suits to further interpret and apply the Supreme Court's *Brown* decision of 1954). I found unexpected help in a New York Times front page article on May 31, which while lauding the work of the two agencies explained how they cooperated.

The Times article describes the cooperation between the two agencies under the Democrats and indicates that the Nixon Administration proposes to intensify the cooperation. "Under the Democrats," the article declares, "these two approaches by the two departments were used as parallel devices. Frequently, when a requirement for desegregation was made stiffer by the Health, Education and Welfare Department, the Federal courts, under the prodding of Justice Department officials and other civil rights lawyers, would stiffen their requirements to conform to the new desegregation standards. It worked the other way, too, with the Health, Education and Welfare Department using a new court standard as leverage to gain acceptance of a similar change in its own guidelines."

The last statement is a bit of a euphemism, for the evidence is that the HEW uses a court decision not for the purpose of catching up but for the purpose of staking out new ground in advance of the court decision which it hopes to get the Supreme Court (via collusion with the Justice Department) to accept later on. But what stands out in the Times article is the admitted (and even boasted of) fact that the HEW operates on a progressive interpretation of the definitions and standards set down in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In other words, it operates by the procedure of tightening the screws after the public has become accustomed to a degree of pressure.

There is of course nothing wrong with Congress writing a law that goes into effect in specified stages. But the fact remains that Congress did not write such a law in Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. For a bureaucratic agency to interpret a specific statute progressively—calculating each time what they think they can get away with—is an unspeakable outrage on the American people. Never mind that the Supreme Court has succumbed to the vagaries of a progressive interpretation of its original decision in the *Brown* case of 1954. (The Supreme Court problem will have to be dealt with at the proper time.) Supreme Court decisions applying (as in the *Green* case) "higher standards of desegregation" in court cases brought before it do not legitimize—in my opinion—the higher standards used by HEW in admin-

istering its responsibilities under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. If Congress has chosen that funds should be cut off from school boards and institutions which do not meet the standard of desegregation defined as non-discrimination, that standard should remain the standard for cutting off funds regardless of what the Supreme Court does in court cases brought under the *Brown* decision.

Still less can HEW use Supreme Court decisions on public schools as authority for what it wants to do in the case of colleges. It cannot count on future decisions of the Supreme Court to legitimize its grab for power, particularly when the facts are that in its own court cases the Supreme Court has rejected that HEW standard.

If we combine the revelation that HEW uses a progressive interpretation of the law with the confession by HUD that it operates without a legal justification of its new policies, the picture we get is a truly alarming one. The Executive Department gets Congress to pass a law, and it accepts provisions that it does not like. But the next day it sticks the law into its pocket, and carries out policies which violate the law. This is a corruption of democratic government that is far more serious and far more dangerous than the mere monetary corruption of a few officials. This is a corruption that turns a government of laws into a government of invisible men, and turns our democracy into a dictatorship.

#### BLACK CAPITALISM AT ITS BEST

### HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 30, 1969

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the development of black entrepreneurship to date has been a slow, difficult, and frustrating process. Private business has been a successful means of entering the mainstream of American society for our Italian, Irish, Jewish, and other immigrants. But black citizens have encountered more deadends than white immigrants, primarily because of their visibility. We are slowly, painfully, and violently coming to the realization that the problems of racial discrimination, ghetto living conditions, and black unemployment can be solved only by a conscious effort of every sector of the society—public and private, black and white.

I submit an example of a successful program achieved through the cooperation of a black corporation, the Business & Job Development Corp. of Pittsburgh; the Federal Government, through the Economic Development Administration; and private business, the Westinghouse Corp.

The Business & Job Development Corp. is proving itself a winner. The Westinghouse plant described in the following article is the first of many ambitious projects to reach fruition. Presently, plans for another project, the Silver Lake Industrial Park, have been completed, and require only the necessary funds to become a reality. The Silver Lake Industrial Park has the potential to create 400 to 500 jobs for black citizens. The Business & Job Development Corp. is also running feasibility studies on a plastic products plant, a toy manufacturing plant, a vacuum metalizing plant, a drycleaning, rug cleaning, linen

service complex, and the manufacture of a revolutionary type of concrete block. These programs have all the earmarks of economically sound, feasible enterprises. They will generate black business worth \$10 million, and 1,200 new jobs, including over 100 management positions. Today, there are 50 major black businesses in Pittsburgh, with less than \$1.5 million assets. The administrative structure for the development of black capitalism has been established. Now, it only requires adequate funding.

The program is reported in an excellent article in the New York Times of June 8 which I include herewith for the attention of my colleagues:

[From the New York Times, June 8, 1969]

#### WESTINGHOUSE OPENS PLANT IN GHETTO

PITTSBURGH, June 7.—The Westinghouse Electric Corporation this week opened a new electric vehicle manufacturing plant in Pittsburgh's Homewood-Brushton Section, the city's second largest black ghetto.

D. C. Burnham, Westinghouse chairman, said that the plant could have been built more cheaply in the suburbs but that Westinghouse wanted to "commit its talents and resources toward helping the disadvantaged become productive and self sufficient."

Mr. Burnham, as Pittsburgh metropolitan chairman of the National Alliance of Businessmen last year, has been an initiator in seeking to hire the hard-core unemployed. Westinghouse has a plant in the Negro section of Greenmount in Baltimore and an assembly plant in a predominantly black area of Newark, N.J. In those cities and in East Pittsburgh, Westinghouse has set up training programs for the hard-core unemployed. But the Homewood-Brushton plant here is the first involving a whole new building.

The one-story concrete plant and 4.7 acres, containing 40,000 square feet, cost \$1.1-million. It was designed by Walter Roberts, a black architect, and was built mostly by black labor. It employs 40 persons, mostly black, as welders, motor winders, painters and machinists and is expected to employ 60 at full capacity. The workers go through a 12-week training course.

The plant was built by the Business and Job Development Corporation, a black-owned and operated agency, which has leased it to Westinghouse under a long-term agreement.

The plant manufactures two styles of battery-powered vehicles to transport personnel and equipment around industrial plants at from 6 to 8 miles an hour. At full capacity it will turn out 25 to 30 a week.

"We're altruistic," Mr. Burnham said. "The object is to make a profit for our stockholders." But, he added, he would like to see local businessmen buy the electric vehicles, which he guaranteed as "a good product at a good price."

Homewood-Brushton, where the plant is situated, was the scene of disorders in April, 1968, following the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. It is an area of generally high unemployment.

Mr. Burnham said, in that connection, that Westinghouse already has attained its goal of working in full cooperation with the black community to reach a common advantageous goal.

#### PISCATAWAY CRISIS AND BUILDING IN PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY

### HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 30, 1969

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, May 15, I called the attention of

my colleagues to the intolerable sewage situation existing in Prince Georges County in my congressional district.

At that time, an informational hearing was pending before the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee regarding the granting of a permit to cross Piscataway National Park with an effluent line. This permit still has not been granted. However, the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration recently approved a \$750,000 grant to the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission to finance a research project to make the Piscataway sewage treatment plant a model for tertiary treatment of sewage. This development makes it even more imperative that the Park Service promptly approve the permit to cross park land with the discharge line.

I would like to submit, at this time, the following article which appeared in the Washington Daily News on Friday, June 13, 1969, which further illustrates the magnitude of the problem which the lack of an effluent line poses to the residents of Prince Georges County and of the Piscataway Bay area in particular:

MORE ON THE PRINCE GEORGES BUILDING CRISIS  
(By Lew Schelman)

Prince Georges County, one of the fastest growing counties in the country, could become dormant as far as growth is concerned unless the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission is permitted to build an effluent discharge line thru U.S. park land to the Potomac River.

Without the line, a 54-inch buried pipe, the Commission cannot expand the Piscataway Sewer Treatment Plant, which serves a 92 square mile area (about a fifth of the County) running south from District Heights almost to the Charles County border and is now running at capacity.

#### DEVELOPMENT

And without expansion, the WSSC cannot issue any more connection authorizations. This means no new homes, no new schools, no new industry, no new businesses, no new shopping centers, no new service operations, and no expansion of any of the present facilities in the area.

In short there will be no new anything. Without new development, there will be no increase in the tax base. And without an increased tax base, taxes in the county, already the highest in the metropolitan area, will go even higher to pay for new and expanded government services needed and demanded by County residents.

"It takes little imagination to visualize the depressing economic effects that nondevelopment will have on the entire county if the Piscataway area remains at a standstill," says Jack Alfandre, president of the Suburban Maryland Home Builders Association, whose members are some of the biggest generators of revenues to local and state offices.

"Builders cannot afford to risk an indefinite waiting period. Mortgage bankers will not consider Piscataway because of the present uncertainty of the area. Land transactions stop when development stops. County and state planners and most importantly industry ignores a dormant area. The laborers and craftsmen find work elsewhere."

As in any controversial situation, there are two sides to whether the Commission should be permitted to build the discharge line.

On one are the conservationists, who feel that the line would destroy the aesthetics of the park land and add to the pollution of the Potomac. This faction is backed by several nonarea Congressmen, who are the ones holding up the permit.

On the other side of the argument are,

for lack of a better word, the "progressives," who, including the home builders, want the County to remain in the forefront of the Washington area growth pattern. In the case of the builders, they face not only time delays but possible financial ruin.

The conservationists' concern over aesthetics does not appear to be legitimate.

While the hearing convened last month by the House Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation was called to "ascertain the effect on the park by constructing a sewer conduit" across it, nearly every question put out by Sub-committee members dealt with pollution, an area over which the unit has no jurisdiction.

As far as the land is concerned, WSSC said that was decided on a route for the pipe that, for the most part, minimize damage to the land. Except for a few locations, construction will be confined to pasture, fields and other open areas.

#### CRUX

Pollution, on the other hand, is another matter and seems to be the crux of the controversy.

While critics contend that a new line will add to the pollution of the Potomac, the Commission says that the treatment of sewage at Piscataway is second to none of the other Washington area plants.

If the plant was expanded, part of it would be used for a federally-aided pilot study to determine a system of sewage treatment for use thruout the country, WSSC points out.

And while studies show that the Potomac could readily assimilate the effluent at the point where WSSC wants to drop it, the conservationists suggest that another dumping ground should be found or another plant built.

Certainly, the plant couldn't dump its increased effluent into the Piscataway Bay for the tidal flow there isn't strong enough to wash it into the River, where WSSC wants to dump it in the first place. The River, the Commission adds, actually carries pollution into the Bay.

To put a plant at Mattawoman Bay, as some have suggested, seems to be asking the people of Charles County to undertake the burdens of Prince Georges.

Additionally, the cost of another plant appears to be prohibitive at a time when the County is overspending its budget by 25 per cent and taxes are skyrocketing. It would cost to acquire new land (the site of the present plant is large enough to accommodate expansion), to build the plant, and, if it was built at the Mattawoman, to build a series of pumping stations.

Furthermore, it would take at least five years to build a new plant, but only 18 months to build a new line.

#### PERFORMANCE

The Commission has been asked to post a \$500,000 bond to assure the performance of the plant with regard to removing 90 per cent of the phosphate content from the effluent. No other plant in the area removes as much phosphate as Piscataway, yet none of them have been asked to post such a bond.

What's more, according to WSSC, the technology of sewage removal has not reached the point where 90 per cent of the phosphates can be removed nor has it been proved conclusively that phosphate contributes to pollution.

A lot of charges have been leveled about Piscataway's performance record, all of which WSSC says have been greatly exaggerated. The experts—the Maryland State Health Department and the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration—appear to be satisfied, however, and have approved its expansion.

As stated by Francis J. Aluisi, chairman of the PG County Commissioners, "there has without question been an awful lot of stench generated by any awfully small amount of well-treated effluent from this plant."

## THE NEW INTERNATIONAL RESERVE

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 30, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, May 10 of last year, the House passed H.R. 16911 to provide for U.S. participation in facility based on special drawing rights—SDR or "paper gold"—in the International Monetary Fund.

I include a report from Paris indicating that our European friends would rather have American gold than American paper:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, June 29, 1969]

EUROPEANS CRITICIZE U.S. PAPER GOLD PLAN  
(By Jonathan C. Randal)

PARIS, June 28—European creditor nations today sharply challenged U.S. plans for issuing large amounts of "paper gold" as the ten richest industrial countries unveiled their specific stands for the first time on creating the new international reserve assets.

Despite wide disagreement at the two-day meeting of top Western monetary officials, conference sources expressed hope that "paper gold" activation would be formally approved at a September meeting of the International Monetary Fund.

The consensus that agreement could be reached by the IMF in Washington somewhat offset misgivings by European creditor nations about the U.S. and British chances of righting their balance of payments deficits and controlling inflation.

These and other lingering doubts lay behind the restrictive position of such creditor nations as Belgium and the Netherlands. They cautiously favored limiting the first issue of the new reserve unit, called Special Drawing Rights, to \$2 billion for two years, with a review to issue more thereafter if debtor nations improve their positions.

At the other end of the spectrum was the United States, backed by Canada and presumably, Britain. Washington wanted to create annually for five years \$4.5 billion in SDRs, a new form of international money which central bankers would use along with gold, dollars and pounds to settle international debts.

#### CENTER POSITION

In the middle were West Germany and Italy, both major creditor nations. They favored creating \$3 billion worth annually for five years.

Conference sources described the initial stands as "skirmishing." While taking heart in the Belgian and Dutch willingness to review the situation after two years, some sources felt the position of these two relatively small nations was more than "the tail wagging the dog."

Under former President Charles de Gaulle, France spurned the SDRs as an "Anglo-Saxon" device to finance dollar and pound deficits. The conference sources indicated that the new French government favors issuing as little as \$1 billion worth a year.

Some pessimists fear France may persuade its five Common Market partners to adopt a restrictive position when their finance ministers meet in Brussels July 17.

If France were to succeed in such an attempt, the Common Market's 16 per cent share of IMF voting rights would constitute a veto at the Washington meeting for more ambitious U.S. plans.

#### COMPROMISE POSSIBLE

Barring such a development, conference sources predicted a compromise. They said

\$3 billion worth of SDRs would be issued for the first two years, with higher amounts being injected in the three following years once creditors' fears had been allayed about abuse by debtor nations.

While recognizing the need to enlarge world reserves in the face of constantly expanding international trade, the creditor nations prefer to increase IMF drawing right quotas rather than create large initial batches of SDRs.

Unlike "paper gold" which could be used without restriction, IMF quota shares can be employed only when a nation is in deficit. The distribution of increased IMF quotas—said to be projected in the \$5 to \$10 billion range—also determines the amount of SDRs each member nation would receive. With their deficit positions, the United States and Britain stand to have their IMF quotas proportionally reduced, with the European creditor nations picking up the difference. That would limit British and American participation in SDRs.

#### VOTING RIGHTS APPLY TO ALL

### HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 30, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I wish to direct the attention of the House to an editorial in the Milwaukee Sentinel for Saturday, June 28, that points out very accurately that what the Nixon administration is trying to do with the amendments to the Voting Rights Act is to extend the principle of equal justice for all citizens everywhere in the United States.

The editorial follows:

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Sentinel  
June 28]

#### APPLY TO ALL

Outlawing literacy tests or similar voter qualification devices in some states and districts and not in others is itself discriminatory. This is what the voting rights act of 1965 did and this is what supporters want it to continue to do by simply extending the law as is for five more years.

Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell, speaking for the Nixon administration, proposes a national ban on literacy tests. He says there is no longer any justification to apply the 1965 law only to the south. There never was.

As a leading proponent of keeping the voting rights law intact, Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), chairman of the house judiciary committee, argued that "I can't see the theory that because you have a flood in Mississippi you build a dam in Idaho.

Celler's analogy, while it may sound logical, does not hold water.

The 1965 law was loaded, aimed and fired to hit those areas where more than half the persons of voting age were not registered to vote. It has proved to be very effective in correcting massive discrimination.

In the process, however, the voting rights act violates the principle of equal justice for all citizens anywhere in the United States. A person living in Mississippi and unable to read or write could get to vote there, but, if he were to move to Wyoming, he could not.

It is no longer a question of whether literacy is a proper qualification for voting or of whether the national government has the power and authority to set voter qualifications for the states. Those questions were settled by the 1965 voting rights law which, even though made applicable only in seven southern states, established that literacy tests were not a valid means for screening

voters and that the federal government could tell states how they had to register voters.

In fairness, as Mitchell points out, one cannot support what amounts to regional legislation. If the federal government is going to suspend the literacy test qualification, it should do so on a nationwide basis. Because it didn't see fit to do so in 1965 is no reason why the legislative discrimination should now be extended for another five years.

#### CONGRESSMAN EILBERG AND 19 OTHERS SPONSOR LEGISLATION TO INCORPORATE THE HISTORIC NAVAL SHIPS ASSOCIATION

### HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 30, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure and no small amount of pride that I today have introduced a bill to incorporate the Historic Naval Ships Association for myself and 19 other Members: Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama, Mr. BARRETT, Mr. BUCHANAN, Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania, Mr. CASEY, Mr. CLARK, Mr. COUGHLIN, Mr. DICKINSON, Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama, Mr. ESHLEMAN, Mr. FLOWERS, Mr. FOUNTAIN, Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania, Mr. MACDONALD of Massachusetts, Mr. MORGAN, Mr. NICHOLS, Mr. NIX, Mr. WHALLEY, and Mr. WRIGHT.

The Historic Naval Ships Association now includes the following former U.S. Navy ships and the distinguished individuals representing them:

The U.S.S. *Olympia*, a Spanish-American War cruiser berthed at Philadelphia;

The U.S.S. *Texas*, a World War I battleship berthed at Houston;

The U.S.S. *North Carolina*, a World War II battleship berthed at Wilmington;

The U.S.S. *Alabama*, a World War II battleship berthed at Mobile; and

The U.S.S. *Massachusetts*, a World War II battleship berthed at Fall River.

The specific purposes of the bill which we have sponsored today are: first, with the cooperation of the Department of the Navy to maintain, preserve, and exhibit historical naval ships and associated memorials; second, to provide an organized corporate structure capable of maintaining liaison with the Department of the Navy and with other Federal and State organizations and agencies; third, to provide a vehicle in cooperation with the Department of the Navy for developing and maintaining the highest educational standards in presenting the naval history backgrounds and traditions of the eras depicted by the various historical ships; fourth, to provide an organization capable of accepting private donations and public funds which might be contributed or made available directly or through other interested organizations; and fifth, to provide an organization for the exchange of information and advice concerning all aspects of historical ships among the charter members of the association.

Many thousands of our finest Navy and Marine officers have served on these five

ships. The ships themselves, in their years of service, took part in a number of naval engagements of great historical significance. For these and other reasons, the five ships attract about 1,250,000 visitors annually. Each of these visits is an educational and a historical experience because the association has, over the years, made a determined effort to expand the information about the ships which is available to the visitors—about their role in naval and world history, about the bravery and dedication of the men who served on them and about the relationship of sea power to our Nation's role as a world power.

Mr. Speaker, the list of cosponsors of this bill indicates quite clearly that Members from each of the States in which these ships are berthed are quite concerned about the cost that upkeep of these ships entails. They are concerned, regardless of party, about the need to develop educational materials relating to the ships. They are also concerned that appropriate surroundings be provided at the berths of the ships.

Since 1966, the Historical Naval Ships Association has brought together the individuals and organizations comprising it through regularly scheduled meetings to develop plans for handling the expected increase in visitors, the growing maintenance problems, and for stimulating public education about these ships and their place in our history.

Part of the association's plans for the future include obtaining a Federal charter which is what the legislation we have sponsored today would accomplish. Prior to my introducing this bill, all the members of the association have approved it. All cosponsors of the bill represent the States in which the five ships are based. I am thankful to them for the concern about the future of these ships which they have evidenced in cosponsoring the legislation and I hope that other Members from the States involved who did not cosponsor the bill will do so in the future.

#### CHINESE CHRISTIANS COMMEMORATE 90TH ANNIVERSARY IN HAWAII

### HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 30, 1969

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, from its humble origins in 1877 the Chinese Christian community in Hawaii has experienced a long and notable history. What was a little community of 19 immigrant worshippers in 1877 has since grown to encompass an estimated 7,000 worshippers throughout the State in 1969.

For the members of the First Chinese Church of Christ in Hawaii this month commemorates the 90th anniversary of the founding of their mother church, which was located on Fort Street in the heart of downtown Honolulu. For four and a half decades the Fort Street Chinese Church served as the focal point for all Chinese mission work in the islands. Special English classes for hundreds of

young people and their parents supplemented the regular worship services and Sunday school classes. Greatly responsible for fostering the education of the Chinese boys were Mr. and Mrs. Francis Damon, the children of two prominent missionary families, who were affectionately known to the Chinese as Frank and Mother Damon.

After demographic changes made the Fort Street Church a less convenient site for its growing congregation, a new sanctuary and parish hall were built a few miles away on South King Street. This new church was dedicated as the First Chinese Church in 1929. The blending of the East and West within the Chinese Christian community became symbolized in the architecture of the new church. Its pagoda-like tower, for example, which symbolizes to the Chinese a place where evil spirits never dwell, is topped with a cross, the Western symbol of Christ.

I am sure that my colleagues will find it of great interest to read more about the inspirational founding and development of the Chinese Christian community in Hawaii. For this purpose I am pleased to submit for inclusion in the RECORD an excellent article by Advertiser staff writer Corinne Opsahl, "From a Mustard Seed—Chinese Christians Commemorate 90th Anniversary in the Islands," which appeared in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin and Advertiser of May 25, 1969:

FROM A MUSTARD SEED—CHINESE CHRISTIANS  
COMMEMORATE 90TH ANNIVERSARY IN THE  
ISLANDS

(By Corinne Opsahl)

Armed with their baptismal certificates and an interpreter named Sit Moon, a small band of 19 Chinese Christian immigrants paid an important call in 1877 on the Rev. Samuel C. Damon, minister of the Seamen's Bethel Church in Honolulu.

The purpose of their visit: "Assistance in their Christian nurture." They wanted a place to worship.

The Reverend Damon was so impressed with the little group, most whom had been converted to Christianity by Basel missionaries to South China, that he made his own church available to them for Sunday afternoon services.

His enthusiasm was echoed by the Honolulu Advertiser, (which had previously doubted the wisdom of importing so many foreigners to work on the plantations).

"Our principal objection to the Chinese as immigrants," the Advertiser editorialized in 1877, "has been the demoralizing influence they have on the Hawaiians. But if they come like these, with certificates of Christian character, then we say, the more the better . . ."

#### BETTER THAN HEATHENS

The white population of the larger Honolulu community rallied to the positive influence of both the reverend and the newspaper. A common expression among the 'haloes' of Honolulu during those early days—"A Chinaman's word is as good as bond," is reported to have emerged from first-hand observation of Chinese integrity, frugality and industriousness.

Besides donating facilities for Sunday worship, the Reverend Damon further expressed his interest in the newcomers by starting a small night school in the parish hall of his church to teach English to the Chinese.

#### HUMBLE BEGINNINGS

These humble beginnings have been pinpointed as the mustard seed from which the small Chinese Christian community took

root. It has since grown to encompass an estimated 7,000 worshippers throughout the Islands.

Nine hundred of these are members of the First Chinese Church of Christ in Hawaii, which will this week commemorate the 90th anniversary of the founding of the "mother church." (An accompanying story sets forth the events scheduled in celebration.)

On June 8, 1879, the Ecclesiastical Council approved a petition to the Hawaiian Evangelical Association for permission to organize the Chinese church. Luke Aseu, acting on behalf of the young congregation, purchased at auction a lot on Fort Street between Bere-tania and Kukui Streets for \$4,500.

A charter of incorporation was granted Oct. 3, 1879, by King Kalakaua, and the membership began to raise funds to build a church. The first board of trustees included The Rev. Samuel Damon, Dr. C. M. Hyde, W. W. Hall, J. B. Atherton, John T. Waterhouse, Lew Chong, Goo Kim, Sit Moon, Chun Fook and Luke Aseu.

The new building was dedicated Jan. 2, 1881 as the "Fort Street Chinese Church." It had been built at the cost of \$6,500.

#### INTER-ISLAND MISSIONARIES

For the next four and a half decades, the church served as the focal point for all Chinese mission work in the Islands. Hundreds of youngsters and their parents were taught both English and Chinese. Sunday school classes and regular worship services were held.

During the two disastrous fires in Chinatown, one in 1886 and the other in 1898, the church grounds were used as a refugee camp for the homeless.

One of the most distinguished contributions to the early Chinese church in Hawaii, was made by Francis Williams Damon and his wife Mary Happer Damon.

Young Damon, the son of the Rev. Samuel Damon, was educated at Oahu College (now Punahou School) and after graduation from Amherst College, Mass., returned to the Islands to teach languages at Punahou.

In 1877, he traveled to Berlin as Secretary of the Hawaiian Legation there. He returned to Honolulu via India and China, and in Canton met the young woman he later married—Miss Mary Happer, daughter of a well-known American missionary in China.

#### A DISARMING BLONDE

The new Mrs. Damon, blonde and blue-eyed, totally disarmed local Chinese residents with her fluency in their language. She was thoroughly familiar with the life and customs of the Orientals and with evangelistic work among them.

Frank and Mother Damon, as they were affectionately called by the Chinese, ministered not only to the spiritual needs of the people, but fostered the education of Oriental boys.

In 1892, with six students, the couple opened a school in their home on Chaplain Lane. Mills Institute, as the school was later named to honor Damon's mother, Julia Mills, eventually combined in 1923 with the Kawaiahao Girls' Seminary to become the Mid-Pacific Institute, located in Manoa Valley.

As the Chinese people in Chinatown began to shift to suburban areas, the Fort Street Church in downtown Honolulu was no longer conveniently located for much of its congregation.

Later, when erection of the Princess Theater directly opposite the church distracted worship and posed a parking problem, the membership decided a new site for the church must be found. The search was led by C. K. Ai, William Kwai Fong Yap, Tong Phong and Ho Fon.

#### PERMANENT HOME AT LAST

In 1926, the old Gransville Hotel property at 1054 So. King St. was purchased for

\$65,000, the same amount the church had received when they sold the Fort Street Property.

At the new site, there were some old wooden buildings, but no place for worship. Spearheaded by generous donations from Mr. and Mrs. C. K. Ai and Frank C. Atherton, the membership pledged \$75,000 in funds for a new sanctuary and parish hall.

Hart Wood submitted the winning architectural sketch for the new church which combined the building concept from Old China with those of the West.

The pagoda-like bell tower symbolizes to the Chinese "a place where evil spirits never dwell." It is topped with a cross, the Western Christian symbol of Jesus.

Within the sanctuary, two stained-glass windows symbolize God's eternal light.

Four Chinese wrought-iron chandeliers are designed with the flowers of each season—plum blossoms for spring, orchids for summer, chrysanthemums for autumn and bamboo for winter.

#### SYMBOL CORRUPTED

The ancient swastika-like symbols on the pews represent "eternal blessedness" to the Chinese. (The swastika popularized by Adolph Hitler in World War II is this same design, but reversed.)

The new church was dedicated June 16, 1929, and a \$12,000 pipe organ was donated by Mr. and Mrs. Farm Cornn and Mr. and Mrs. C. K. Ai. The old pump organ from the Fort Street church was placed in the front of the sanctuary, as a historic reminder of the Chinese Christians' humble beginnings.

Property adjacent to the church was purchased and in 1958, Master's Hall was built to hold Sunday School classes.

An educational building was added in 1964 to serve the 750 youngsters now enrolled in church school. Founders Hall, as the building was named, is used for a day nursery and kindergarten with approximately 100 children enrolled. The building also houses a library, a board room and offices for the pastor and associate pastor.

Pastor of the First Chinese Church of Christ in Hawaii is the Rev. Charles M. C. Kwok. Associate Pastor is the Rev. Wendell P. Loveless. Benjamin F. Kong is chairman of the board of trustees, Mrs. Fred Chang is director of music and Mrs. Harold W. F. Lee is pre-school principal.

#### TRIBUTE TO HON. WILLIAM H. BATES

#### HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 23, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, as all Members are, I am profoundly shocked and deeply regretful that our fine colleague BILL BATES, a very distinguished Member of this body, is no longer with us. BILL was beloved by all of us—regardless of our political affiliations. He deserved this love, for he was a fine and respected Congressman.

I do not know how to put into words the depth of feeling that pervades my entire being as I realize that God has taken BILL BATES to Heaven and that he will not be here again except in spirit. Somehow it does not seem right. Rarely is there to be found such a man, such a leader, such a dedicated adherent of principle as WILLIAM BATES.

His life was an example of courage and devotion. His smile and ready offer

of assistance was extended to every constituent and every Member. He loved nature as well as his church and it was my privilege to share with him and his lovely wife Jean, the happiness and contentment of BILL's cottage on the shores of Lake Winnepesaukee in my own great State of New Hampshire. It was there that BILL found relaxation and a sense of fulfillment in his leisure time—which for BILL was all too infrequent. Between blueberries, which abounded on his property, and white sandy shores along a beautiful lake, spring-fed with drinking water under powder-puff clouds amidst a sky of azure, BILL was the happiest I have ever known him. It is a crime that the Lord did not permit him to have more time there for certainly he earned it.

I guess the only way to look at BILL's tragic passing is to conclude that God has more important work for BILL elsewhere. His life and his accomplishments are a living testimonial to a man whose greatness was to be seen in everything he did and everyone with whom he came in contact. Few Members of Congress have enjoyed the universal respect and warm admiration that was extended to the gentleman from Salem, Mass. He was indeed a good man in the fullest sense of that phrase, and to a man we of the House of Representatives mourn his passing and extend to his beloved widow Jean, his daughter, his brothers and his family our deepest sympathy and our heartfelt sorrow.

**PLANNED NIXON VISIT TO RUMANIA  
CASTS DOUBT ON DESIRE OF ADMINISTRATION  
TO SUCCEED  
WITH ARMS TALKS**

**HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 30, 1969

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the upcoming arms control—SALT—talks with the Soviet Union are the most important international event of a generation. If they fail, the arms race will escalate, the desperate needs of our homefront will go on being neglected, and the world will continue to live in terror of a nuclear annihilation. If the talks succeed, we will be able to bring our spending for military needs under control, and a start will have been made toward a world organized for life instead of for death.

In the light of this, it is profoundly disturbing that the Nixon administration seems to have no real interest in the SALT talks. The administration's actions give no indication that it appreciates the importance or urgency of the talks. On the contrary, the evidence suggests that the President is only going through the motions and has no real hope, or perhaps even desire, that the talks should achieve anything.

How can we otherwise interpret the President's decision to visit Rumania in August, just when the talks should be getting underway? The projected visit to Rumania is a tragic mistake, for it is like the jab of a needle at one of the Soviets'

most sensitive nerves: fear of dissension and revolt in their own Communist backyard, the same fear that led the Soviets to outrage world opinion—and much Communist opinion—by invading Czechoslovakia. Thus, the visit seems bound to cast doubt in Soviet minds on our sincerity in wanting the talks to succeed.

Other items that indicate the administration's negative attitude toward the SALT talks are:

First. At the Air Force Academy graduation the President devoted an entire major speech to stressing the importance of the military, with only a passing reference to the arms control talks. His one sentence statement that the United States was preparing to make "new initiatives" in the talks sounded like reassurance to the military that nothing serious would be attempted but that, of course, a record of apparent effort had to be made.

Second. The President recently appointed a delegation for the SALT talks consisting of four men widely regarded as "hardliners" on military matters, in addition to the Director of the ACDA, Gerard Smith.

Third. So far the President has ignored the warnings of prominent Republicans in the Congress, as well as of Democrats, that continued testing of the MIRV weapons system will jeopardize the success of the talks.

Fourth. According to various accounts, the administration wants to test the Soviets desire for détente, including arms control, by the Russian performance in the Middle East. These reports suggest that the Soviets are far more anxious for arms limitations than the United States. If there is evidence to support that view, it should be made known.

The difficulties and complexities of the SALT talks are bound to be enormous. Problems of verification of any agreed limitations will be especially acute, since neither side trusts the other and since onsite inspections will probably be as firmly resisted as before. Thus, in spite of their great importance, the talks can succeed only if both sides approach them with a sense of urgency and determination that, unhappily, neither side has demonstrated so far.

**UNITED STATES-U.S.S.R. SPACE  
COOPERATION**

**HON. GEORGE P. MILLER**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 30, 1969

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, the American Astronautical Society has again demonstrated that science can be the catalyst to bring the world together.

Coming out of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space are three treaties accepted by a large number of nations, including Russia, pertaining to space.

The action of the American Astronautical Society in inviting Russian scientists to appear before it is very encouraging.

On June 20th the American Astronautical Society held its 15th annual meeting in Denver, Colo., in joint sessions with the Operations Research Society of America. For the first time, two high-ranking Soviet scientists attended the joint meetings of these two societies—Professor Hodarev, Deputy Director for Cosmic Research, and Professor Ivanov, a professor of mathematics at the Institute for Automation and Remote Control of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Professor Ivanov presented the general chairman of the meeting with a copy of a book of which he was coauthor. In response, at the concluding luncheon on June 20, the vice president for publications of the American Astronautical Society, Dr. George K. Chacko, presented Professor Ivanov with a copy of volume 21 entitled *Reducing the Cost of Space Transportation*. Dr. Chacko edited the volume which is the proceedings of the seventh annual Goddard Memorial Symposium where I had the privilege of introducing Dr. Werner von Braun to the American Astronautical Society, and writing a message for inclusion in the proceedings.

What made the simple ceremony significant was the reference by Dr. Chacko, who was born in India, to the pride of his American citizenship. He made his point in a short speech in Russian which was well understood and appreciated by the Russian scientists. Because of its significance, Dr. Chacko's speech was carried on the air by KLZ-TV in part and reported by the Denver Post. In his speech Dr. Chacko said:

Professor Ivanov, the American Astronautical Society is delighted that you and Professor Hederov could be personally present at our national meeting.

As a small token of our deep appreciation of your personal participation in our deliberations, may I present you with a copy of the latest proceedings of our Symposium.

This scientific cooperation is personally meaningful to me as an East Indian by birth whom the American people have graciously accepted as a full member, and who shares with you a Greek first name—George!

Fellow-scientists, to our common exploration of our galaxy!

The article from the June 22, 1969, edition of the Denver Post follows:

**RUSSIAN SCIENTIST JOINS TOAST DRUNK IN  
WATER**

Water—the fluid of life on earth—was drunk as a toast here Friday by a Russian and an American scientist at the final luncheon of the joint national meeting of the American Astronautical Society (AAS) and the Operations Research Society of America.

The occasion was the presentation to Prof. Yuri N. Ivanov of a copy of the latest volume in the AAS Science and Technology Series. Presenting it was the editor, Dr. George K. Chacko of Washington, D.C.

Ivanov and Yuli C. Hodarev of the USSR Academy of Science were here as guests at the Denver meeting.

In presenting the new book, "Reducing the Cost of Space Transportation," Dr. Chacko, a native of India, now senior staff scientist for the TRW Systems Group in Washington, spoke in Russian—a courtesy much appreciated by the Soviet visitors. He said:

"The American Astronautical Society is delighted that you and Prof. Hodarev could be personally present at our national meeting. As a small token of our deep appreciation of your personal participation in our

deliberations, may I present you with a copy of the latest proceedings of our Symposium.

"This scientific cooperation is personally meaningful to me as an East Indian by birth whom the American people have graciously accepted as a full member, and who shares with you a Greek first name—George (Yuri in Russian).

"Fellow scientists, to our common exploration of our galaxy."

Here Dr. Chacko presented a glass of water to the smiling visitor, and they drank the toast.

#### A TRIBUTE TO EARL WARREN

### HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 30, 1969

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, the retirement of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court marks the end of the Warren era, one of the most progressive periods in the history of the judicial branch of our Government.

Earl Warren's history as a public servant manifests an unusual combination of aggressive leadership and keen insight to recognize the need for change in the face of opposition from proponents of the status quo. A unique perception enabled the Chief Justice to look beyond the narrow tradition of the Supreme Court as he found it and to risk evoking criticism and controversy in descending far-reaching decisions which have acted as catalysts in effecting progressive social and political change.

A hard-working effort to bring realistic evolution into the interpretation of the Constitution characterized Earl Warren's 16 years as Chief Justice. Such an attempt required an understanding of the law and an interest to broaden the concept of law to make it responsive to the needs of the people. Few Chief Justices share Mr. Warren's distinction of assuming more than a passive role reinforcing past precedent. He ventured beyond the established and accepted judicial boundaries of the Supreme Court to evaluate the meaning of justice in modern times. The indomitable urge to follow his convictions far surpassed his concern for public opinion and pressures of conformity.

Although the "landmark rulings" of the Warren Court were the result of the collective decisions of the Supreme Court Justices, Earl Warren's guidance and leadership promoted an atmosphere of judicial activism. The three most important court rulings of his term manifest the influence of Earl Warren as the humanitarian and civil libertarian who sought to protect individual rights when challenged by the immense power of the State and to make the Constitution a viable set of principles.

Brown against the Board of Education ended the "separate but equal" education and created a national awareness into the problems of racial injustice. This reaffirmation of the legal right to live in dignity and equality was not an aberration from the Supreme Court's jurisdiction but an interpretation which realized the long denied equal protection of the rights of black people guaranteed under the 14th amendment.

Due process of law was extended to the indigent and to people ignorant of the law in the Miranda decision. This ruling upheld the constitutional rights of a person in custody to be informed of the nature of an accusation against him, to remain silent, and to see a lawyer before being questioned by the police. The impact of this Warren opinion had a far-reaching effect on the upholding of civil liberties in the field of criminal procedure.

The retiring Chief Justice evinced his willingness to confront the opposition of powerful interests in the historic decision of Baker against Carr. The Federal Court's review of electoral apportionment restored the principle of "one man, one vote" and assured the democratic process in the fair representation of the people in the United States. Although Mr. Warren was heavily criticized for interfering with the legislative branch, he had the courage and the initiative to introduce an issue, which Congress had evaded, in an attempt to effectively "check" this branch of the Government and to promote much needed reform.

In expanding the perspective of the Supreme Court from isolation to an active involvement in the interpretation of the law relevant to the issues of our time, Earl Warren successfully reaffirmed "equal justice under law," a principle upon which our Nation was established. Above all, Earl Warren will be remembered for his liberalism in action and for his great contributions to our country.

I wish to thank Earl Warren not only for being a great Chief Justice but also a great Governor of my State of California. As much as any man, Earl Warren motivated me to enter into politics when I was a student at Occidental after World War II. Although a Democrat, I was a supporter of Warren's progressive concepts during his time as Governor. Indeed, I was not alone in 1950. Earl Warren won both the Republican and Democratic primaries for Governor.

I wish the Chief Justice and Mrs. Warren a long and happy retirement. May the grunion run heavy at Santa Monica and ducks keep flying in the Upper Sacramento Valley.

#### DRAFT REFORM

### HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 30, 1969

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, I am currently undertaking a survey of the views and attitudes of high school principals, college presidents, and members of selective service draft boards in my district on the draft and draft reform proposals. Being of the belief that there is much value in Congress going directly to those citizens who are directly involved with a particular issue, I have requested the assistance of these persons in formulating some attitudes for upcoming consideration of selective service revision.

I have just received a most beneficial and informative letter from Mr. Calvin

Hewitt of Racine, Wis., expressing some observations of Local Board No. 31, Racine County, Wis. As evidence of the national concern of my constituents and as an expression of much significance, I am including the letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and commend its reading to Members of Congress:

JUNE 26, 1969.

Congressman HENRY SCHADEBERG,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SCHADEBERG: Your letter to Stanley Przlowski, Chairman of Local Board No. 31, was read with interest by the five board members, and I was informally designated as the one to reply. I am in my fifth year of service on the board and as a part-time board member who contributes eight, ten or more hours each month to my uncompensated responsibility to administer the Selective Service laws, and as a full-time local citizen who is fully aware of the effect of the "draft" upon the local community, I trust my observations may be of some interest to you.

Even though the local board member is knowledgeable about the "draft," he finds that joining the debate about the "draft" could impede his effectiveness as an administrator. Generally, we quietly observe, and listen to the bias, half-truths, and condemnations espoused by the uninformed and/or malcontents. Too often persons of considerable stature in government, educational institutions and the news media, display shameful ignorance of the selective service system.

As an administrator of the selective service laws, my perspective must be oriented to my understanding of national interests as it affects all the registrants under Local Board 31's jurisdiction, and how this in turn affects the individual registrants who are being considered for classification. I presume that your perspective as a Congressman charged with the responsibility of providing for our national security, must begin at this point of issue, and after you decide the needs of our national security, must then consider the best way of providing security and finally a system that affects all of your constituents consistent with fullest equity and justice.

I believe that until such time as our military commitments may be appreciably reduced, the present draft system should continue to serve as a flexible supply of men to the armed services. Improvement in the procedures are always possible and desirable. The present system of local boards exercising very limited discretionary powers for granting deferments is both democratic and more uniformly practiced than is generally believed. Stricter guidelines for deferments for critical employment, graduate level education and for conscientious objectors could be an improvement. It may also help if Congress would appropriate sufficient funds to examine all 19 year olds so that acceptability can be determined at an early date. I believe the present selection of the oldest first should be continued for the present and for the foreseeable future. The idea of random selection may make sense at some future date, but it would create greater inequities than presently exist if instituted at this time.

One must consider the fact that the present system of selection has been built upon both the successes and the failures experienced throughout the history of our country. The fact of military service is certainly more disruptive to an individual's life than the fact of obligation to serve. One incontestable fact is the military mission is best served by male youths in the 19 to 26 year age bracket. By imposing reasonable standards for acceptance into military service, a certain percentage of this age group will be found physically, mentally, or morally unaccept-

able. It is obvious that inequity in the 19 to 26 year age group is impossible to avoid.

It is my belief that our Republican form of government places a specific burden of responsibility upon each citizen. In our pluralistic free society, the degree of individual responsibility must increase in proportion to the increase in the social and economic diversity of our citizens, and the task of achieving greater justice and equity under the law becomes increasingly difficult to attain. Those citizens who are physically, mentally, or morally disadvantaged must necessarily assume a lesser share of the burden and thus a greater share of responsibility must be borne by those more favorably endowed. It seems there is considerable shirking of responsibility by some young people and too much pampering of this attitude by some adults. The present selective service system continues to serve its mission in spite of the physical and verbal barbs hurled at it by self-seeking, misguided, people who display little understanding of or concern for our national interests. It is my opinion that this session of Congress should spend very little time on this matter because it has already been studied more than adequately. I strongly recommend little or no statutory change in the system in this session of Congress.

For your information I am enclosing a copy of a letter I wrote in January, 1968, which covers some of my attitudes and opinions about the draft. One additional subject should be touched upon, that of the so called voluntary military service. The some 1,400 men and women presently in the armed services from Local Board #31's area of jurisdiction (Kenosha County) represents approximately 4 enlistees for every 1 inductee. The board members are aware of many enlistments motivated by the draft, but there is no realistic measure of how many are primarily motivated by the "draft." A feasibility study of the voluntary military should begin with the present retention rates of the various services. In my opinion, due to a lack of a military tradition (ours is a concept of the civilian oriented "citizen soldier") and unfortunately modest to low status of military careers, an all volunteer force is impractical. Even if it was practical, I would question the desirability of an institutionalized professional military as being out of character with our very successful experience with the civilian oriented military. It is paradoxical to hear the same people bewailing the "military-industrial complex" and at the same instance strongly urging the abolishment of the draft in favor of an all volunteer professional military. I pray that Congress will be able to consider this matter in its proper perspective.

Yours truly,

CALVIN HEWITT,  
Member of Local Board No. 31.

#### CONFERENCE ON NATIONAL PRIORITIES AND MILITARY SPENDING

**HON. DONALD M. FRASER**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 30, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, on May 23 and 24 the three Democratic Congressmen and two Democratic U.S. Senators from Minnesota sponsored a conference on national priorities and military spending. The conference was held in St. Paul, Minn.

The first day of the conference was devoted to public hearings, and the re-

sponse was gratifying. More than 40 witnesses spoke in support of or opposition to a broad variety of issues, many of them controversial.

Congressman JOSEPH E. KARTH of St. Paul and his staff made most of the arrangements for the conference, aided by an able and hard-working volunteer committee. Congressman KARTH and I were chairmen of the first day's hearings.

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of Mr. KARTH and myself, I offer several representative papers to be reprinted in the RECORD. I wish to make it clear that these papers are included because they typify the kinds of diverse thinking that went into their preparation. Both Congressman KARTH and I have read the testimony of the other Minnesotans who appeared, and we agree that the general quality of the statements was excellent. No derogation of any other paper is intended by our choice of the ones that follow. Shortage of space simply precludes reprinting them all.

Prof. Martin Dworkin of the University of Minnesota made this presentation on biological warfare:

#### BIOLOGICAL WARFARE

My name is Martin Dworkin, and I hold a Ph. D. degree in microbiology. I am a professor of microbiology at the Medical School of the University of Minnesota and am speaking today as a representative both of the Minnesota New Democratic Coalition and the Scientists' Committee on Chemical and Biological Warfare. This latter group was recently formed at the national meeting of the American Society for Microbiology. My remarks today will be limited to biological warfare and will, I hope, present a dimension of the problem which is not usually obvious during debates on this subject.

While I have strong feelings as to the moral propriety of biological warfare and of biological warfare research, I do not intend today to speak to you about those feelings. What I would like to do instead is to take a somewhat more pragmatic and perhaps technical approach. I hope to be able to convince you that biological warfare is a boondoggle. It simply doesn't work. It is a waste of the taxpayer's money.

From a tactical point of view what advantages does biological warfare offer over chemical warfare? Under what kinds of circumstances would one wish to use biological warfare in contrast to a variety of horribly effective and deadly gases? It seems that there is only one essential feature of biological warfare which makes it unique, and that is, its epidemic quality—its ability to start a chain reaction. There is, however, one flaw in this approach and that is, fortunately, scientists simply do not know how to start epidemics. Unfortunately, neither do we know in many cases how to stop epidemics. In a recent talk at Stanford University, one of the eminent proponents of biological warfare, in an attempt to impress his audience with the effectiveness of biological warfare, told the grisly story of a deranged microbiologist who managed to infect 100 individuals in his town with typhoid. He accomplished this by inoculating sponge cake, various beverages, and bananas with a culture of the typhoid bacillus. One can visualize an army of saboteurs running about a country with hypodermic syringes inoculating people's bananas. This is probably the most effective approach available.

In addition to our lack of understanding as to the nature of the complex variety of factors which are necessary to initiate an epidemic, we are unable to combine the two features required to achieve an effective biological warfare agent—that is, (1) high in-

fectivity and (2) high stability to the environment. There are many organisms which possess extremely high infectivity but lack stability; there are many organisms with stability, which are of low infectivity. Let me give you some examples: Brigadier General Rothschild, a proponent and participant in the Army's CBW program, is fond of talking about clouds of anthrax spread over nations. Anthrax, by the way, has long been one of the favorite objects of biological warfare research. Anthrax is a bacillus which forms a resistant body called a spore. This spore can tolerate essentially any normal environmental stress to which it is subjected and thus fulfills one of the requirements mentioned above. Fortunately, however, anthrax fails to fulfill the other requirement—that of high infectivity. While it is highly infectious for sheep, the experimental animal which is frequently used in investigating anthrax, it is as much as 100,000-fold less infective for humans. As a matter of fact, over the past 70 years there have been only 20 cases of naturally occurring pulmonary anthrax in the United States, despite the protracted exposure of numerous workers to high density aerosol clouds of anthrax in tanneries and fur processing factories. I could quote for you a great deal more evidence, but time simply does not permit. Let me just emphasize that the data simply do not justify the conclusion that this organism, the only truly resistant pathogenic bacterium which we know, is capable of a sufficient infectivity to warrant its use as a biological warfare agent.

There is a wide variety of bacteria, rickettsia and viruses which do indeed have an extremely high infectivity, both for experimental animals and for human beings. In all of these cases, however, the organisms are characterized by extremely high sensitivity to environmental stresses. They lose viability at an exponential rate when exposed to the atmosphere. They are extraordinarily sensitive to ultraviolet irradiation, to temperature changes, to changes in humidity, and in fact, an oblique benefit may be derived from the polluted environment of many of the large cities, in that many of these organisms are especially sensitive to the environment when in the presence of atmospheric pollutants.

At one time it had been considered that insect vectors might be an effective means of transmission of various viral and rickettsial agents. This has turned out to be so highly impractical and so fraught with unfathomable complexities that the idea of using insect vectors has essentially been dropped.

To summarize, then, this particular point, the essential utility of biological warfare weapons is based on faulty premises. These are (1) that one knows how to cause an epidemic, (2) that one knows how to stop an epidemic once it has been started, and (3) that there are organisms with a sufficiently high infectivity and a sufficiently high resistance to the environment so that they will withstand not only the stresses induced by the normal environment but also the extreme stress of the dissemination process such as aerosolization or explosion.

Why then the fuss over biological warfare? Let me spend a minute or so tracing the history of the development of biological warfare. After World War I the Chemical Warfare Service was somewhat in a state of doldrums. They were left with two gases from the first World War (I believe they were lewisite and mustard gas). This was at a time when the admirals were screaming for battleships, airforce generals screaming for airplanes, and here was the Chemical Warfare Service with its two measly poison gases. At the beginning of the second World War, a group of microbiologists managed to persuade the government that it would be useful and effective for the United States to develop a

biological warfare program. This was eagerly adopted by the Chemical Warfare Service whose concept of the tactical use of biological warfare weapons was spectacularly unimaginative. They viewed biological weapons simply as a more effective or more frightening gas which could be sprayed over the trenches much in the same way as poison gas could. Suddenly the Chemical Warfare Service was in business again. The biological warfare program received enthusiastic massive support by the administration. Fort Detrick was founded in, I believe, 1943, and went into active and vigorous operation. By the way, the biological warfare activities of Fort Detrick were secret even from Congress. The operations were administered and funded through the executive branch without any approval or control whatsoever from the legislative arm of the government. From this beginning there emerged the biological warfare establishment at Fort Detrick. The fact that the tactical utility of germ warfare (if it ever existed) has been eclipsed by the more effective chemical warfare weapons has had no effect whatever on the biological warfare establishment. Like many other government organizations their mere existence has become their justification. Now in comparison to the ABM, biological warfare is "small potatoes" . . . perhaps a half billion dollars a year, but when one realizes that the total NIH training grant program for the basic sciences consists of \$35 million, these "small potatoes" suddenly begin to loom large.

There are at least two reasons why I feel it necessary to raise my voice in objection to the biological warfare program going on in the U.S. First, there is a deep and terrible sickness in our society which not only permits but lavishly supports scientists devoted to finding better ways to give children smallpox. After all, in a general biological warfare attack on a population, it would always be the children and the aged who suffer first. Second, biological warfare is yet another example of government spending which is in no way productive, either from the point of view of national welfare, national security, or national defense. Like the relationship between the ABM and the military-industrial complex, the perpetuation of the biological warfare establishment—military and scientific—has become more important than the utility of its existence.

Let me close with two specific suggestions: First that biological warfare appropriations be received and evaluated with the same hard scrutiny used to evaluate programs of social welfare; that it be evaluated with the facts in mind rather than in response to the scare tactics used by the biological warfare establishments. The horrifying charisma of biological warfare has been used not only by the biological warfare doves, to frighten us into opposition, but even more effectively by the biological warfare hawks, to frighten us into supporting their program.

Secondly, I propose that Fort Detrick be converted to the Fogarty International Institute for the Study of Infectious Disease. Its facilities for handling and investigating agents of infectious disease are unmatched. The establishment can remain essentially unchanged, but now with open doors accessible to the scrutiny of the entire scientific community. It would now be dedicated not to seeking in its dark, dank corners for better ways to infest the earth, but rather to the eradication of disease and the betterment of the human condition.

One of the strongest threads running through the conference testimony was opposition to increased American nuclear capability and support for disarmament. The following paper was delivered by Gordon Moosbrugger, State chairman of the Minnesota chapter of Americans for Democratic Action:

The problem of speaking to the subject of

national priorities and war and peace is that everyone is probably in agreement. Ex-President Johnson, Representative Gerald Ford, Senators Goldwater and Russell all hate war and desire peace, and would rather domestic problems be given priority over military expenditures, but for all the familiar excuses why this war in Vietnam is necessary and why we need more nuclear capability, and so on.

Rather than to attempt to analyze the reasons why ADA thinks we don't need more nuclear capability and why we shouldn't be in Vietnam and why we should concentrate on domestic needs, I'm going to state briefly and generally certain fundamental propositions.

First, we don't need more nuclear capability simply because we already have more than enough. Secondly, the very momentum of our huge military establishment is dragging us closer to war by its own weight. We are engaged in a race with the Soviet Union, and China. The race consists in building ever greater nuclear capability, but this is only the manner of conducting the race. The end or goal of that race is obliteration of this planet.

There is an alternative—it is disarmament. But this cannot happen except by halting this arms race, this mad dance of death, and reversing the process. The arms race cannot reach this goal, it's moving in the opposite direction.

Traditional American policy has been to act only in concert with the world community through treaties for collective security or through the United Nations. Our present role of world policeman is a radical departure from traditional American foreign policy. A policeman necessarily acts arbitrarily and unilaterally as he relates to the situation in which he acts. This is our role in Vietnam. It is a lonely, ungratifying role. It makes enemies, and we become so obsessed with this role that we ask, "Why don't these Vietnamese appreciate what we're trying to do for them?" And we ask, "Why doesn't the rest of the world respect us for doing what obviously is a painful duty?"—and we begin to sound slightly paranoid.

The result of our radical change in foreign policy from that of one in a community of equal sovereign nations to that of world policeman has many consequences, some of them rather subtle. Ours has always been a civilian democracy, contrasted to the military states of Europe and elsewhere. The military service meant just that—a service, a public service, not a political and economic force in the affairs of our nation. Now we hear warnings of the dangerous power of the military industrial complex. By contrast, many foreign states which used to be really military states are relieved of the huge expenditures for the military, and have achieved new levels of civilian democracy.

I will close by quoting from a Senate subcommittee on International Organizations and Disarmament hearing on March 26, 1969, as quoted in the May issue of the ADA World. Deputy of Defense Secretary Packard (speaking about the ABM):

"PACKARD. Mr. Chairman, I will be glad to discuss these matters as thoroughly as I may with you people here today . . . Now there is one thing about (the Perimeter Acquisition Radar) that I think you should know because there has been some concern about the status of the development. The first PAR radar will be assembled and tested on an operational site.

"FULBRIGHT. You haven't tested one?"

"PACKARD. We have not tested a complete PAR in the configuration that it will be used.

"FULBRIGHT. How can you be sure about all these statements you have made that it will work?"

"PACKARD. Well, I have been dealing with these kinds of things for a long time and I

am quite confident the status of this development is entirely accurate.

"GORE. Well, a lot of people were confident about the McNamara Line, too. We spent \$1,650,000 and saved nobody and lost lots of lives and it is now abandoned.

"PACKARD. I have no concern at all about this plan to build the first unit at an operational site. I think there is no risk whatsoever in terms of the engineering problem itself.

"GORE. I was talking with a very eminent scientist and I asked him to describe what might happen in case a Sprint defense was set up near Washington, and if a missile was detected in trajectory toward Washington, which trajectory would be a route over Baltimore, and a Sprint was sent up to meet it, where would it meet and he calculated, I believe, that the incoming missile would be at 23 degrees; he undertook to say that the interception would be approximately over Baltimore. So I said 'What would happen to Baltimore?' And he said if it were a clear day the city would be incinerated. Would you mind commenting on that possibility?"

"PACKARD. Well, that is speculation, Mr. Chairman. It depends upon the size of the incoming enemy warhead. If an enemy missile gets through, whether it detonates at a high altitude or on the ground there is a great deal of trouble. The name of this game is not to figure out what happens in those kinds of instances, but to consider this as a deterrent so we don't get into war."

A different approach was offered by two veterans' organizations, the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Spokesmen for both groups make statements in support of the ABM system. Following is the testimony of O. T. Bussard, chairman of the national defense committee of the Legion's Minnesota department:

#### WHY THE AMERICAN LEGION IS INTERESTED

It is a pleasure to appear before Members of Congress today and present to you the viewpoint and belief of the Minnesota American Legion National Defense Committee. The Legionnaires of Minnesota, now more than 105,000, have delegated the responsibility of overseeing the National Security programs to this committee.

American Legion membership is comprised of the citizen-soldier or the "Christmas Help" as we are sometimes referred to when a mass call-up of private citizens is necessary in time of national emergency. The bulk of our members do not represent career service people whether of an active status or reserve and national guard capacity. Our organization is interested in these groups as they pertain to the national security picture, but our members generally come from main street, the farm and offices of our State. These men and women are eligible to belong by virtue of their honorable discharge from service in a branch of our armed services in a time of national emergency recognized by the Congress of the United States.

Our membership with its diversified occupational groups, financial and educational strata and geographical location is not a group seeking any special-interest accomplishment, but rather seeks what is good for our community, state and nation regardless of partisan politics or the popularity of the issue. Our eligibility to membership in the American Legion is, in many cases, testimony to previous failures in our Federal National Security Programs.

#### EXCERPTS FROM OPINIONS OF OTHERS

(Taken from the Washington Report—May 5, 1969.)

"The U.S. draws away

"Today, unfortunately, there is a clearly manifested weakening in free world alli-

ances—an increasing reluctance on the part of hitherto friendly nations to line up as closely with the U.S. as they did in the past. This is an ominous development for the American people. The drawing away reflects a lack of confidence in America and in our readiness to honor international commitments.

"If free nations believe U.S. armed might is impaired, that America's strength is running down and that we no longer have the will to fight when challenged, serious fissures will open in the free world's front against Soviet expansionism. Moreover, if small nations fear that America's military strength is eroded, what is likely to be the judgment of the Soviet Union? The Soviets have a far greater capacity to gauge U.S. strength and combat readiness.

"The Soviet attitude surely would be changed, however, and the war risk reduced if the United States began to deploy the anti-missile defense system that the President has said is essential to the safety of the American people."

(American Security Council report released May 7, 1969.)

"The Soviet Union has been developing a sophisticated ABM defense system for ten years and now has anti-ballistic missiles deployed around Moscow and in a Blue Belt defense line described by Marshal Malinovsky as being 'for the defense of the entire territory of the Soviet Union.'

"An ABM system is not a cure-all for the security of the United States . . . but it is an essential component in the network of military systems designed to give the American people a seamless garment of security in an age of acute danger.

"In connection with their missile defense program, the Soviets are developing a comprehensive civil defense program . . . spending about ten times as much effort as is the United States in providing the Soviet society an adequate civil defense. Moreover, civil defense in the Soviet Union is related directly to overall Soviet military strategy."

(Quotes from *The Wall Street Journal*, issue dated May 19, 1969.)

"Soviet Union has spent less, but has pulled even in overall military strength."

Institute for Strategic Studies:

"The Soviet Union must now be treated as a full equal in terms both of strategic power and her ability to control conflict in the developing world. By the middle of this year, the report goes on, the Soviet Union will probably have deployed more inter-continental ballistic missiles than the U.S. As recently as 1966, the Soviets had barely a third as many ICBMs deployed as the U.S., analysts estimate."

"MIG-21, a Russian Fighter plane costs Russia about 1 million dollars."

"American fighter plane F-4 costs several times that amount."

"Our plane may perform better, but is it worth that much more?"

"Estimate 1 million 'slave labor' as a factor in Soviet Military progress."

#### THE MINNESOTA AMERICAN LEGION BELIEVES

We hear much today of changing times, but human nature has not changed one iota since the dawn of civilization. The battles of the present are identical to the battles of the past. The form of warfare only is changed. The moral conflicts now waged in our Nation are as truly battles as were the conflicts of Bunker Hill or Iwo Jima.

America's decisions with respect to strategic military systems, as in the case of anti-missile defense, do more than affect America's military posture. They affect the political response of friendly nations. Some of the small and middle size nations of the world have endured for a long time; they intend to go on living. If they come to believe that the U.S. no longer offers a reliable shield, they may seek an accommodation with the Soviet Union or Communist China.

In the earlier phases of the cold war, the Soviets knew that they didn't possess strategic superiority. Awareness of their military deficiencies and U.S. strength inhibited them in many situations, as in the Cuban Crisis. It would be tragic if, by failing to redress the changed strategic military balance, the U.S. actually encouraged the Soviet leaders to step up their conflict operations and to consider waging nuclear warfare.

The strategic military flexibility of the Soviet Union already has given that country and its associated states a new willingness to engage in bold ventures. The seizure of the Pueblo in 1968 and the shooting down of the U.S. reconnaissance plane in 1969 by North Korea are effects of the dramatic change in the strategic military balance.

The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 also demonstrated the U.S.S.R.'s confident use of its power.

It is reasonable to suppose that the generally mild U.S. reaction to these events was dictated by our loss of strategic military superiority.

We, and we believe a great majority of the citizens of this State, want North Viet Nam and its supporters, Red China and Soviet Russia, to know that determined military resistance will be maintained against their aggression until a peace with honor may be achieved in South Vietnam, and throughout the world.

The aggressiveness of Russia must be deterred by United States military superiority.

The support of the Minnesota American Legion to the Anti-Ballistic Missile system has extended over past and present administrations.

National Executive Committee of the American Legion Resolution No. 4: "Resolved, by the National Executive Committee of The American Legion assembled in special meeting in Washington, D.C. on March 15, 1969, that we commend and pledge our support to the President in his wise decision for the deployment of a modified anti-ballistic missile system which in his own words is 'vital for the security and defense of the United States and also in the interest of peace throughout the world.'"

This resolution is consistent with Resolution No. 307 adopted at the New Orleans National Convention and other resolutions dating back over ten years.

#### ADOPTED RESOLUTIONS

(Resolution 307 (Mont.) Consolidated with 148 (Ind.) and 230 (Md.), subject: Anti-Ballistic Missile System)

Whereas, The American Legion has called upon Congress and the Executive Department of the Federal Government to assign a high priority for the development and deployment of an anti-ballistic missile system, which would give the United States a strong deterrent toward any aggressive nation, and hence, enthusiastically applauds our Government's recent decision to employ a thin anti-ballistic missile system known as Sentinel, capable of giving limited protection against the nuclear threat of communist countries; and

Whereas, the American Legion is convinced that the communist goal is not military parity, but superiority; and

Whereas, Russia is at present deploying new weapons, such as the Fractional Orbiting Bomb (FOB), Multiple Independent Reentry Vehicles (MIRV), improved Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems (ABM), and is increasing also its land and sea forces of Inter-continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM); and

Whereas, these alarming changes in the overall strategic power between the United States, and the Soviet Union, could cause a serious imbalance within the defense capabilities of the free world and those of the forces of communism, making it mandatory that our present Sentinel system be improved and expanded; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, by The American Legion in Na-

tional Convention assembled in New Orleans, Louisiana, September 10, 11, 12, 1968, that they recognize that a broad margin of superiority must be maintained by the free world until peace is assured and urges the President, and Congress to take action in expediting the authorization of the necessary funds for the continued advance research development, and ultimate deployment of an improved and expanded Anti-Ballistic Missile System.

In sharp contrast to the Legion position was the testimony of the Minnesota Committee of Returned Volunteers, an organization of former Peace Corpsmen. The CRV called upon the United States "to establish control over the burgeoning military interests and drastically reapportion the investment of men and money into humane and peaceful purposes." The full statement follows:

We who have served overseas in volunteer service programs such as the Peace Corps, the American Friends Service Committee and ACCION are gravely concerned about the crisis which confronts our nation in its relations with other countries and with its own people. We went overseas believing that as citizens of a rich nation we should work to change the unjust and intolerable situation in which one-fourth of the world's people enjoy three-fourths of the world's wealth. Having been taught that all men should be free to shape their own future, we sought to act upon that understanding.

We have returned to this country and have found our nation deeply engaged in a war that seeks to impose, at immense cost, a United States solution on the problems of another country. A similar reliance on intervention and military response exists in most of the world. The United States shows no respect for principles of self-determination when other countries seek independence from our political and economic hegemony. Our government justifies this foreign policy with a Cold War mentality that divides nations into "free" and "communist" and ignores the fundamental division between rich and poor. It pours immense resources into military expenditures and the gap between rich and poor steadily widens.

At home, we find that this country is profoundly divided. The violence of Vietnam has come back upon us in the form of political imprisonment of critics of the government and civil disorder. Armed suppression of dissent leaves little hope that poverty and racial injustice can be eliminated without violence.<sup>1</sup>

On the basis of our experience abroad, we now join together in making this presentation to the Conference of National Priorities and Military Spending.

We now find our nation increasingly involved in military spending which threatens to make impossible the attainment of those goals toward which we worked overseas. Our government is devoting an increasing amount of our national budget to defense rather than to development. One and one-half percent of the entire American population is currently serving in the military forces. Between the fiscal years of 1965 and 1967, the proportion of total public and private employment, that was attributable to expenditures of the Defense Department, rose from 8.6% to 10.3%.<sup>2</sup>

The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency recently published its *Annual Survey of World Military Expenditures for 1966-1967*. The figures indict the United States for its values and priorities. In these years, 8.5% of the United States gross national product, sixty-three billion dollars, was spent for military activities. This amount exceeds the entire GNP of Canada, of Italy, and

<sup>1</sup>Footnotes at end of article.

estimated GNP of mainland China. Whereas the world-wide per capita military expenditures in 1966-1967, averaged \$8.00 per person in the less developed countries and \$170.00 per person in the developed countries, The United States government spent \$316.00 per American on its military force.<sup>2</sup>

At times of crisis in the developing countries, the United States most often responds in terms of military aid and intervenes on the side of those who have vested interests in the status quo to prevent the success of indigenous efforts to achieve basic human rights and justice. The vast destruction of villages, schools, agricultural fields and people in Vietnam cannot be contributing to its social and economic development. The United States expenditures on the war in Vietnam are presently eight times as great as our total budget for economic assistance to all parts of the world. Every two days, the equivalent of the annual Peace Corps budget is spent on the destruction of Vietnam.<sup>4</sup>

"It is true that the United States is the only major non-communist state possessing both great power and a sense of world mission. But it does not follow that the United States could or should man the front lines at all times everywhere,"<sup>5</sup> states Stanley Hoffman, professor of government at Harvard. We encourage our government to reassess its priorities. A great power should not consider itself threatened by every tremor anywhere in the world.<sup>6</sup> Nor should it believe that it can set goals for world development.

As former volunteers who have worked for social and economic development at the grassroots level, both at home and overseas, we have learned that even benevolent outsiders cannot and should not try to impose their values on people of other cultures. We have seen that projects succeed only when the people concerned feel a need for something and then organize themselves to achieve it. People do respond favorably to ideas that are in their best interests, but they are the ones that must determine what their best interests are. The outsider can unobtrusively make suggestions, but if his ideas are not accepted, there is nothing he can do.<sup>7</sup>

The United Nations needs to be strengthened and massive international efforts are needed in the fields of population control, economic development, world health and education. Such ventures as the Peace Corps should be truly internationalized so that volunteers return to their homes with a commitment to work at home for the kinds of changes that will make genuine difference in their countries.<sup>8</sup>

Nationally, 20% of our population lives in poverty and one-half of our nation's children are being raised in low income families. This cannot help but have profound effects upon the character of our nation twenty years from now. We need a national well-organized anti-poverty program instead of sporadic efforts throughout the country which are constantly being undermined by inconsistent commitments and insufficient and irrational planning.

It is not as if we did not know what our national priorities ought to be. We must improve education at all levels, improve our cities, eliminate racial discrimination, achieve a realistic system of justice. Riots in our cities and on our college campuses are real and their causes are real. The majority of Americans agree that the manpower and money devoted to the military could be much better utilized for peaceful purposes.

The Minnesota Committee of Returned Volunteers submits that the top priority of the United States government at this time is to establish control over the burgeoning military interests and drastically reapportion the investment of men and money into humane and peaceful purposes. The possibility of this happening depends on the courage of

our representatives in Washington, D.C., and increasing citizen commitment to this achievement.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Committee of Returned Volunteers, *Petition to the Democratic and Republican National Conventions*, 1968.

<sup>2</sup> The United States Arms Control Disarmament Agency, *Seventh Annual Report to Congress*, January 1, 1967 to January 18, 1968.

<sup>3</sup> The United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, *World Military Expenditures, 1966-1967*, Research Report 68-52, 1968.

<sup>4</sup> Committee of Returned Volunteers, *Position Paper on Vietnam*, October, 1968. (Box 380, Cooper Station, New York, New York.)

<sup>5</sup> Stanley Hoffman, "Policy for the 70's," *Life Magazine*, March 21, 1969, p. 70.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>7</sup> Committee of Returned Volunteers, op. cit.

<sup>8</sup> Harvey Cox, "Issues for the 70's," *Commonweal*, March 21, 1969.

The Minnesota Chapter of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars urged "a more peaceful and cooperative relationship with the Asian nations or Vietnam will prove to have been simply the prelude to even greater disasters." Here is that group's statement:

## U.S. ASIAN POLICY AND NATIONAL PRIORITIES

Since World War II, we have taken pride in our contributions to economic development in other parts of the world, yet in 1969, we find ourselves devoting perhaps one-fifth of our entire national budget to the devastation of Asia in past, present and anticipated wars. We are not persuaded that this tragic role has been forced upon us by a recklessly expansionist China. It is we, and not the Chinese, who have committed our forces to combat against the Vietnamese in their own land. On the contrary, we are persuaded that our dismal record in Asia is the price we pay for basing our Asian policies on the myth of an irrational Chinese menace. The truth is that since the 1949 revolution the Chinese have not moved beyond their borders except in order to ward off an expected attack, as in Korea, or to gain a strictly limited and possibly legitimate territorial objective, as in the Indian border dispute. Moreover, Chinese support of revolutionary nationalism in some parts of Southeast Asia has an obvious parallel in the U.S. involvement in the internal politics of Latin American states and should be seen in this light.

By spending nearly \$80,000,000,000 annually on "defense" hardware, bases and personnel, we achieve the illusion of defense and a spurious sense of security. The proposed deployment of an ABM system is just one more case in point. We are not merely wasting our resources, however, but we are also losing time that would be better used to attack the problems that are the real sources of our anxiety. Let us rather turn our attention to some of the positive steps that might be taken toward a more stable and peaceful relationship with our neighbors on the other side of the Pacific.

We must first dispel the aura of mystery and fear that surrounds the image of China in the United States. The "Yellow Peril" fantasy cannot be tolerated at this point in our history, both because it is a lie and because widespread belief in it presents a terrible danger to this country, to Asia, and to the world.

At the same time, we must take steps toward reducing tensions in our relations with China and thereby encourage the Chinese and their leaders to see us as something other than an implacable threat to their own security.

In order, thus, to substitute realities for

myths and fairy tales, we in the United States must learn the languages and study the civilizations of Asian peoples and, through all levels of our educational system communicate a better understanding of Asia to the American people. Only then can we be confident that our Asian policies will be made by men of the required sophistication. The cost of such an effort, while it might seem large, would pale into insignificance in comparison with our swollen defense budget. A mere five percent of Vietnam War costs would provide a billion dollars a year to underwrite a program designed to equip our nation psychologically and intellectually to live in a world in which China may become one of the dominant powers. The completion of such an immense task obviously takes time, and should be begun now on an adequate scale.

Building on this developing foundation of informed public opinion and specialized skills, we may hope for successful implementation of a more constructive Asian policy. Steps in this direction that should be made as soon as possible include the following measures in relation to China:

1. Liquidate the Vietnam War and scale down our investment in the land, sea, and air forces with which we have tightly encircled China from Korea to Thailand.

2. Disassociate our national interest from continued support of the Nationalist regime in Taiwan, thus making possible a speedier political resolution of this unfinished business of the Chinese civil war.

3. Drop our opposition to Mainland Chinese representation in the United Nations, thereby achieving a freer exchange of views and bringing our differences and our shared interests more into the open.

4. Cease all obstruction of U.S. and other non-communist trade with Mainland China.

5. Indicate by all appropriate means our readiness to recognize the government in Peking as the legitimate government of China.

6. Facilitate travel by U.S. citizens to Mainland China. Our relations with Japan also require our most careful attention. Japan is rapidly emerging as the world's third largest industrial power, exceeded only by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. It goes without saying that our close relationship with Japan is crucial to our security. We have strong economic and political ties, but the related questions of the reversion of Okinawa to Japanese rule and American bases in Japan are beginning to threaten the stability of our relationship with Japan. These issues are dynamite in Japanese politics, and American policy makers must now ask: is our post World War II military base system in Japan still vitally important to the maintenance of American security? Is it worth the political cost?

In conclusion, we hold that in this time of profound reexamination of our national priorities, we give a high place to the long-term reorientation of our policies towards Asia. We believe that we must enter into a more peaceful and cooperative relationship with the Asian nations or Vietnam will prove to have been simply the prelude to even greater disasters.

With customary balance and thoughtfulness, the League of Women Voters of Minnesota and Minneapolis made the following broad and constructive statement about both domestic and foreign policies:

As spokesman for the more than 5,700 members of the League of Women Voters in Minnesota, I appreciate the opportunity to express to your panel some of our priorities for national action. Our statement discusses three national matters of great importance to our membership: foreign policy, human resources, and water resources. This presenta-

tion combines efforts of our State Board with those of the Minneapolis League, our largest local organization with 1,000 members. So, while the section on Human Resources relates specifically to the Minneapolis scene, it nevertheless reflects general problems of concern to all Leaguers.

Our local and state League organizations and the national League of Women Voters have no explicit position on defense policy or defense expenditures as such. We have reached agreement within our organization, however, on the very great importance of reducing the growing gap between rich and poor nations internationally and on narrowing the gulf between rich and poor within the United States. We also agree that our nation must promote comprehensive long-range planning for conservation and development of water resources and improvement of water quality.

First, to the issue of foreign policy. We must register our deep concern at the decrease in funds available to improve the lot of the "have-nots" at both the international and domestic levels. It has been said that the war in Vietnam has been paid for by the most miserable on earth in terms of benefits which they might otherwise have received. The same point may be made with regard to the evidently higher priority recently accorded by Congress to defense spending in general.

Recent developments in the funding of American foreign policy deeply concern League members. On the one hand, we are warned by experts that unless the developed countries greatly increase their foreign economic assistance, misery in the less developed countries will soon reach crisis proportions. Furthermore, as C. P. Snow suggested recently, wealthy nations may be likely to find themselves in a "state of siege" if greatly increased assistance is not provided for poorer, overpopulated nations. On the other hand, we see Congress appropriating the smallest amount for foreign aid since the inception of the American aid program 20 years ago. We are particularly disturbed to note that some of the more innovative programs and agencies—such as the Alliance for Progress, the International Development Association, and the Asian Bank—have been especially deprived of appropriations.

The aid program we do finance is further minimized by the spending of most of these funds in the United States: 91% in 1968. The mounting interest burden the less developed countries must bear further reduces the amounts of money available for development.

We are dismayed to see drastic cuts of modest requests in foreign aid while large military aid and defense budgets survive relatively unscathed.

This discrepancy in funding appears to suggest that something of a "siege" mentality already exists in this country. We regret the emphasis on a negative protection of the United States at the expense of a positive policy to make past promises credible. The United States, through continued policy statements and past aid programs, has directly contributed to the revolution of rising expectations on the part of the less developed world. A retreat from this policy can be viewed only as a false commitment by these people.

A similar picture seems to characterize Congressional domestic policy in recent years. In studying the topic of Human Resources, the League of Women Voters has taken a strong position of support for equality of opportunity in education, employment and housing.

Locally, the Minneapolis League has studied and supports the local anti-poverty effort. We are very concerned that now, just when these programs have begun to provide some disadvantaged citizens with meaningful participation in our society, the threat of cut-back or even cut-off of funds continues. Uncertainty and inadequate funding have

plagued these programs since their beginning. This record is hardly convincing evidence of a strong national commitment to develop innovative solutions to the multifaceted problems of poverty.

The local Headstart situation is an example. Studies and experience have clearly shown that the intensive year-round program is more effective than the brief, six-week summer session for these children. Yet interested Minneapolis citizens and public officials had to exert concentrated pressures on both regional and national OEO staff in order to obtain funds for the current year round program which serves only 100 of the more than 1,000 Minneapolis youngsters who need this experience. A rewarding local effort by the Minneapolis Urban Coalition has raised enough private money to include another 140. But we are still far short of meeting the need, and the Minneapolis school system is in no financial position to take on the task.

In a sense, the very success of poverty programs in raising the awareness and the expectations of disadvantaged citizens has created problems. This month the Hennepin County antipoverty board is struggling with the dilemma of how best to distribute funds for 1969 summer youth programs. The process involves hard, unpopular decisions. The same number of dollars as were available last summer has been allocated to our community. Inflation means that these dollars will buy less. Yet this year valid program proposals have come from more resident groups than ever before, including several American Indian organizations for the first time. These groups have been encouraged to form, develop programs, and use channels for seeking funds. Then their hopes are cut by two-thirds or more.

The League supports the Model Cities program. In Minneapolis, we admire the tremendous citizen involvement, the great amounts of time and effort which residents and officials have invested in the planning process. I view of the Nixon administration's recent announcement of Model Cities "reorganization," will this program—as John Herbers suggests in the *New York Times*—turn out to be "another pipe dream?" We earnestly hope not.

The commitments that count are promises backed by dollars. As a nation we have raised expectations which we now seem unwilling to meet, expectations that it is possible to narrow the gap between rich and poor in this country. Are we creating the potential for a domestic "state of siege?"

Housing problems—condition, supply and discrimination—in Minneapolis and Hennepin County are another concern of the Minneapolis League. The crucial need for an increased supply of low and moderate income housing here and in the nation as a whole has been frequently documented. The harsh and shameful fact that more than 20 million Americans continue to occupy more than six million substandard housing units must project this issue upward on our nation's priority list. The role of the federal government is not new in the area of housing. Indeed, 1968 has been called a significant year in the advance of federal housing policy. But our local study has shown that the Twin Cities area does not make adequate use of federal programs. There is little public knowledge of how to go about it. Furthermore, Congress has rarely funded housing and urban development legislation adequately. Some desirable programs are simply out of money.

Efforts to achieve equality of opportunity in education are stymied by insufficient funds. Quality education for all students has long been a concern of the Minneapolis League. We know the needs and have lobbied to increase program funds from state sources as well as from federal sources such as Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. So far these sources have been in-

adequate, despite the widespread recognition that cities themselves can no longer find the tax dollars to provide adequate modern education for all children.

Our national League position also states our support for federal efforts "to help communities bring about racial integration of their school systems." Such efforts will require a greater commitment of national will and money than have been shown to date.

The continuation of the set of Congressional priorities in recent years, as between foreign assistance and anti-poverty legislation on the one hand and defense policy on the other, may tend to prove the most pessimistic observers correct. Will such a trend over time make our country appear to other nations as a "garrison state" preoccupied with weaponry at the expense of constructive efforts in the international arena? Will such a trend, ironically, leave an increasingly indefensible domestic scene at home?

Another one of the nation's great domestic problems is securing, for the present and in the future, adequate quantities of good water. We as a nation are beginning to recognize the water crisis created by rising population, increasing industrialization, and urban growth. Since 1956, the League has been concerned with this issue. We have worked for passage and implementation of amendments to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, the Water Quality Act, Clean Water Restoration Act, and the Water Quality Improvement Act just recently approved by the House of Representatives. These laws have done a great service to the country by requiring quality standards for interstate waters and providing the mechanism to help finance the needed treatment.

This crucial need to clean up water systems and to keep up with growing population concentrations has not received the necessary financial priority. Funds have been woefully inadequate. Former Interior Secretary Udall estimates that there is \$26 billion worth of work to be done over a five-year period to clean up the nation's waterways. In fiscal 1969, Congress appropriated \$214 million as its share in the work. This is far too little to stimulate the needed state and local investment.

If pollution is not stopped and corrected, it can become difficult to reverse. Lake Erie represents this process, to our great shame as caretakers of the earth. Experts say it will require 500 years to correct what man has done to that lake in the past 25 years.

Former President Johnson said in 1965, "The clear fresh waters that were our national heritage have become dumping grounds for garbage and filth. They poison our fish they breed disease, they despoil landscapes. No one has a right to use America's rivers and America's waterways that belong to all the people, as a sewer . . . this sort of carelessness and selfishness simply ought to be stopped; and more, it just must be reversed."

Mr. Hickey, Secretary of the Interior, recently said he favors "gradually upgrading clean water standards until such now-polluted rivers as the Hudson and the Potomac flow as pure as mountain streams . . . possibly in a period of ten years that could be obtained." This cannot possibly happen to the water in Minnesota or in the nation in ten years unless we reorient our priorities and assume this as a moral and financial obligation.

In conclusion, we feel very grave concern at the discrepancy between funding for international and domestic programs of a constructive nature and the funding for defense policy. We are becoming in a very real sense what we will be. And years of underinvesting in constructive and innovative foreign and domestic policies are bound to be interpreted as evidence of their low ranking in our hierarchy of values. As the Durants stated so eloquently in *The Lessons of History*,

"Our states, being ourselves multiplied, are what we are. They write our natures in bolder type, and do our good and evil on an elephantine scale." We in the League believe that our nation possesses a more positive and humane nature than our current priorities would suggest.

Not all witnesses addressed themselves to defense policy questions. Conservation was another topic dealt with by several persons. Richard J. Myshak, executive director of the Minnesota Environmental Sciences Foundation, presented this paper on environmental conservation education:

"Conservation," wrote Aldo Leopold, "is a state of harmony between man and land." Although conservation of natural resources—their wise use—is universally approved, we find that apathy and ignorance on the part of man has resulted in misuse and loss of natural resources. Differences of opinion to the wide variety of physical, biological, economic, social, esthetic, and spiritual factors involved has caused destructive, and in some cases, irreversible change to our environment. Man has radically altered that web of life spread so thinly over the face of the earth.

In these times of unprecedented change we must establish legislative policies that will bring a halt to the rampant squandering of our environment. This can only be achieved by establishing a communicative process whereby man is able to acquire a basic understanding of his environment—and to relate this understanding to his actions. Man must learn to live within his environment—and most importantly—realize that he is a part of it and not apart from it.

The lack of understanding, differences of opinion, and the inability to relate man's actions to his environment can best be harmonized or compromised through education. The educational process needed must provide for active involvement, cross disciplinary lines, and cause man to inquire productively. Through such educational stimulus man will learn to co-exist with his environment and not merely exist.

In 1965, Congress passed the Elementary-Secondary Education Act under the auspices of Public Law 89-10. Title III of this act permitted the creation of numerous innovative and exemplary education programs and centers throughout the United States and its possessions. We need not elaborate on the impact such educational innovations have had on our populace. However, it is essential that we point out that since 1965 our students in school have been exposed to and have benefited immensely from the input of federal funds into local education agencies.

We can no longer look at education as being the sole responsibility of local education agencies any more than we look upon military defense being only of local concern. The mobility of today's population shows us that an individual is born in one place, educated in another, works still someplace else, and is laid to rest, in many cases, far from his birthplace. With such mobility and with benefits reaped, in most cases, far from home by individual contributions, it is essential that equalization of educational opportunities be afforded everyone.

If we, as a nation, are to retain what environmental quality remains and desperately strive to reverse the rampant pollution and rape of our natural environs, we must, as citizens, pay and pay dearly to obtain a quality in life. Our legislative bodies must weigh carefully the values of interplanetary travel versus an educated populace, it must weigh carefully the values of exorbitant military spending versus educational opportunities. History has shown us that military might has always been defeated by sound thinking minds. Our legislative bodies must

energetically bring to the attention of the executive branch of our governments the educational needs of the people they represent.

Gentlemen, I and millions of other citizens of this great nation are dismayed and shocked at the Fiscal Year 1970 budget request for Title III funds submitted by President Nixon. His budget calls for a 29.4% reduction in Title III funds. The U.S. Office of Education requested \$172,000,000 for this program. President Nixon's budget requests \$116,393,000—a reduction of \$48,483,000. How can such a reduction be justified in the eyes of our youth? I urge you, Congressman Fraser, and Congressman Karth, to do everything in your power to reverse this executive decision. Education, our nation's greatest resource, can no longer afford to suffer at the hands of military might.

Our military has blundered consistently in its negotiations with aircraft manufacturers at a cost that greatly exceeds \$48,483,000—the amount that is proposed to be cut from an exciting educational opportunity for our youth. We then wonder why our youth is reacting as it is. Perhaps they have good cause.

The program I am associated with—The Environmental Science Center—is a Title III project. I invite you to inquire about this program and the impact it has made in two short years on methods of teaching environmental science, environmental curriculum development, and school site development and utilization. Most school districts in the metropolitan area, some out-state and out-of-state districts, the Department of the Interior, the city of Red Wing, and Fort Lincoln New Town, an urban renewal project in the District of Columbia, have availed themselves of our services. This is certainly evidence of the impact of federal funds in education. You need not fear that we will violate the terms of our contract as is the case so many times in military contracts.

A number of organizations in Minnesota have deeply involved themselves in our common concern—a quality of life through environmental conservation education. To name a few—the Minnesota Academy of Science, the Minnesota Association for Conservation Education, the Minnesota Environmental Resources Council, the Izaak Walton League, the Nature Conservancy, the Audubon Society, the Sierra Club, the Wildlife Federation, and others.

To insure that this impact continues to grow, a new foundation has been established in Minnesota. Twenty-three distinguished Minnesotans have formed the Minnesota Environmental Sciences Foundation, Incorporated. I can assure you that this group will exert every ounce of energy to perpetuate a sound environmental conservation education program in Minnesota. I can assure you that you will hear from them. You will be requested by them to provide for and to leave our younger generations a heritage fit for living—a heritage fit for living obtained through an aggressive and meaningful education.

Also concerned with the deterioration of our environment is James T. Shields, executive director of the Minnesota Conservation Federation, who testified:

The Minnesota Conservation Federation is increasingly concerned about inadequate financing for programs designed to protect and conserve our natural resources. For example, appropriations have amounted to only about one-fifth of the congressional authorizations for pollution abatement. Governmental agencies continue to spend more money in support of drainage projects than for projects such as wetlands acquisition that will hold and conserve water in the upper watersheds where it will maintain underground water tables and provide habitat for

wildlife. Meanwhile, floods become more severe and the cost of flood protection and clean-up increases yearly.

Sportsmen have always been willing to pay the price of maintaining game and fish programs through special license fees. But when it comes to broad programs such as pollution abatement and the maintenance of natural water areas in entire watersheds, all people have a vital interest and concern.

A clear majority of our citizens is beginning to express concern about the condition of the environment in which we live. And what may be surprising, *these people are willing to pay the cost of maintaining liveable conditions* even if it requires an increase in their taxes!

The Gallup Survey recently was commissioned by the National Wildlife Federation to determine the public's attitude toward our natural surroundings. In general, the survey found that 86 percent of the citizens in this country are concerned about the effects of air pollution, water pollution, soil erosion, and wildlife destruction.

An even more significant finding of the survey is that three-fourths of our citizens said they would be *willing to pay more taxes* if the money could be earmarked to *combat the deterioration of the natural environment!* What stronger declaration could be made for action by the Congress and governmental agencies?

We strongly urge you and your congressional colleagues to meet the financial needs of programs which will maintain and improve the quality of our natural environment. We are certain that your actions in this regard will be met with overwhelming support from the electorate.

Several ministers took part in the hearings. One of them, Rev. Wilbur D. Grose, program director for the United Methodist Church in Minnesota, made the following brief but forceful statement on the need to eradicate our ghettos:

When the Kerner Report (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders) was published in March 1968, it laid on the conscience of the American people a challenge to more worthy national priorities. I quote: "Only a commitment to national action on an unprecedented scale can shape a future compatible with the historic ideals of American society. . . . The major need is to generate new will—the will to tax ourselves to the extent necessary to meet the vital needs of the nation."

To our shame, neither federal, state, city governments nor the private sector have begun to grapple effectively with the major issues which plague our ghettos. The *New York Times*, April 17, indicated that some 70 billion dollars is required now to change our ghettos into areas for healthy, decent and meaningful living. Yet President Nixon says the "private sector" is to assume much of the burden of rebuilding our cities.

As concerned citizens we cannot tolerate, we dare not tolerate the continuation of the current 82 billion dollar budget for military expenditures. It involves the waste of vast resources and it fails to bring national security. And yet the Nixon Administration is pressing hard for an anti-ballistic missile program to cost at least six billion dollars! One irony of the situation is that the *Washington Post*, April 20, points out that recent test firings were fizzes. Also it should be noted that responsible estimates indicate that the total ABM cost could exceed 50 billion dollars.

With United States and U.S.S.R. disarmament talks planned in the near future, and with the unrelieved frustration and suffering of millions of ghetto residents, the time is now to re-order our national priorities.

I strongly urge the Congress to refuse to

vote funds for any ABM program and to redirect billions from "defense" spending to the rebuilding of our cities as communities in which justice and equal opportunity are a reality.

HOUSE REPUBLICAN RESEARCH  
COMMITTEE TASK FORCE HEARINGS

HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 30, 1969

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, this past week the House Republican research committee task force on earth resources and population, of which I am chairman, was honored to have Dr. James Cavanaugh and Dr. Carl Shultz, of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Dr. Thomas O. Paine, the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, inform us of the latest developments and plans of their departments. In order to keep my colleagues informed of the progress of our work, I include the highlights of these two meetings at this point in the RECORD:

HEARING HIGHLIGHTS, TUESDAY, JUNE 24, 1969

Dr. James Cavanaugh, Deputy Assistant Secretary in Health and Scientific Affairs, HEW.

Dr. Carl Shultz, Director, Office of Population and Family Planning.

Members present: Bush, Horton, McCloskey, Keith, Pollock, Wold, Pettis, Ruppe, Henry Smith.

Staff from: Gubser.

Dr. Shultz explained that the rate of illegitimacy in the United States has risen from 7.1 in 1940 to 14.1 in 1950 to 23.4 in 1966—an overall increase of 230 percent. During this same twenty-six year period the white illegitimacy rate has increased 233 percent, and nonwhite rate 161 percent.

The latest international statistics available indicate that in 1966 the United States—with 23.7 infant deaths for every 1000 live births—trailed thirteen other nations in infant mortality rates. Within the United States infant mortality in 1966 was almost twice as high for nonwhites as for whites: for every 1000 nonwhite live births there were 38.8 infant deaths, while for every 1000 white live births there were 20.6 infant deaths.

Statistics for 1966 prove the need for family planning services:

1. There were 450,000 unwanted births among the poor and near poor.
2. Over one in five American families reported their last child was unwanted.
3. Out of 5 million low income women who would probably use family planning services, if available, only about 1 in 5 now receive them.

In 1968 an estimated 325,000 women were receiving family planning services through projects supported by Federal funds. 40% (\$20 million) of a budget totaling \$47 million was spent on services visible to those in need. The program projected by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare represents an effort to reach an estimated 5 million women of low income who would likely use such services if available. With sufficient effort this goal could be reached by 1973.

Dr. Cavanaugh explained that a high level advisory committee headed by Arthur S. Flemming has been established by Secretary Finch. The committee is looking for ways in which HEW can strengthen the organizational efficiency of national family planning services.

HEARING HIGHLIGHTS, THURSDAY, JUNE 26, 1969

Dr. Thomas O. Paine, Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Dr. John Naugle, Associate Administrator for Space Science and Applications, NASA.

Members Present: Bush, Horton, McCloskey, Mosher, Pettis, Pollock, Wold.

Staff From: Fulton, Vander Jagt, Gubser, McDade.

Dr. Paine described the valuable contribution Earth Resource Satellites can make in enabling us to understand the earth as a total system. ERS equipped with multispectral sensors photograph every area within its scope every 90 minutes. This constant system of surveillance will enable agricultural experts to identify crops which are endangered by disease or starvation.

ERS has also proven valuable in teaching us more about our own geology and mineralogy, as well as about pollution problems and weather analysis. Heat-sensitive sensors are now helping meteorologists identify and observe severe weather conditions on a 90-minute basis. In the future it will be necessary to establish world data banks to record and analyze this new quantitative view of our planet.

Dr. Paine explained the need for assistance outside of NASA on political policy questions. The current policy is free of restrictions, enabling any group to purchase any ERS photographs. As the program expands, we must be able to answer charges of snooping as raised by foreign countries over which ERS pass. The ERS program provides an opportunity to bring nations closer together through cooperation and assistance. Recently our ERS sensors used in airplanes at Iceland's request helped solve their recent fishing problem by discovering the migration of the fish to warmer water.

The value of the manned space program to ERS is in selecting and setting up the various sensors during the experimental period. In addition, a moon landing will enable us to measure almost exactly the size and possible movement of the earth's land masses.

Mr. Speaker, we are also privileged to have a number of summer interns working in the offices of Congressman PETE McCLOSKEY and the task force on individual research projects. These top-notch young scholars will give us fresh insights and new ideas as they delve into their assignments in the following areas:

INTERN TASK FORCE ASSIGNMENTS  
CONGRESSMAN M'CLOSKEY'S OFFICE

Foreign Assistance, Tony Curtis; Task Force Organization, Therese Roos; State Department, Myron Lehtman; AID, Mark Davis; Children's Bureau, Gordon Bardet; Social Security Administration, Pat McCarthy; HSMHA, Dave Crawford; National Institute of Child Health & Human Development, Rosalind McCracken; Office of Population and Family Planning, Julie Johnson; OEO, Herb Anderson; and D.C. Health Department, Mike Boyd.

TASK FORCE OFFICE

"Hearing Highlights" and Coordination of Current Earth Resource Data, Steve Taylor; Family Planning and Sex Education, Attitudes of Young Adults, Mary Bailey; and Coordination of Population Data, Kai Lee Tarrant.

THE SCOTT REPORT

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 30, 1969

Mr. BROYHILL, of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, a friend and constituent of

mine recently called my attention to the Scott report by Paul Scott, for last Monday, June 23, written just prior to the confirmation of Otto Otepka as a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board.

While Mr. Otepka's confirmation is now an accomplishment, Mr. Scott's remarks concerning certain aspects of the Otepka case should be of interest to our colleagues. I, therefore, insert the Scott report for June 23, 1969, at this point in the RECORD:

THE SCOTT REPORT

(By Paul Scott)

WASHINGTON, June 23.—If the Senate approves the nomination of Otto Otepka this week, as now expected, the former chief security evaluator of the State Department will immediately join the Subversive Activities Control Board's probe of communists among militant student groups.

The new SACB inquiry, which provides for extensive hearings in major American cities including Chicago and New York, is designed to force the communist leaders of such militant groups as the Students for Democratic Society to register with the Justice Department.

Otepka's presence on the 5-member board virtually assures a wave of new public interest in the long dormant SACB. The veteran security officer's 6-year battle to vindicate himself created a large following of supporters in many of the cities where the new security hearings are now scheduled.

Most striking example is Chicago. Residents from that area wrote more than 100,000 letters to the White House and members of Congress protesting Otepka's ouster from his State Department security post for cooperating with a congressional committee.

Thousands of other Chicago residents contributed to the \$28,000 legal defense fund that Otepka's friends raised in his long fight to clear his name and for reinstatement to his old State Department position.

One of the many ironies of Otepka's long battle is that in his new SACB post he will be dealing closely with the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

It was Otepka's cooperation with that Senate group, probing security risks in government, that high ranking State Department officials used as an excuse to oust him from his security post.

Although Secretary of State Rogers succeeded in blocking Otepka's return to his old security post, the veteran security officer's appointment to the SACB by President Nixon places him in a position where his eventual influence over security at the State Department could be much greater.

GOING BACK TO WORK

In his new \$38,000-a-year assignment, Otepka will be able to fully use his vast knowledge of security risks in the State Department to pinpoint their hidden links with known communists outside of government.

With the help of the FBI, these links can be established in the hearings called to force the known communists to register with the Justice Department.

These revelations can be used by the Justice Department to force new security investigations of suspected State Department officials including several now holding strategic foreign assignments.

With Otepka playing a key role, future SACB hearings can also be used to show the need for new pending legislation designed to tighten up the government's present lax security program.

Under present law, the SACB has the power to decide whether individuals or organizations referred to it by the Attorney General are subversive. SACB has been under fire since its creation in 1950. Several lawsuits

have sought to declare it unconstitutional. But so far, they have been unsuccessful.

(NOTE.—Latest poll taken by Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen (R. Ill.) shows that the Senate will confirm Otepka by a large vote. His survey lists more than 70 Senators backing Otepka with only 16 indicating that they plan to vote against his nomination.)

THE WIRETAPPING ISSUE

This week's debate over the nomination of Otto Otepka to become a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board could shed some new light on the use of electronic devices by the late Senator Kennedy to gather information inside government.

Several Senate supporters of Otepka plan to raise this issue if Senator Edward Kennedy (D. Mass.) goes through with his plans to actively oppose the veteran security officer's nomination.

Their plan is to air testimony gathered by the Senate Internal Subcommittee, which probed Otepka's ouster from his State Department security post, that shows employees assigned to the State Department by then Attorney General Robert Kennedy were involved in the bugging of the security officer's phone.

Otepka's problems at the State Department began after he refused a request by Robert Kennedy to give a security clearance, without further investigation, to Dr. Walt W. Rostow, then Massachusetts Institute of Technology professor. Rostow subsequently became Presidents Kennedy and Johnson's national security adviser. He was

one of the architects of our disastrous Vietnam policy.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA METROPOLITAN POLICE RELEASE MAY CRIME INDEX REPORT—THE SMALLEST PERCENT INCREASE IN 12 MONTHS

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 30, 1969

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, while crime statistics in the District of Columbia continue to cause deep concern, a recent report brings a hope, however small at this time, that the problem of crime can be solved eventually. It is encouraging to note that this increase of 12.2 percent over May 1968, is the smallest percent increase in a period of 12 months. This statistic is an example of the splendid job that the District police are doing in their battle against crime. I commend the Metropolitan Police Department, its leaders, and its personnel who are waging a constant effort to make our city safe. We have a long way to go. I hope that the citizenry will extend their assistance to aiding their law-enforcement officers in lowering the crime rate so that

our Nation's Capital can solve its crime problem.

I present this index of crime to my colleagues for their information:

CRIME INDEX REPORT, MAY 1969

The Office of the Chief of Police today released the reported Crime Index statistics for the month of May 1969. These figures reflect an increase of 12.2 per cent over May 1968. This increase represents the smallest per cent increase in the past 12 months.

During May 1969, decreases occurred in two crime classifications: Auto Theft, from 1028 to 925 offenses, a 10.0 per cent decrease and Burglary, from 1710 to 1707, a 0.2 per cent decrease. Increases occurred in the following classification: Homicide, from 16 to 22 offenses, or 37.5 per cent; Rape, from 15 to 25 offenses, or 66.7 per cent; Robbery, from 645 to 798, or 23.7 per cent; Aggravated Assault, from 274 to 373, or 36.1 per cent and Larceny (\$50 and Over), from 557 to 915 or 64.3 per cent.

Crimes against persons (Homicide, Rape, Robbery, and Aggravated Assault) represent 25.6 per cent of the offenses while Crimes Against Property (Burglary, Larceny [\$50 and Over] and Auto Theft) represent 74.4 per cent of the offenses reported during May 1969.

The high crime area remained concentrated in a small section of the city represented by 29 Carney Blocks, 8.0 per cent of the total of 361 blocks. Each Carney Block represents a small geographical area of the city containing approximately equal population.

CRIME INDEX OFFENSES, MAY 1969

Classification	May		Change		Cumulative through May 1969		Percent change	12 months ending May 1968	12 months ending May 1969	Percent change
	1968	1969	Amount	Percent	Fiscal year 1968	Fiscal year 1969				
Criminal homicide.....	16	22	+6	+37.5	162	209	+29.0	178	224	+25.8
Rape.....	15	25	+10	+66.7	171	381	+64.3	184	297	+61.4
Robbery.....	645	798	+153	+23.7	5,977	9,514	+59.2	6,419	10,121	+57.7
Aggravated assault.....	274	373	+99	+36.1	2,856	2,956	+3.5	3,115	3,223	+3.5
Burglary.....	1,710	1,707	-3	-0.2	14,983	17,265	+15.2	16,058	18,660	+16.2
Larceny (\$50 and over).....	557	915	+358	+64.3	6,595	8,694	+31.8	7,129	9,345	+31.1
Auto theft.....	1,028	925	-103	-10.0	8,639	10,198	+18.0	9,272	11,333	+22.2
Total.....	4,245	4,765	+520	+12.2	39,383	49,117	+24.7	42,355	53,203	+25.6

CRIME INDEX OFFENSES REPORTED

Precinct	May		Change	
	1968	1969	Amount	Percent
1-D.....	379	440	+61	+16.1
2.....	415	373	-42	-10.1
3.....	315	423	+108	+34.3
5.....	261	271	+10	+3.8
6.....	144	225	+81	+56.3
7.....	77	110	+33	+42.9
8.....	113	148	+35	+31.0
9.....	524	424	-100	-19.1
10.....	475	483	+8	+1.7
11.....	511	584	+73	+14.3
12.....	258	327	+69	+26.7
13.....	393	551	+158	+40.2
14.....	376	406	+30	+8.0
Harbor.....	4	0	-4	-100.0
Detective division.....	0	0	0	0
Total.....	4,245	4,765	+520	+12.2

CRIME INDEX OFFENSES REPORTED, MAY 1969—Continued

Precinct	Total	Homicide	Rape	Robbery	Aggravated assault	Burglary	Larceny \$50 and over	Auto theft
9.....	424	2	3	95	38	159	40	87
10.....	483	3	2	92	43	238	48	57
11.....	584	1	4	63	47	235	41	193
12.....	327	1	2	53	19	150	34	68
13.....	551	2	3	89	56	205	150	46
14.....	406	4	4	86	29	111	27	145
Harbor.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Detective division.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total.....	4,765	22	25	798	373	1,707	915	925

CRIME INDEX OFFENSES AS RELATED TO PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL, MAY 1969

	Number	Percent
Homicide.....	22	0.46
Rape.....	25	.52
Robbery.....	798	16.75
Aggravated assault.....	373	7.83
Total, crimes against persons.....	1,218	25.56
Burglary.....	1,707	35.83
Larceny \$50 and over.....	915	19.20
Motor vehicle theft.....	925	19.41
Total, property crimes.....	3,547	74.44
Total, reported crimes.....	4,765	100.00

CRIME INDEX OFFENSES REPORTED, MAY 1969

Precinct	Total	Homicide	Rape	Robbery	Aggravated assault	Burglary	Larceny \$50 and over	Auto theft
1-D.....	440	1	1	56	23	99	163	97
2.....	373	4	0	108	53	97	57	54
3.....	423	1	2	30	11	138	179	62
5.....	271	0	1	54	34	87	46	49
6.....	225	2	1	46	11	95	32	38
7.....	110	0	0	13	6	32	47	12
8.....	148	1	2	13	3	61	51	17

CRIME INDEX OFFENSES RELATED TO POPULATION, MAY 1969

Precinct	Crime against persons	Crime against property	Total	Property percent of Total	Population	Crimes against persons per 1,000 population	Crimes against property per 1,000 population	Total crime per 1,000 population
1-D	81	359	440	81.6	122,900	3.5	15.7	19.2
2	165	208	373	55.8	52,000	3.2	4.0	7.2
3	44	379	423	89.6	29,500	1.5	12.8	14.3
5	89	182	271	67.2	43,100	2.1	4.2	6.3
6	60	165	225	73.3	67,700	.9	2.4	3.3
7	19	91	110	82.7	31,900	.6	2.8	3.4
8	19	129	148	87.2	68,000	.3	1.9	2.2
9	138	286	424	87.2	89,200	1.5	3.2	4.7
10	140	343	483	71.0	92,500	1.5	3.7	5.2
11	115	469	584	80.3	118,800	1.0	3.9	4.9
12	75	252	327	77.1	65,600	1.2	3.8	5.0
13	150	401	551	72.8	63,100	2.4	6.3	8.7
14	123	283	406	69.7	91,700	1.3	3.1	4.4
Total	1,218	3,547	4,765	74.4	836,000	1.5	4.2	5.7

<sup>1</sup> 1966 figures unrevised based on 798,000 total population.  
<sup>2</sup> Most recent population estimates; 1966 based on 853,700 total population.

IMPACTED AREAS PROGRAM

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President a very interesting editorial on the impacted areas program appeared in the Norfolk Ledger-Star on Tuesday, June 17, 1969.

I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

IMPACT AID: MORE TAMPERING

In the Nixon administration's proposal to reduce drastically the federal impact funds for schools there is obviously, the threat of severe upset to the education budgets of the four Tidewater cities and other communities where there is a heavy federal presence.

In Virginia Beach, for example, impact payments of almost \$2.7 million, anticipated in the 1969-70 budget, would be practically eliminated under the Nixon formula. Some indication of the financial implications for the city may be found in Superintendent Brickell's estimate that it would require new revenues equal to the return from a 50-cent increase in the real estate tax rate to put the school budget back in balance.

The story is similar in the other cities. Norfolk would lose the most in total dollars—\$2.8 million out of an expected \$3.7 million. Portsmouth and Chesapeake, with smaller school systems, receive less impact assistance, but these cities' shares would be virtually wiped out.

Disappointment in the Nixon administration's proposal extends beyond the financial effect on these four cities, however. There is a basic unfairness in the approach: Certain communities are being singled out and threatened with new burdens at a time when localities generally are facing some of their toughest budget tests because they are so restricted in their taxing powers and resources.

It was, as a matter of fact, the adverse effect of major federal installations on the localities' traditional revenue standby, the real estate tax, that led to creation of the federal impact fund program and its subsequent enlargement to compensate communities more fully for the tax loss from the installations and the additional costs to the community for educating the children of the federal employees.

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So these communities, in effect, have not been the fortuitous beneficiaries of any federal financial bonanza but merely have been receiving some reimbursement for a clearly identifiable loss. Virginia Beach officials, for example, estimate that federal properties, if subject to taxation, would bring in \$8 million a year.

The new impact plan falls short also as an economy move. For there can be no real economy when a federal cutback forces another level of government to make up the difference, which is the case with an essential service such as the schools.

The proposed reductions go far beyond even what the Johnson administration attempted a year ago. Fortunately at that time the dogged efforts of Senator Spong and others resulted in restoration of the funds. Senator Byrd, in responding the other day to the Nixon proposal, made a vigorous defense of the impact principle. He also observed that the whole philosophy of impact assistance is now under comprehensive study. So drastic a cut at this time, he said, "amounts to drawing one's conclusions first, then studying the premises."

The current study should, we think, confirm the impact funds as reasonable, just compensation for lost taxes. It would not only be a piece of false economy, but grossly unfair as well, for Washington now to shift to the localities this new school burden—especially when the federal presence itself would contribute so much to the frustration these communities would encounter in trying to find replacement revenues.

U.S. FLAGS BY THE MILLIONS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 30, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the Gulf Oil Co. is to be commended for its recent pro-American promotional campaign in distributing American flag decals to motorists.

That the campaign has been effective is obvious to all who use our highways. An estimated 22 million flag decals—one for every three cars in the country—were distributed in 1 month.

Now Gulf has discontinued the flag campaign but many a patriot applauds them for this nationwide encouragement of pride in our flag.

Perhaps some other nationwide busi-

ness will want to continue project "Old Glory."

I include a clipping from the Sunday Star:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, June 29, 1969]

MILLIONS OF FLAGS FLYING

In what must be a reaction to the protests and violence of recent years, Gulf gasoline stations have given away more than 22 million decals of the American flag—one for every three cars in the country.

The decals are a familiar sight in the Washington area, and one very small, informal survey in Northeast Washington last week showed one out of every eight cars bearing one of the colorful decals.

The campaign, whether labeled commercial or patriotic, was conceived by R. A. Hunter, Gulf's vice president for marketing, after he read a story about flag decals in Reader's Digest. He ordered 20 million decals and distributed them free to all Gulf dealers in early May. In weeks, the supply was exhausted and Hunter ordered 2 million more. Other, smaller companies followed suit.

Now, says Gulf, the campaign has "run its course," even though there's still a demand for the decals, and the giant oil company is moving on to other promotions.

FEDERAL AID FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, our colleagues from metropolitan areas, particularly those from the northeastern region, are acutely aware of the unduly heavy proportion of welfare costs borne by their constituents. In our mobile, quick-changing society the traditional concept of welfare as helping one's neighbor in distress has lost its meaning, and it is past time that this archaic system was brought into line with current reality. The present inequitable formula for the aid to families with dependent children program results in a heavy burden on urban dwellers, especially property owners, already hard pressed by taxes and inflationary conditions, and serves to deepen the tensions and conflicts among the various segments of our society. It is a most troubling situation and I believe the only rational approach lies in the recognition that this is a national, not a local or sectional problem, that deserves a national solution. Accordingly I introduced on May 15, H.R. 11374 to amend part A of title IV of the Social Security Act to make the program of aid to families with dependent children a wholly Federal program, to be administered by local agencies under federally prescribed terms and conditions—embodying the eligibility formulas currently in effect in the several States but designed to encourage such States to apply nationally uniform standards—with the cost being fully borne by the Federal Government.

I have been heartened by the enthusiastic response to this proposal by public bodies and private organizations concerned with the problem. The endorsement of my bill by these informed

sources is most gratifying, and I hope that this groundswell will generate a strong, concerted movement for action on this pressing issue.

I am particularly pleased at the unanimous support given my bill by the authorities in Essex County, N.J., and the municipalities in the 11th District of New Jersey as evidenced by the resolutions set forth below. In addition, the mayor of Maplewood, N.J., the Honorable Edmund T. Hume, has requested the support of the New Jersey Conference of Mayors and is endeavoring to develop complete statewide support for the proposal.

The repeal of the freeze on Federal participation in the aid to families with dependent children program by the House last Friday is recognition by the Congress of the gross inequity of increasing the heavy costs already incurred by New Jersey and various other States under this program. New Jersey Gov. Richard J. Hughes estimated that even to maintain present levels the freeze would have cost New Jersey taxpayers an additional \$10.2 million a year. Having opposed this unrealistic ceiling when it was included in the Social Security Amendments of 1967 and having sponsored legislation for its repeal, I am heartened by this awareness on the part of Congress that the Federal Government must not evade its responsibility to the poor and needy children of our Nation. The logical outgrowth would be for the Federal Government to assume the full costs for this program as called for by H.R. 11374.

I am pleased to insert below the resolutions that set forth compellingly the case for H.R. 11374:

**RESOLUTION No. 27702**

Resolution by the Board of Chosen Freeholders of the County of Essex, N.J.

Whereas, it has been reported in the Congressional Record issue of May 15, 1969, that the Honorable Joseph G. Minish, a member of Congress representing a portion of Essex County, has introduced in the House of Representatives, legislation the object of which in his words is: "to provide for a major overhaul of our country's present welfare system by converting the aid to families with dependent children program to a wholly Federal program"; and

Whereas, it is the sense of this Board that said legislation will represent a constructive and progressive innovation with respect to this Country's Public Assistance Program; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, that this Board hereby endorses said legislation introduced by Congressman Minish and urges all members of the New Jersey delegations in both Houses of Congress to support and press for the passage of this legislation; and, be it further

Resolved, that a certified copy of this resolution be mailed by the Clerk of this Board to each such member of Congress.

Attest:

VINCENT CORRADO,  
Deputy Director.  
RUTH E. STEVENSON,  
Clerk.  
WALTER C. BLASI,  
County Supervisor.

CITY OF NEWARK, N.J.,  
May 21, 1969.

To: The Members of the U.S. House of Representatives from New Jersey; the Members of the U.S. Senate from New Jersey; At its meeting of May 20, 1969, a motion was adopted by the Newark Municipal Council

to memorializing Members of the United States House of Representatives and the United States Senate from New Jersey to actively support passage of H.R. 11374 introduced by the Honorable Joseph G. Minish.

The bill provides for a major overhaul of our nation's welfare system by converting the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program to a wholly Federal program. Under the bill, AFDC will be administered by local agencies under federally prescribed terms embodying the eligibility formulas currently in effect in the several States and providing for a minimum payments level. The cost will be fully borne by the Federal Government.

Assumption of the whole burden of this major program by the Federal government would greatly alleviate the fiscal crisis which confronts urban states and localities now bearing a disproportionate share of the nation's social welfare costs. The problem is national in scope and must be treated as such with equal distribution of costs among all citizens.

The Newark Municipal Council agrees with Congressman Minish that the proposal offers a promising approach towards achieving a more stabilized, rational and enlightened welfare policy. The Council hopes that you will agree as to its merits and that you will give your full cooperation and mobilize support for H.R. 11374 wherever possible.

Respectfully yours,

HARRY S. REICHENSTEIN,  
City Clerk.

**RESOLUTION OF THE TOWN OF IRVINGTON, N.J.**

Whereas, in recent months many notable and respected public officials and private citizens have recognized the need for a national system of welfare; and

Whereas, the Town of Irvington recognizes that the welfare expenditures today are becoming an unbearable burden to local government and its hard-pressed taxpayers, especially those located in the Nation's metropolitan centers and that in New Jersey federal assistance covers less than 45% of the aid to families with dependent children programmed with the local taxpayer paying the balance; and

Whereas, State Welfare costs have increased from \$2,676,000.00 in 1958 to \$18,876,000.00 in 1968 and Essex County welfare has increased from \$2,994,000.00 in 1958 to approximately \$20,000,000.00 spent in 1968 for the A.F.D.C. program; and

Whereas the time has come to recognize the national character of our welfare problems and allow the Federal Government to assume responsibility for a workable and just system; and

Whereas, Congressman Joseph G. Minish, 11th district of New Jersey, has introduced legislation in the Congress of the United States to provide for a large overhaul of our Country's present welfare system by converting its aid to families with dependent children program to a wholly Federal program. Under Congressman Minish's legislation, the A.F.D.C. will be administered by a local agency under Federally prescribed terms and conditions, including national minimum standard with the cost being fully borne by the Federal Government.

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Municipal Council of the Town of Irvington, that the Municipal Council supports Bill No. H.R. 11374 introduced by Congressman Joseph G. Minish on May 16th, 1969 and requests the New Jersey Senate and Assembly, along with the Freeholders of Essex County, to adopt similar resolutions supporting Congressman Minish's legislation.

Adopted at a meeting of the Municipal Council of the Town of Irvington, N.J., May 27, 1969.

HARRY MEAD,  
President of Council.  
A. WEISSNER,  
Town Clerk.

**RESOLUTION No. R85-69**

A resolution commending Congressman Joseph G. Minish, on the introduction of a bill in Congress standardizing welfare programs

Whereas, an ineffective and inefficient administration of welfare programs in the United States has caused a serious impact on the health, welfare, safety and morals of all the citizens of this country; and

Whereas, the administration of welfare programs in the United States has caused great concern to those persons charged with the responsibility for the administration of municipal, county, state and national welfare programs; and

Whereas, the Honorable Joseph G. Minish, a member of the House of Representatives of the Ninetieth Congress of the United States, the Eleventh Congressional District of the State of New Jersey, has devoted a great deal of time and attention to a study of an effective program for an efficient and proper administration of welfare programs throughout the United States; and

Whereas, on Thursday, May 15, 1969, the Honorable Joseph G. Minish, after a comprehensive study of the administration of welfare throughout the United States, introduced in the House of Representatives, Congress of the United States, Bill No. HR 11374, providing for the standardization of administration of welfare in the United States on a national basis, and providing further for the welfare programs to be administered under the direction and supervision of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare of the federal government; the cost of said programs being financed by the federal government and administered by local welfare agencies under rules and regulations devised and established by the federal government; and providing further for the establishment of financial aid programs for aid to dependent children to be borne by the federal government, thereby eliminating the present programs of aid to dependent children on a sharing basis between the local governments and the taxpayers.

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the City Council of the City of Orange, That the City Council of the City of Orange personally and as elected representatives of the residents of the City of Orange commend the Honorable Joseph G. Minish, a member of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, Eleventh District of the State of New Jersey, for his foresight and wisdom in his treatment of the problem which has existed for a long period of time; by providing a solution for a more effective and equitable program of administration of the welfare in the United States; and

Be it further resolved, That the City Clerk of the City of Orange is hereby authorized and directed to forward a copy of this resolution to the Honorable Joseph G. Minish, a member of the House of Representatives, Congress of the United States, and to the Congressional Committee to which the above mentioned Bill has been assigned for consideration and report.

Adopted May 20, 1969.

MICHAEL J. DONLON,  
City Clerk.  
VINCENT F. DE ROSA,  
Council President.

**RESOLUTION BY CITY COUNCIL OF EAST ORANGE**

Whereas, the difficulties arising out of current Welfare systems can no longer be viewed as local problems restricted to particular areas, but must realistically be viewed as a national problem affecting everyone throughout our land; and

Whereas, New Jersey State Welfare costs have increased from \$2,676,000.00 in 1958 to \$18,876,000.00 in 1968, while Essex County Welfare has increased from \$2,994,000.00 in 1958 to approximately \$20,000,000.00 spent in

1968 for the Aid to Dependent Children Program (A.F.D.C.); and

Whereas, although the financial burden of administering welfare has become increasingly more difficult for local government and taxpayers to bear, Federal assistance still covers less than 45% of the A.F.D.C. Program; and

Whereas, Congressman Joseph G. Minish, 11th district of New Jersey, has introduced legislation in the Congress of the United States (H.R. 11374) to provide for a large overhaul of our Country's present welfare system by converting its aid to families with dependent children program to a wholly Federal Program. Under Congressman Minish's legislation, the A.F.D.C. will be administered by a local agency under Federally prescribed terms and conditions, including national minimum standard with the cost being fully borne by the Federal Government; and

Whereas, the City Council and Mayor of East Orange wish to go on record in support of H.R. 11374 and wish to declare themselves in favor of a federal program designed to cover A.F.D.C. 100 percent;

Be it resolved, therefore, That the City Council of East Orange and the Mayor respectfully petition the Congress of the United States to support and pass Bill H.R. 11374 introduced by Congressman Joseph G. Minish on May 16, 1969; and

Be it further resolved, That copies of this Resolution be transmitted by the City Council to The President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon; Senators CLIFFORD P. CASE and HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.; Congressman JOSEPH G. MINISH; Congressional Representatives of various districts of the State of New Jersey.

#### RESOLUTION No. 986-69

Resolution supporting Congressman JOSEPH G. MINISH's bill titled "Aid to Families With Dependent Children"

Whereas, the burden of Welfare has fallen on the urban areas, to the extent that relief must come from the Federal Government to properly make equal distribution of support for the Welfare Problem.

Whereas, Congressman Minish's Bill would relieve taxpayers in large metropolitan areas of their heavy tax burden.

Whereas, a state such as New Jersey currently receives less than forty-five percent of its A.F.D.C. funds from the Federal Government; the balance must then be paid by the taxpayers of the State.

Whereas, under this Bill one hundred percent Federal financing of the A.F.D.C. Program would prevail as the Welfare Problem is a National Problem and not just urban.

Whereas, local governments cannot properly handle the Welfare Problem.

Whereas, industrialized states have experienced an unprecedented increase, New Jersey, for example, has gone up from 36,000 to 171,000 in the past ten years.

Whereas, thirty-five percent of the entire State Welfare load is carried by Essex County despite the fact that only fifteen percent of the State's population resides here.

Now, therefore, be it resolved, That the Town of West Orange go on record officially supporting Congressman Minish's Bill which was introduced in the House of Representatives May 15, 1969.

#### RESOLUTION OF THE VILLAGE OF SOUTH ORANGE, N.J.

Whereas, in recent months many notable and respected public officials and private citizens have recognized the need for a national system of welfare; and

Whereas, the Village of South Orange recognizes that the welfare expenditures today are becoming an unbearable burden to local government and its hard-pressed taxpayers, especially those located in the Nation's metropolitan centers and that in New Jersey

federal assistance covers less than 45% of the aid to families with dependent children programmed with the local taxpayer paying the balance; and

Whereas, State Welfare costs have increased from \$2,676,000.00 in 1958 to \$18,876,000.00 in 1968 and Essex County welfare has increased from \$2,994,000.00 in 1958 to approximately \$20,000,000.00 spent in 1968 for the A.F.D.C. program; and

Whereas, the time has come to recognize the national character of our welfare problems and allow the Federal Government to assume responsibility for a workable and just system; and

Whereas, Congressman Joseph G. Minish, 11th district of New Jersey, has introduced legislation in the Congress of the United States to provide for a large overhaul of our Country's present welfare system by converting its aid to families with dependent children program to a wholly Federal Program. Under Congressman Minish's legislation, the A.F.D.C. will be administered by a local agency under Federally prescribed terms and conditions, including national minimum standards with the cost being fully borne by the Federal Government.

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Board of Trustees of the Village of South Orange, That the Board of Trustees supports Bill #HR 11374 introduced by Congressman Joseph G. Minish on May 16th., 1969 and requests the New Jersey Senate and Assembly, along with the Freeholders of Essex County, to adopt similar resolutions supporting Congressman Minish's legislation.

Dated June 16, 1969.

JOHN J. CONNELLY,  
Clerk of the Village of South Orange.

#### LARGEST AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS COMBINE

#### HON. GEORGE McGOVERN

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, the new Alliance for Labor Action was officially put together in Washington on May 26 and 27. Along with my colleague, the Senator from Illinois (Mr. PERCY), I was fortunate to be a speaker at this founding convention of an organization which unites the two largest unions in the United States, the Teamsters and the Auto Workers.

The ALA spokesmen make clear they are not attempting to start a rival federation to the AFL-CIO, but are instead attempting to plow new ground in reaching toward solution of problems which have so far defied existing institutions.

I am pleased that the resources of the two largest unions in the Nation will be joined to help in the fight against hunger and malnutrition, to build houses for the very poor using modern techniques, to bring dignity to people living in our big city ghettos, and to halt the drift toward militarism and sacrosanct defense budgets.

Mr. President, perhaps the greatest accomplishment of the ALA so far has been to make clear to the entire country that significant leaders of the trade union movement today are not going to blindly swallow the views of the military establishment.

The speech by Frank Fitzsimmons, general vice president of the Teamsters,

was an encouraging testimony of faith in the young people of America. Mr. Fitzsimmons said better than many contemporaries of his age:

I, for one, do not believe that the so-called generation gap is something which cannot be bridged. I believe that a constructive and meaningful dialogue can be established with the youngsters, if we only take the time to talk to them. Just standing back and shaking our heads when they storm a university or when they demonstrate is not enough.

We in the Teamsters, and in the UAW, I am certain, intend to establish communications with the youngsters, simply because they will be taking up positions of leadership in organized labor and in the country as some of the present leaders retire.

We find the youth of the nation up in arms over an unpopular war in Vietnam, up in arms over the billions of dollars this country spends annually to carry on this war in the Far East, when our own people go begging right here at home.

This war, the bane and the plague of both Democratic and Republican administrations, must be stopped, and must be stopped soon.

If it is not, its consequences will tear the fabric of Americanism until there is serious doubt that the tear can be mended satisfactorily.

We do not stand here today, like so many criticizing the administration for the war, but proposing no solutions. We don't have a solution, other than to urge the administration to make settlement of the war its number one priority. We take this position because until this war is stopped, all of our domestic problems and social ills will go unsolved.

So, with all of these things in mind, over a year ago, many of us in the Teamsters began to ponder what could be done to give the labor movement new direction, and if new direction was found what could be done to put plans for correction into action.

We found that there was similar thinking in the leadership of the United Auto Workers, and after many talks with the leaders of that great union, we decided to sit down and pool our concerns and our ideas.

The American media has been somewhat skeptical of the alliance of two unions which may have appeared to be somewhat different in their perspective. The Milwaukee Journal and the Des Moines Register, two of the most responsible newspapers published in the midwest, have shown what I consider to be an unusually fine perspective in sizing up this new alliance which has so much potential for good.

As the Des Moines Register said editorially:

The apparent incompatibility of the two large unions could become an advantage if the social idealism of the UAW is united with the tough effectiveness of the Teamsters.

The only justification, Mr. President, for great power in any institution is in the exercise of responsibility and a display of vision which flows from the use of such power. I believe that the Alliance for Labor Action is a demonstration that the two largest trade unions are prepared to use their power with responsibility and vision.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the ALA statement of purposes and objectives, along with the constitution of the ALA be inserted at the conclusion of my remarks so we can all properly judge how these two great unions conduct their stewardship.

I also ask unanimous consent that the full text of the ALA resolutions adopted

be included to show the breadth of social concern which this new and unique combination of labor purports to pursue.

In addition, I ask that several press articles about the ALA be included with these remarks, including an article from *The New York Times*, May 25, 1969, called "Alliance of Teamsters and UAW Poses Key Test for Reuther;" an article from *The Wall Street Journal*, May 14, 1969, entitled "Union Conglomerate, Alliance of Teamsters, UAW Maps Bold Plans in Labor, Social Fields;" "New Labor Partners," an editorial from *The Des Moines Register*, June 2, 1969; "New Labor Alliance Assails Old Ideas," by Leon Hughes in *The Milwaukee Journal* for June 1, 1969; excerpts from John Herling's *Labor Letter* for May 31, 1969 commenting on the ALA; "Teamsters, UAW to Help Poor Build Pre-Fabs" in the *Chicago Sun-Times* by Fred Fralley, May 23, 1969; "Bread and Butter" an editorial by Frank Fitzsimmons in the June 1969 issue of *The International Teamster*; "ALA—First Founding Conference," an account of the convention in the same issue of *The International Teamster*; and the full text of the keynote speech to the ALA conference by Frank Fitzsimmons.

Mr. President, the public record ought to make clear that these two giant unions embracing nearly 4 million workers between them have pledged themselves to help improve life for millions of Americans. I think all of us in the Congress must wish them well in this new venture and we applaud their determination to seek new answers for old problems.

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

ALLIANCE FOR LABOR ACTION—STATEMENT OF PURPOSES AND OBJECTIVES AND CONSTITUTION  
WASHINGTON, D.C.,  
May 26, 27, 1969.

#### PREAMBLE

Whereas, dynamic and responsible labor organizations must contribute leadership and provide teamwork toward the continual advance and protection of the welfare of working people, and must work together in the community in the common effort to find answers to the urgent problems of the whole of our society; and

Whereas, because organizing the unorganized is a moral imperative and a social and economic necessity, those unions with energy, skill and resources are obligated to join forces and commit adequate resources needed to help other cooperating organizations in mobilizing and mounting massive organizing campaigns; and

Whereas, this obligation to promote organization has even deeper moral implications for the exploited farm workers, who, because they have been bypassed by the twentieth century and because they have been denied the protection of law and have been exploited by the huge corporate farm owners, need active and total support and assistance to build a union organization if they are to achieve elementary dignity and justice; and

Whereas, collective bargaining must be strengthened and updated to provide full equity for workers in sharing in the increased productivity of the new tools of science and technology, consistent with public responsibility; and

Whereas, we must work together to build one America—an America united in the splendor of human diversity, united in our

common humanity and our devotion to democratic principle; and

Whereas, our cities are in crisis; poverty casts its shadow over the total society; unemployment remains a threat to the general welfare; urban blight and decay eat at the core of our cities; millions of families live in slums with decent housing beyond their economic reach; the cancer of racism is still uncured; there are economic barriers and all forms of discrimination that deny a child or youngster opportunity for maximum growth and development; and modern, high quality, comprehensive health care must be made available to all people as a matter of right, and

Whereas, there is a need to expand the scope and quality of a broad range of essential community and social services, and enable each person to enjoy a life of dignity and self-fulfillment.

Now, therefore, in order to deal more effectively with these challenges and opportunities, we, the participating unions in the Alliance for Labor Action do hereby agree to cooperate and work together toward the achievement of common goals, to get the American labor movement on the march, and to help America find creative and constructive answers to the urgent complex economic and social problems that we face as a nation.

#### ARTICLE I

##### Name and organization

This organization shall be known as the Alliance For Labor Action.

It shall be a voluntary unincorporated association comprised of labor organizations which have signified their desire to become members thereof and which have subscribed to its principles and purposes.

#### ARTICLE II

##### Objects

The following shall be the objects of this organization:

A. Aid and assist cooperating organizations in launching a campaign to organize millions of unorganized workers in America into appropriate organizations so those workers may gain the benefits and protection of collective bargaining through their chosen representatives while adding the strength of their numbers to the American labor movement.

B. Encourage maximum cooperation, coordination and mutual support among all organizations prepared to join in a common effort to achieve responsible, stable labor-management relations based upon equity and justice for all workers.

C. Assist in the establishment of voluntary emergency defense funds with sufficient resources to provide meaningful financial assistance to workers under circumstances where management refuses to bargain in good faith in a deliberate effort to weaken, undermine and destroy the union involved as an appropriate and effective collective bargaining agency.

D. Mobilize maximum resources and support to promote the organization of agricultural workers in an effort to win for these most exploited workers social justice, human dignity and the benefits of collective bargaining enjoyed by millions of American workers. Support efforts to secure legislation to provide these workers and their families the social benefits and the protection extended to other workers.

E. Join with other groups in the community in helping to organize community unions so that the working-poor, the unemployed and the underemployed may have the opportunity of participation, of self-organization and self-determination in dealing effectively with their problems.

F. Cooperate with other concerned community groups to promote and support activities at the national and local level:

1. To achieve equal opportunity and equal

rights for every American in every aspect of American society.

2. To assure a job at decent pay for every person able and willing to work, with guaranteed income and with the government acting as the employer of last resort when the private sector is either unable or unwilling to provide meaningful employment for an expanding and changing work force.

3. To expand educational opportunities to facilitate the growth and development of each child and youth to his maximum capability, including free university education, unrestricted by economic, racial or other such barriers.

4. To join with others to assure older citizens adequate income, housing, health care including drugs and needed social services, and the opportunity for continued participation in our society so that they may live out their lives with security and dignity.

5. To join with others in a massive effort to help rebuild and rehabilitate America's urban areas by the full use of advanced technology, new materials and methods and by enlisting the maximum and meaningful participation of the people of the inner city in all aspects of this urgent task so that decent, adequate housing can be made available and put within the economic reach of America's low-income families.

6. To join forces with voluntary health plans and with labor and other consumer and professional groups to encourage the growth of prepaid group practice plans and to develop alternate plans, including a National Health Insurance Plan, designed to check and reduce the enormous and continuous increase in the cost of health care service and drugs, and to make it possible for every American to have access to modern, high quality comprehensive hospital and medical care, with a proper and proportionate voice for consumers.

7. To join with all consumer groups and other concerned organizations to protect and advance the interests of consumers with respect to product, quality, price, safety, finances, insurance, etc., and to help create and strengthen organization and procedures, both private and public, aimed at providing maximum protection to American consumers.

8. To cooperate and work with organizations representing the interests of family size farmers and strengthen their effort to solve their problems and win full economic equity for American working farmers.

9. To join with all interested groups in our free society in a total effort to improve the quality of American life, to create a total living environment worthy of free people, to end pollution of the water, poisoning of the air, to reduce traffic strangulation on our streets and highways, to make every city safe and beautiful so that urban life can be rich and rewarding to the human spirit.

10. To work with others to raise the level of public understanding of the great political, economic and social issues that face the American people and to stimulate and encourage maximum citizenship participation in the affairs of our nation and the discharge of citizenship responsibilities.

11. To support legislation and government programs and policies needed to make government at all levels more responsive to the needs of the American people. To help America find answers to problems which are beyond the capability of people in their individual capacity to solve. To support candidates for public office on a non-partisan basis who are committed to such programs and policies.

12. To develop policies and carry out programs that will enable the American labor movement to repair the alienation of the liberal-intellectual and academic community and the youth of our nation in order to build and strengthen a new alliance of progressive forces in the broad effort to advance the common good.

13. To work with labor organizations throughout the free world in building un-

ions and in strengthening freedom and democracy, working for world peace, and in resisting all forms of totalitarianism and dictatorship, whether communist, fascist or military in character, for each, despite its different symbols, would enslave the human spirit.

#### ARTICLE III

##### Membership

Any bona fide labor organization will be eligible to affiliate with the Alliance For Labor Action. The Executive Committee of ALA will determine the eligibility and the conditions under which such affiliation is acceptable.

#### ARTICLE IV

##### Administration

The administration of this Alliance shall be vested in an Executive Committee which shall be comprised of the chief executive officer of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America (IBT) and the chief executive officer of the International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW), as co-chairmen, together with four representatives each from the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the United Automobile Workers as selected by such unions. Other affiliated organizations will be entitled to such proper representation as may be determined by the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall determine the formal structure of this Alliance and shall hire, appoint, or retain whatever employees, committees or professional assistance it may determine is required to carry out the purposes and objects of this Alliance. The Executive Committee shall have the power to amend or enlarge these By-Laws. All actions of the Executive Committee shall be by majority vote.

#### ARTICLE V

##### Financing

The Alliance shall be financed on an equitable and adequate basis by affiliated organizations to the extent in the manner that the Executive Committee shall direct.

#### ARTICLE VI

##### Council of joint boards

A Council of Joint Boards composed of the International Union Officers and International Union Executive Board members of all affiliated organizations will be established and will be convened by the Executive Committee twice a year and at such additional times as the Executive Committee may determine. The purpose of the Council of Joint Boards will be to encourage and facilitate the broadest possible leadership participation in the activities of ALA through discussion of policies and programs and their effective implementation.

#### ARTICLE VII

##### National and regional conferences

The Executive Committee, may from time to time, issue a call for national or regional conferences for the purpose of review and discussion of such problems and issues as may appropriately come before such conference. The conference shall be attended by representatives from affiliated organizations on a basis to be determined by the Executive Committee, together with such representatives of unaffiliated organizations and other guests as may be invited by the Executive Committee.

#### ARTICLE VIII

##### Wages and salaries

The salaries of such full-time administrative or office staff as may be required shall be paid from the general funds of the Alliance. The Alliance shall also reimburse affiliated organizations for the salaries and expenses of such employees and officers of the affiliated organization who may be assigned by

such organizations to perform services for the Alliance. Such reimbursement shall include the cost of fringe benefits, as well as salaries, wages, and expenses.

#### ARTICLE IX

##### Withdrawal

Any affiliated organization may withdraw from the Alliance at any time on sixty (60) days written notice to the Executive Committee. Such withdrawal shall not absolve the withdrawing organization from any unpaid liabilities it may have to the Alliance, nor shall it absolve the Alliance from any unpaid liabilities it may have to the withdrawing organization. An accounting and settling of such liabilities shall be made during the sixty (60) day notice period.

#### ORGANIZING THE UNORGANIZED AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

##### ORGANIZING THE UNORGANIZED

A continuing full scale effort to organize the unorganized and to bring to them the advantages of union representation and collective bargaining is essential to the vigor and effectiveness of a dynamic labor movement.

Just as growth is the key to the future of the American economy, so growth is the key to the future of the American labor movement, for only through adequate growth can the labor movement represent the kind of dynamic and social force essential to enable our free society to meet the increasingly complex problems confronting us now and in the future.

The task of organizing the unorganized confronts the labor movement with an ever increasing and compelling challenge. New workers continue to enter the labor force in numbers many times larger than the present rate of organizing; the proportion of blue collar workers, who traditionally make up the bulk of the American labor movement, is declining while the ratio of white collar workers largely unorganized, is increasing.

This dramatic shift in the character of the work force is accelerated as the technology of automation and electronic computers accelerates and the full impact of the second phase of the Industrial Revolution is extended to new fields and applied in greater depth to the basic industries.

Only as the millions of unorganized workers are brought into union membership will they win the benefits and enjoy the protection they and their families need. The unorganized workers need the labor movement and the labor movement needs the added strength the unorganized workers will provide so that labor can make its maximum contribution, not only at the bargaining table, but, of equal importance, in the broad areas of national life where economic and social problems must be solved and community and national responsibilities must be met.

The Alliance for Labor Action assumes as one of its major tasks the mounting of a massive program to assist and aid in organizing the unorganized. To this end the ALA will commit the resources and the manpower, the will and the unity of purpose equal to the dimensions of the job that must be done.

The ALA Organizing Committee will be a permanent arm of the ALA, whose function it will be to develop, staff, and implement organizing programs designed to accelerate to the fullest possible extent the task of organizing the millions of unorganized workers.

The ALA Organizing Committee will select specific target areas for organizing campaigns—by city, area, and industry—and will promptly commit staff and resources to these organizing activities.

It is clearly the purpose of the ALA not to raid the memberships of established

unions; it is, rather, to bring to unorganized workers the benefits and advantages of unionism and collective bargaining in the spirit of solidarity which has distinguished the American labor movement in the most successful, the most heroic and the finest hours of its history.

The ALA is committed to working cooperatively with bona fide labor organizations to organize the unorganized and to strengthen collective bargaining.

The ALA pledges to extend its support in solidarity to workers regardless of their affiliation as was done in the recent strike of sanitation workers in Memphis and is currently being demonstrated in the strike of the hospital workers in Charleston, South Carolina, when such workers are engaged in a struggle for recognition and elementary justice in the face of the opposition of arrogant and anti-labor employers and callous government officials.

The purpose of the ALA is to revitalize the American labor movement, not to divide it. In this spirit we extend the hand of cooperation to any union prepared to join in building and strengthening the American labor movement in organizing the millions of unorganized workers who desperately need the benefits and protection that only organization can bring.

The urgency of this task necessitates that organizational activities be carried out based upon the sound policy that no union has exclusive jurisdictional paper claims that can veto the ability of a modern and responsible labor movement to extend the opportunities, the rights, benefits and protection of organization and collective bargaining.

#### FARM AND MIGRATORY WORKERS

In developing and implementing organizing programs, the ALA will pay special attention to the dire needs of farm and migratory workers.

Farm and migratory workers are among the most cruelly exploited group of workers in the nation. They are the lowest paid occupational group in America. They are forced to endure miserable housing conditions and deplorable working conditions. Basic social and medical services are almost entirely out of their reach and they constantly suffer indignities and harsh treatment by hostile communities which exploit their labor and deny them their human rights and their human dignity. Their children are denied educational opportunities; those who go to school spend too little time there and go to work in the fields at too early an age.

While the struggle of the farm workers continues in California among the grape workers and nationwide through the ongoing grape boycott, organizing efforts are underway in other sections of the country such as Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Texas, Florida, etc. It is essential to the success of organizing campaigns among farm and migratory workers in any one section of the country that organizing efforts be broadened in scope and become a nationwide program.

The most important basic legal right denied to farm and migratory workers is the right to organize their own unions and bargain collectively under the protection of the National Labor Relations Act. The powerful growers—the corporate farmers controlling tens of thousands of acres of land—have consistently and bitterly opposed farm labor organizations and their protection under the NLRA in order to continue to operate under the vicious law of the jungle under which they have kept farm and migratory workers repressed.

While expressly excluded from almost all benefits provided by federal and state laws, these workers have been denied effective political power to change such laws by residency requirements which almost always exclude them from receiving desperately needed help from public assistance programs.

After many years of repression and exploitation, farm and migratory workers are now taking determined and courageous action to form their own organizations and attack their own problems. They should receive the fullest organizational, financial and moral support in the effort to organize and win justice and human dignity.

Legislation is pending in the Congress to bring farm workers under the protection of NLRA and to limit the use of Mexican "braceros" as strike breakers.

In order to help meet the challenge of organizing farm and migratory workers, the Alliance for Labor Action will promote organizing efforts, working closely with other organizations and concerned citizens from church, civil rights and civic groups, in a broad and realistic national effort to organize farm and migratory workers. In such a national effort the ALA is prepared to commit substantial organizational, manpower and financial resources to win for farm and migratory workers their full rights and the economic and social justice and human dignity to which they and their families are entitled out of the wealth that their sweat and toil help make possible in affluent America.

The ALA will give strong and active support to legislation to bring farm workers under the protection of the NLRA and to prevent the abuse of imported Mexican workers.

#### COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Organizing the unorganized must be coupled with effective and constructive collective bargaining approaches in order to win for workers and the nation the full advantages and benefits of union representation.

The structure of labor organizations and the framework of collective bargaining are essentially the creatures of the dynamics of social, economic and technological change. As our economic institutions change, as the structure of corporations change, as our technology changes, the structure of labor organizations and the framework of collective bargaining must of necessity change to reflect these basic changes in our society.

The most significant current developments affecting collective bargaining are the revolutionary pace with which technology alters the methods and means of production, transportation and distribution and the rapid growth in the number and size of multi-industry (conglomerate) corporations in the national economy.

Industry's traditional lines of jurisdiction became increasingly blurred. A single conglomerate corporation may be involved in diverse industrial and commercial endeavor ranging from packing meats to building locomotives; from preparing food to producing sporting goods; from manufacturing textile machinery to building spaceships; from producing paint to assembling complicated electronic gear for aerospace use; from airline operations to moving picture production. There is literally no end to the variations of enterprise which may be combined under a single corporate structure.

Moreover, the applications of technological breakthroughs are not confined to a plant, a company or an industry. They become universal and increasingly blur the distinctions between worker functions in one industry as compared with worker functions in another.

No segment of industry or labor can escape the impact of the accelerating forces of scientific, technological and social change.

The structure of collective bargaining must remain viable and flexible enough to meet the challenges of these changes.

The growth of corporate conglomerates strengthens enormously the financial power and versatility of multi-industry corporations. Diversity of products permits the corporation wider latitude in withstanding the fluctuations in the economic climate but it also adds measurably to its ability to thwart the achievement of collective bargaining

gains for workers. The ancient rule of "divide and conquer" becomes reality as giant corporations take advantage of the tight jurisdictional divisions in the labor movement to trade on the weakness of one union to impair the bargaining power of other unions—all representing workers in the same corporation or the same industry.

Coordinated bargaining (in which unions under contract with or representing workers who service the same conglomerate corporations in manufacturing, transportation and distribution pool their collective bargaining power and know-how) is essential if unions are to respond effectively to the challenge of the corporate conglomerates. It affords the opportunity for workers to join ranks in a common front; it promises to blunt the "divide and rule" concept with which corporations weaken and defeat the workers' efforts to achieve economic and social justice.

Coordinated bargaining as a practical mechanism is only in its infancy. It must be refined, improved, strengthened.

Beyond coordinated bargaining, however, the labor movement must recognize that there are basic weaknesses in the present structure of the labor movement and of collective bargaining. The structure of the labor movement must ultimately appropriately reflect the vast changes taking place in the structure of the nation's industrial and commercial institutions. The labor movement must develop the capability and objectivity to re-examine its structure and to make such changes as are necessary to most effectively and efficiently meet the problems of workers in the context of the new technologies and the new economic structures of society.

A little over thirty years ago the labor movement underwent a wrenching structural change as it painfully but inexorably recognized the need for industrial type organization. The time has arrived when the labor movement must recognize the need to restructure once again; *for multi-industry conglomerate economic organization will require the multi-industry conglomerate organization of labor.*

The ALA therefore will devote its energies, resources, time and manpower to advancing and improving the concept of coordinated bargaining.

It will work toward the achievement of multi-industry conglomerate organization of the labor movement as the most effective way to respond to the challenge of the multi-industry organization of the economy.

It will seek to create and implement new mechanisms of structure, procedure and administration to maximize the ability of workers to achieve equity and economic justice in response to the rapidly changing social, economic and technological reorganization of industry and commerce.

The needs of workers, their democratic will, and the needs of our society must be the ultimate determinants of the structure of the labor movement. To meet the new challenges, the labor movement must "think anew and act anew." It must free itself from antiquated concepts and practices that have no relevance with our 20th century technological society so that it can effectively cope with new problems and new challenges in realizing the new opportunities and fulfilling labor's historic role in our new and changing economic and social environment.

#### HOSPITAL WORKERS' STRIKE, CHARLESTON, S.C.

Hospital workers in Charleston, South Carolina are struggling against hateful reactionary opposition to win recognition of their union and gain a living wage and improvements in their oppressive working conditions.

Since the beginning of their strike over two months ago, they have been fought by unyielding employers and political forces as reactionary and brutal as those which sought

to keep millions of American workers from organizing and achieving economic justice in earlier days of union struggle.

The Charleston hospital workers, members of Local 1199-B, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union, are not seeking the legendary pot of gold at the end of a mythical rainbow. Their demands are modest, reasonable, practical.

They ask for recognition of their union. They want a living wage. They want improved working conditions.

Most of them were being paid a near-starvation rate of only \$1.30 an hour. They are proposing an increase that would raise their pay to the still paltry level of \$1.65 an hour. Those who oppose so low a wage for these workers enjoy much more than a living wage themselves.

Workers have historically had to struggle to win recognition of their union so they can gain a living wage. But the struggle of the hospital workers in Charleston has a uniqueness which calls for more than the usual moral and economic support from workers everywhere.

When powerful employers and political forces can deny bargaining power to workers, they also can deny them the better life and improved wages and working conditions to which they are entitled. Organized workers must help the unorganized into unionization, for no other institution in our society will do this.

When workers without a union are exploited and short-changed, the living standards and conditions of organized workers are threatened. Sub-standard pay rates and conditions drag down the total economy of the state and disadvantage all of its people.

South Carolina's weak economy reflects this primitive reactionary opposition to unionism. The state has become notorious as a haven for runaway shops which see, through an oppressive anti-labor climate, low wages and poor working conditions. The percentage of organized workers in South Carolina is the lowest of any of the 50 states.

The state's annual per capita income is the fourth lowest in the nation. It amounts to \$2,213 a year compared to the national average of \$3,159.

But what makes the Charleston hospital workers' strike distinctly unique is that all the oppressive and brutal response to their pleas for justice comes from the government which is supposed to serve them and to which they pay their taxes. Instead of providing enlightened leadership in the struggle of the hospital workers, *the Governor of South Carolina has asserted that the state absolutely will not bargain with unions or public employees.*

This arbitrary and unreasonable position is directly contrary to the practice in numerous other states and cities and the Federal government which do negotiate with public workers and sign contracts with their unions and is contrary to the public policy of our nation which is committed to encourage collective bargaining.

The hospital workers' strike in Charleston, South Carolina presents a most unusual and compelling opportunity for labor everywhere to join ranks in supporting oppressed workers against a reactionary employer and irresponsible and callous leadership in state government.

The ALA pledges its full support and solidarity behind the striking hospital workers in Charleston, South Carolina in their struggle to win recognition and a living wage. As an expression of our support, the ALA Executive Committee has approved a contribution of \$25,000 to be used directly to assist the workers in winning their strike and just demands.

#### COMMUNITY UNIONS

The rip-tides of poverty, deprivation and alienation threaten the foundations of our

society. We are in a time of crisis within our nation that looms as large a menace to our democracy as any struggle we have waged for freedom.

As economic and social inequities deepen, the separation and alienation of the various segments of our society widen.

The greatest victims are the poor. The poor are powerless. Without economic or political strength, they have been allowed by an indifferent affluent society to drift into the dead-end of social neglect.

As individual unions we have demonstrated over the years a continuing concern for the poor. We must continue to fight hard, as we always have in the past, for legislation to benefit those in need—minimum wage guarantees, quality education, decent low-cost housing, jobs, guaranteed incomes, medical care, increased social security, etc. We have consistently fought for effective legislation to meet these human needs.

It is clear that the future growth of the labor movement will be deeply affected by what is done—or not done—in this country to deal with the massive and complex problems of the rural and urban slums; problems of poverty, of unemployment and underemployment, of bad housing, lack of adequate health and educational facilities, and the difficulties involved in making public and private agencies more effective in addressing themselves to these problems, given the almost total lack of organization among the urban and rural families directly affected.

We can continue to influence the course of events by pressing for adequate legislation dealing with urban and rural poverty. What is needed and what we can offer is the skill in organization and negotiation which are in short supply in the communities where poor people live.

In addition to helping the poor through seeking enactment of appropriate legislation, we have the responsibility of helping them by a commitment of meaningful resources and know-how, and our direct involvement with the poor in dealing with the many problems in their communities.

What has been missing is the most important—and most human—element of all: direct involvement, direct participation.

We must have direct involvement, direct participation, direct kinship with the poor. We need to build person-to-person communication with the human victims trapped in rural and urban slums.

We also need to work with the people in the center cities to devise new organizational structures which can respond promptly to the needs of the neglected neighborhoods. The present structures of our unions are not adequate to reach the isolated human beings living in poverty. Our unions are organized to deal with wages, working conditions, and related problems of our members in connection with their jobs. Organization on the job is not the proper instrument to negotiate directly with public officials about the breakdown of public services in poor neighborhoods, for example, or with slum landlords about exorbitant rents and horrible living conditions, or to attack the core problem of poverty besetting an entire community.

We need new structures which can be developed within a community itself by those who live in the community. We need new structures that respond to the problems and needs of the people as they define them. We need structures that flow from and are a part of the community and not imposed upon it from the outside.

The constituent unions of the ALA have developed much skill and know-how over the years in the organization of workers, in negotiations, and in dealing with both private and public agencies. Out of our experience, we became expert in self-help activities at the local or neighborhood level.

In these structures, we as unions, and our

members as concerned citizens, must become participating partners with the poor.

It has become apparent in recent years that the skills that have made our unions strong are the very skills that are critically needed in urban and rural areas where millions of the unemployed or working poor are obliged to cope with the neighborhood and community problems requiring organized action.

In this supportive role, we can make practical use of our organizing and negotiating experience to help the unemployed and the working poor to help develop the skills, organization and economic and political strengths they must have to achieve self-sufficiency and self-direction.

That this can be done in an effective practical way already has been demonstrated in the development of the concept of what has come to be called "community unions."

The form which a community union may take is flexible, depending upon the problems, needs, leadership, and objectives of the community itself. In Watts, California, for example, the community union concept has been developed and implemented by the Watts Labor Community Action Committee, which brings together union and community support to work on basic problems of poverty in the neighborhood. Committee members are residents in Watts who understand and are dedicated to their neighborhood.

The Watts LCAC has achieved notable success in developing economic self-help projects, including operation of a gas station, a poultry farm, a nursery and is currently involved in a major economic and training project in Saugus. They waged a successful campaign to locate a new hospital and modern medical facility in their community and stimulated, together with other neighborhood groups, the building of many vest pocket neighborhood parks.

In Delano, California, the organizing of farm workers into a union has been coupled with a modernized concept of a service center which is, in essence, a community union approach. The concept of the service center arises out of the problems of farm workers and their families, which go far beyond their work places. The service center is concerned with relationships with the various communities in which the workers find themselves as they pick the crops in the field, relationships of families to local governments, health facilities, police, etc. and of children to schools.

In a densely populated urban area, the East Los Angeles Community Union, working primarily with the Mexican-American community, is in the process of developing a spectrum of programs from housing to job-creating enterprises. Here, again, the experience of the union members living with the community is being directly applied to the needs of the community, and the labor unions give direct support to the East Los Angeles Community Union.

The successful practical application of the community union concept in these areas has served as a demonstration that these techniques are capable of rebuilding relationships between unions and the poor. It has demonstrated that the development of the community union concept can make a creative contribution to significant social change by helping the poor and disadvantaged to help themselves by building organizations and achieving a sense of power, purpose and self-reliance.

The ALA, in recognition of the urgency of dealing with the pressing problems of the poor and the disadvantaged, the unemployed, the underemployed and the working poor, pledges resources and its organizational skills and know-how working directly with the poor in their communities, helping them to build self-help organizations and to achieve the influence and leverage needed to move their problems to solution.

To this end, the ALA Community and Social Action Committee will employ a full time director and staff and we will mobilize the broadest participation of our unions' leadership and membership.

The ALA will work to strengthen existing community groups and will cooperate in helping build new community unions in key selected areas on the West Coast, in the South, the Midwest, the East and in Canada.

The ALA recognizes that the poor are everywhere in the United States and Canada. They are white and black, Mexican-American, American Indian and Puerto Rican.

The ALA will extend the hand of cooperation to help them help themselves achieve a better life of security and human dignity.

The ALA welcomes the cooperation of labor, religious, civil rights and community groups in this task of achieving economic and social justice for America's disadvantaged through the process of peaceful social change.

#### TAX REFORM

The present tax system is unfair and inequitable. It places a disproportionate share of the tax burden upon low, moderate and middle income families while permitting wealthy individuals and families and wealthy corporations to escape their just share of the tax burden.

At a time when our nation needs to make a greater commitment in the effort to abolish poverty in our land of plenty, our present unjust tax system actually pushes people below the poverty line.

Families without sufficient income to feed their children adequately find that federal, state and local taxes combined, directly or indirectly, take over one-third of their meager earnings. Moderate and middle income families carry a heavier tax burden proportionate to their income than any other group. At the same time, large numbers of wealthy individuals and corporations are able to evade their fair share of taxation, and many with the largest incomes avoid paying any federal income taxes at all.

Justice and equity demand that the tax burdens of the nation be shared on the basis of the individual's or the corporation's ability to pay them. All income should be taxed as income, just as wages are taxed as income.

In 1966 there were more than 12,000 tax returns reporting incomes over \$15,000 on which no federal income tax was paid.

Of these, 367 reported incomes over \$100,000, and 18 had incomes over one million dollars.

These inequities result primarily from the existence of numerous large loopholes in the tax laws of which wealthy individuals take full advantage, while the ordinary working person's tax is deducted directly from his pay check.

To achieve a fair and equitable tax structure requires the effective closing of these loopholes, of which the depletion allowance is among the most flagrant.

"Depletion allowances" allow the big oil companies and some other mineral extracting industries to avoid billions of dollars a year in taxes. In 1968, the oil industry paid only 12.2 percent of its profits in corporation taxes, compared with an average of 46.2 percent for all other manufacturing industries.

The billions of dollars in tax obligations which the tax loopholes enable wealthy families and corporations to escape are made up by higher taxes out of the pockets of workers.

The investment tax credit, originally designed to create new jobs, has served its purpose and is now harming the economy. It leads companies to make investments which would not otherwise be economically justifiable. By encouraging such over-investment at a time when there is already excessive production capacity lying idle, it stimulates inflation now and increases the danger of a recession in the future. In the meantime it

permits corporations to avoid payment of over \$2 billion per year in taxes they would otherwise have had to pay.

Plugging these and other tax loopholes would save the federal government at least \$20 billion per year in increased revenues, possibly much more. These revenues could be used to reduce the burden of taxation upon low, moderate and middle income families, and to finance increased spending to meet our nation's unmet social needs.

We are opposed to the extension of the 10 percent income tax surcharge unless it is a part of basic tax reform that will provide an equitable tax system, and then only if the \$10 billion it would yield are earmarked to help meet the critical and urgent social needs of the nation.

The ALA will work for sweeping and drastic reform of federal, state and local tax systems to make them more equitable based upon the principle of ability to pay. The details of such reform cannot be spelled out in detail here. Studies already undertaken by tax experts have revealed that the following changes are essential as a beginning:

1. An increase in personal exemptions to \$1,800 for the taxpayer and \$900 for each dependent up from the current exemption of \$600.
2. Future adjustment of exemption levels in accordance with changes in the cost of living.
3. Liberalization of the standard deduction.
4. Exemption from employee contributions to Social Security of amounts of earnings that are below the poverty level, contributions on these amounts to be made instead by the federal government out of its general revenues.
5. Immediate plugging of all known tax loopholes, to insure that wealthy individuals and big corporations bear their fair share of the tax burden.
6. Enactment of a minimum income tax provision, to assure that any income which did find its way through tax loopholes would nevertheless be subject to taxation.

The ALA commits itself to join with others who are committed to basic tax reform in establishing a National Committee for Tax Justice and through such Committee help mobilize and direct the growing taxpayer revolt in America to the end that basic and long overdue tax reform is achieved on the basis of equity and the principle of ability to pay.

The ALA calls upon the President and the Congress to provide the courageous and imaginative leadership needed to achieve a fair and equitable tax structure without delay.

#### NATIONAL SECURITY, ABM AND HUMAN NEEDS

Throughout the last quarter of a century, the first twenty-five years of the nuclear age, nations of the world have persisted in the traditional search for national security through the accumulation of military power, as if the advent of nuclear weapons had not completely transformed the nature of warfare and the foundations of international diplomacy.

Albert Einstein, one of the major scientific founders of the modern age, declared:

"The splitting of the atom has changed everything save our modes of thinking, and thus we drift toward unparalleled catastrophe."

Proof that our modes of thinking have not changed to cope with the realities and dangers of the nuclear age lies in the persistence of insanely high levels of military expenditure throughout the world, especially in the Soviet Union and the United States.

The monetary value of that military output is equal to the combined annual income produced by the billion people of Latin America, the Near East and South Asia.

Half the governments of the earth spend more on defense than on education. The

average annual expenditure per soldier worldwide in 1966 was \$7,800. Yet the average annual public expenditure for each of the estimated one billion school-age youth from age 5 to 19 was only about \$100.

The world's public health budget—about \$52 billion—was only one-third of the military budget. Economic assistance to poorer countries came to \$8 billion, less than 0.5 percent of gross national product of the developed countries and equal to only 6 percent of their military spending.

Most of the world's military spending is concentrated in the United States and the Soviet Union. With 13 percent of the world's population, they account for over two-thirds of the world's military budget.

It is well known that these two superpowers have long since accumulated enough destructive potential not only to destroy each other but to incinerate the rest of the habitable world. And in addition to their nuclear arsenals, they also maintain vast so-called conventional forces, based upon the unreasonable assumption that they might fight a long, conventional war against each other. The leading industrial nations of the world are today the world's biggest arms merchants, selling or giving away vast quantities of material as a constantly changing weapons technology renders weapons and equipment obsolete. This technological competition in weapons, therefore, creates instability and insecurity not only in relations between the two superpowers but throughout the world as well.

It has become increasingly clear that national priorities have been seriously distorted; that too much of budgets, resources and skilled manpower has been diverted to military purposes, while human needs have been neglected. Again last month, as for the past several years, mayors of American cities have pleaded with the White House for vigorous federal action to meet the critical problems of American cities. Mayor Alloto of San Francisco has estimated that the cities need \$25 billion a year more than they are now receiving.

Not only is the military drain on budgets and resources leading to a dangerously prolonged neglect of human needs on the domestic front; the squandering of resources on the accumulation of arms, nuclear and conventional, is also diverting the nations of the world from the essential economic, social and political problems that must be solved if peace and justice and stability are to prevail in the world community. The problems of hunger, poverty, economic underdevelopment, overpopulation, regional cooperation, land reform, education and administration in developing societies cannot be solved through military means. And they will not be solved by other means as long as national security continues to be defined and sought predominantly in military terms rather than in terms of human well-being and international cooperation.

Now for the first time in almost a quarter of a century, this gross distortion of priorities is being critically examined and questioned in the United States, and in the Congress of the United States. An increasing number of the American people and their representatives are concerned not only by this distortion of priorities but by the dangers implicit in a further escalation of the arms race if an anti-ballistic missile system (ABM) is deployed as part of our nuclear arsenal.

This questioning comes at a time when the prospects for negotiating an end of the war in Vietnam look more hopeful and the present Administration has repeatedly stressed its readiness to move from policies of confrontation to negotiation; and when the Soviet government has declared its interest in an understanding with the United States on arms reduction and control and in a

more general accommodation to reduce world tension.

A rational agreement on arms control between the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France is an imperative first step if the world community is to deal effectively with the threat of the growing nuclear capability of Red China and is to bring China ultimately within the framework of an overall universal arms control program, essential to the survival of the human family.

The major nuclear powers, moreover, are at a point in the arms race when another round in weapons competition might well carry us beyond the point of no return, ending all hope of arms limitation and peaceful accommodation for at least a decade and perhaps forever.

The danger of the present situation was defined in *Scientific American* (April, 1969) by George W. Rathjens, formerly on the staff of the Defense Department's Weapons Systems Evaluation Group and chief scientist and deputy director of the Pentagon's Advanced Research Projects Agency:

"The world stands at a critical juncture in the history of the strategic arms race. Within the past two years both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have decided to deploy new generations of offensive and defensive nuclear weapons systems. These developments, stimulated in part by the emergence of China as a nuclear power, threaten to upset the qualitatively stable 'balance of terror' that has prevailed between the two superpowers during most of the 1960's. The new weapons programs portend for the 1970's a decade of greatly increased military budgets, with all the concomitant social and political costs these entail for both countries. Moreover, it appears virtually certain that at the end of all this effort and all this spending neither nation will have significantly advanced its own security. On the contrary, it seems likely that another upward spiral in the arms race would simply make a nuclear exchange more probable, more damaging or both.

"As an alternative to this prospect, the expectation of serious arms-limitation talks between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. holds forth the possibility of at least preventing an acceleration of the arms race. . . ."

And Prof. Rathjens urges efforts—  
"to damp this newest cycle of military competition, either by mutual agreement or by unilateral restraint, before it is beyond control."

That, in essence, is the central issue in the ABM debate. Call it Sentinel, call it Safeguard, call it a defensive weapon; move it from the suburbs of our large cities to our offensive missile sites. Changing its name and its location does not change the name of the game, which is military one-upmanship and the escalation of destructive power which is already overwhelming on both sides. By any other name, the balance of terror is still terror; and each time, as the balance of terror is upset, and as the arms race continues and escalates to a new plateau of destructiveness, and as preparation for war continues to take precedence over an organized search for peace, the odds creep up that the terrible weapons will one day go off, by accident, by irrational impulse, or by design. The only security in the game of nuclear chicken lies in a decision to end it by mutual agreement by the major powers to scale down their arsenals and to seek an accommodation of interests bringing a greater degree of stability into the world.

We in the Alliance for Labor Action have no illusions about the evils of communism, either the Russian or the Chinese version. Neither, let it be stressed again, have we any illusions about what will happen to ourselves, our families, our unions and our country if we continue to tempt fate by continued escalation of the nuclear balance of terror. Deterrence at a higher level of destructive

power is more expensive than deterrence at the lower levels left behind as the race continues, but the security bought is no greater. Each player in the nuclear game is constantly threatened by the possibility of technological breakthroughs by the other side. If any major power, however, ever threatened to pull so far ahead as to attain overwhelming superiority over other major powers, the pressure would be overwhelming upon the nation or nations about to be left behind to launch a nuclear attack before the adversary could achieve that superiority.

Thus no absolute security is possible in the nuclear arms race. To seek it is to invite the very attack that nuclear deterrence is supposed to forestall. Under such circumstances, common sense—and an instinct for self-preservation—in fact the very survival of the human family—demand, instead of mutual escalation, a mutual deescalation under terms of rough parity.

In other words, it is time to play the peace game in place of the war game. Let it be crystal clear, however, that a call for negotiations for mutual de-escalation is not a call for unilateral disarmament. Patriotism, as the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reminded Secretary of Defense Laird, is not at issue; the issue, rather, is how patriots—how people who love their country—should act in an age when the almost single-minded pursuit of ever-greater military power increases risk rather than offering more security. The unions that compose the Alliance for Labor Action are unions of American patriots, whose love of country is beyond question. But we are patriots who believe that in the nuclear age, peace is the condition of survival. We are patriots who believe that we have to end the arms race before it ends the human race.

Our unions have made great progress over the years in raising the living standards and improving the working conditions of our members. We want to continue that progress. In order to do so, we must read the world situation as it is, avoid its dangers and seize its opportunities. We have to come to grips with the fact that all the gains we have made can be snuffed out in a few hours if the warheads in the stockpiles and launch sites go off in a nuclear war. There will be no winners; only a vast wasteland and scattered remnants of the dead, the living dead and the dying.

Rather than drift toward such an unspeakable catastrophe, we are determined to commit ourselves and our unions to an organized effort to achieve national security through the construction of a more peaceful world in which the risks to our lives and our societies will be minimized.

This same danger confronts all of mankind if nuclear war finally comes. All nations and all people have a common interest in finding some common ground of agreement which will reduce the chance of such an extreme and all-consuming disaster.

We cannot accept, nor do we believe the American people will accept the proposition, expressed by Secretary of Defense Laird, that following the reduction of expenditures for the Vietnam War, the money should be diverted to escalate arms production instead of being diverted to help solve the myriad of social and economic problems confronting the nation. We urge and we believe the American people will insist that these resources must be used to help the people achieve a better life, to fulfill their urgent social and economic needs, and not simply to increase the firepower capability of our military machine.

While pressing for a universal system of arms reduction and control, we must prepare at home for a planned conversion of facilities and resources to production for civilian purposes, in order to meet critical needs long neglected, to assure a continuity of employment and living standards for all workers

now engaged directly or indirectly in defense-related sectors of the economy and to divert the vast resources now committed to the arms race to meeting the critical and urgent needs of our cities in education, housing, health care, transportation, air and water pollution and improving man's living environment.

1. We call upon the President of the United States, without further delay, to direct the Secretary of State to confer with the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France for the purpose of setting an early date for the beginning of arms-limitation negotiations.

2. We call upon the President at the same time to declare, in the interest of national and world security, that the United States is prepared immediately to enter into a mutual moratorium with the Soviet Union and other nations on the testing and deployment of all offensive and defensive strategic weapons; and announce forthwith that, in evidence of our determination to avoid further escalation of the arms race, the United States is also deferring present plans to deploy the Safeguard ABM system in hope that negotiations to halt the nuclear arms race will be successful;

3. We call upon the President and the Congress to join in assuring the enactment of the National Economic Conversion Act, introduced last February by Senators McGovern and Hatfield, which would provide for a coordinated conversion of the public and private sectors of the American economy from defense-related to civilian production, assuring full employment and full production in an economy geared to meeting civilian and peacetime needs as the war in Vietnam is concluded and as arms-limitation talks progress to the point of enabling us to reduce our military expenditures and production schedules;

4. We call upon the President and the Congress to re-examine the projected Defense budget for fiscal 1970, in light of more realistic force requirements, in order to effect cuts now—variously estimated at from \$5 billion to \$20 billion—which can be made at once without impairing national security, in order that such savings can be used to meet critical home-front needs—in education, health care, housing, anti-pollution, traffic congestion, broad environmental problems and conservation of resources.

The ALA Conference urges the leadership of ALA to request appointments at an early date with President Nixon and the members of his Cabinet involved in these matters and also to seek appointments with the majority and minority leadership of both Houses of Congress to discuss these urgent questions.

#### AMERICA'S HOUSING CRISIS

America's housing crisis is staggering and it continues to worsen, for the forces of decay and demolition continue to outrun our efforts to rebuild and rehabilitate.

At a minimum, we must meet the objectives of the 1968 Federal Housing Act, which calls for a ten-year national goal of 26 million new housing units, including at least 6 million units for low income families. In recent years, we have produced only about 50,000 subsidized housing units a year, or only one-twelfth of the annual volume projected in the 1968 Housing Act. The National Commission on Urban Problems recently stated that there are 11 million substandard or overcrowded housing units in the United States—and it called this a very conservative estimate.

The shame of the nation is the state of our cities. Our center cities continue to decay. These cities more and more consist of spreading ghettos that are enclosures of poverty and racial discrimination. These ghettos breed permanent despair, and rip the fabric of our society.

Our goal is to build livable communities that provide and assure the basic rights and amenities of a civilized society to all the American people.

We must not only construct an adequate number of low cost housing units, but we must achieve a proper mix of housing, industrial and public facilities coupled with the delivery of essential social services in sufficient quantities.

The task before America is long and difficult. It will require massive resources both from the federal government and the private sector. But money alone cannot accomplish this task. Substantial reforms and increased involvement of people at all levels of our society will be needed to cure our housing ills.

Both the public and private sectors must make a more significant and greatly increased contribution in a cooperative and coordinated carefully planned attack on America's housing crisis.

We must recognize that we cannot hope to meet housing needs of millions of American families unless we abandon old methods and practices and apply to this problem new concepts, new ideas, new social inventions.

(1) We must end the scandalous speculation in land which is inflating land cost, through the creation of urban and regional land banks.

(2) We must develop long range financing of housing to reduce the cost of mortgage money and general financing.

(3) We must face up to the problem of antiquated and restrictive building codes which fragment the housing market and pyramid the cost of housing. A national system of performance standards to insure the highest standard and quality and to meet the needs of geographical conditions should be developed to cover all federally financed housing construction in order to facilitate the assembly of a mass market so that the economics of scale can be achieved in the construction of housing.

(4) The federal government should allocate adequate resources and create an appropriate organization to facilitate and encourage massive research and development in the housing field—in design, materials, new construction methods, maintenance problems, land utilization, water sewage and environmental problems—and enlist the fullest cooperation and participation of the private sector and the universities in this effort, with appropriate opportunity to facilitate the participation of American consumers.

(5) We must apply to the housing industry our most advanced technological capability and managerial and productive know-how, our most creative product design capability, and the use of new materials. Only in this way can we reduce the cost of construction and increase the volume needed to make high quality, attractive housing available at a price that millions of low and moderate income families who desperately need housing can afford.

A nation that has the technological capability of developing and producing a space vehicle with all the sophisticated scientific technical gear needed to put a man on the moon certainly has the technical capability of building high quality, attractive houses more efficiently and more economically.

America will place a man on the moon in the next few months. We shall do this because we made a national commitment to do so. No less a national commitment is needed to meet the urgent challenge on the housing front and the many other domestic problems.

The Alliance for Labor Action pledges an all-out effort at the national and local community level to mobilize the national commitment needed to meet and solve the nation's housing needs.

The Alliance for Labor Action will work with all concerned groups, such as the National Urban Coalition and local community groups, in a cooperative effort to maximize community participation. We will join in contributing seed money and will cooperate to make pension funds available for the financing of housing. We will give special emphasis to the special housing needs of retired workers and low and moderate income families, of migratory workers.

The Alliance for Labor Action will work to build well planned communities and neighborhoods that will provide a full range of opportunities for quality education, adequate transportation, community facilities, social services and equal employment opportunities.

The Alliance for Labor Action will support efforts to create a national housing market of a volume large enough to achieve a flow of production that will provide increased employment opportunities to workers in the inner cities and will provide year-round employment to workers who have been victimized by the seasonal nature of the construction industry.

#### NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE ACTION

Making necessary administrative breakthroughs requires promptly setting some basic comprehensive policies at the national level. Such actions are prerequisites for meeting the Congressional promise of providing decent housing for all Americans within the next 10 years.

ALA urges the present Administration to support, and Congress to enact legislation to achieve the following:

(1) fund the Housing Act of 1968 fully at the levels authorized by Congress;

(2) fund programs in advance so that cities after having planned and programmed will have the capability to make those plans operational;

(3) institutionalize advance land acquisitions and land banking so that land will be obtained for housing and other public purposes. A national land policy should empower the Federal Government to:

(a) pre-empt local zoning and building codes in federally subsidized housing;

(b) assemble large parcels of land through direct acquisition of that land for subsidized housing and related facilities;

(c) pay the cost of relocation, demolition and acquisition.

(4) The Federal Government should exercise its authority of eminent domain to acquire land directly to assure the construction of low cost housing.

(5) enact a uniform and modernized building code based on performance standards. The legislation should formulate and approve standards for the construction of buildings, to provide a mechanism for testing and approving technology innovations, provide a system for evaluating experiences of public and private programs affecting building, provide for research and building technology, and assemble and disseminate technical data relating to standards and building technology;

(6) reduce the general level of interest rates on indebtedness for housing. Inflation must not serve as the cover for rising interest rates. The housing needs of millions of American families must not be sacrificed in the fight against inflation.

(7) enact a uniform relocation law that operates on the principle that no one will be displaced unless relocation housing is available which meets the wishes and requirements of those displaced. The basis of compensation should be "equivalent value" so that owner occupants can acquire decent housing without incurring increased indebtedness;

(8) guarantee tenants in publicly assisted housing their rights to organize and bargain

collectively with housing management on a basis that prohibits interference, intimidation or retaliatory evictions;

(9) expand housing choice by overcoming suburban barriers to low and moderate income housing.

(10) develop a federal system of incentives and sanctions that will, in fact, achieve open housing.

#### STATE AND LOCAL ACTION

ALA will urge states and localities to meet their housing responsibilities. We view such action as a necessary supplement to concerted national action. Each state should have an Urban Affairs Department staffed by capable people.

The soundest programs, no matter how well conceived, must be administered at the local level. Federal policies are not self-executing.

ALA will help to implement sound federal policies. In the community strong and effective advocacy is needed to overcome the institutional paralysis that grips too many federal and local officials. ALA will strive to serve locally as a community ombudsman on housing policies.

ALA pledges to cooperate with the National Housing Partnerships and the local counterparts of the National Housing Partnerships and the National Urban Coalitions and the Local Coalitions.

#### AMERICA'S UNMET NEEDS AND THE URBAN CRISIS

America is rightfully proud of its heritage of freedom, liberty and the individual pursuit of happiness. More millions enjoy the blessings of a free democratic and affluent society than at any time in the history of man. Yet we must recognize that the nation's social deficiencies still abound and become more pressing. Millions of Americans have still a long way to go before they are able to say "We too share in the good life".

With all its wealth, its wisdom, its love of freedom, America, nevertheless, is facing an era of crisis. The failure to fulfill the needs of its people, the failure to achieve economic and social justice, are reflected in a long list of issues on the agenda of America's unfinished business.

#### URBAN CRISIS

Our cities are in deep trouble as they grapple with overwhelming problems without adequate resources: poverty; unemployment and underemployment; inferior education; overcrowding; sub-standard housing; inadequate health services; lack of transportation services; the deterioration of community facilities; the pollution of air and water; the rising rate of crime; and a host of other alarming and seemingly unsolvable difficulties.

#### EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

America's noble promise of equality and equal opportunity for all its people remains unfulfilled. The cancer of racism—both black and white—continues to threaten the achievement of the democratic goal of a truly integrated society, breeding the extremism and violence of a racially polarized and segregated community of people.

#### POVERTY AND HUNGER

Thirty million of America's people live out their lives in grinding poverty, alienated, dispossessed, shut out from the better life which the increasing wealth of the total nation can provide. Millions go hungry and lack a balanced diet while we pay wealthy corporate farmers to hold their land in idleness.

#### THE ELDERLY AND SOCIAL SECURITY

The nation's elderly receive shabby treatment as Social Security benefits, on which most of our elderly rely for a livelihood, remain chronically inadequate and fail to assure even the bare essentials for decency and self-respect.

#### THE CHILDREN AND EDUCATION

The children of the nation are threatened with educational starvation at all levels as citizens more and more revolt against the unfair and outmoded methods of taxation used to support their schools, as the educational deficits grow in the number of new classrooms needed, the number of available teachers, the failure to pay teachers adequately, the inadequacy of curriculum.

#### CONSUMER PROTECTION

As consumers the citizens of the country remain unorganized, the victims of inadequate protection against price gouging, shoddy and defective merchandise, misleading and even fraudulent advertising claims, exorbitant interest rates and service fees on loans and installment buying. They are not even adequately protected against products and services which may be injurious to their health or dangerous to life and limb.

#### LIVING ENVIRONMENT

Affecting every man, woman and child throughout the land is our continuing neglect of our living environment. Polluted air and polluted water, the residue of decades of misuse and neglect, threaten to suffocate man in the waste of his material affluence.

These and dozens more domestic ills plague the nation, begging for solution. The cost in human suffering, the toll upon future generations are beyond calculation.

#### NATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY AND INFLATION

The cry has been raised: how can we afford to meet all these needs of our people? The answer obviously is: how can we afford not to?

Rising prices and the current general inflationary trend compound the dilemma in which we find ourselves as a nation. Government policies move to attempt to control inflation and yet these very policies slow down the rate of economic growth, adding to the unemployment rolls without visible impact on the upward surge of prices.

Unemployment has risen now for two successive months while the cost of living, as reflected in the Consumer Price Index in the last two months, increased at a rate of almost 9 percent per year.

A policy which slows down economic growth and yet does not stem the inflationary spiral can only lead to deepening, rather than alleviating, the crisis.

Such a policy is especially intolerable when the methods used are themselves misguided and ineffective as a means of subduing inflationary forces. This is not an inflation caused by an excess of demand over supply. That is evident from the fact that for the past nine months we have had sixteen percent of our manufacturing capacity lying idle, and we still have nearly three million unemployed workers seeking jobs, not counting those working part time for economic reasons and those who have given up looking for work they cannot find. Neither is it the result of gains made by workers, whose living standards have in fact been cut as a result of inflation. The buying power of an average factory worker's take-home pay has been declining since December 1965.

Instead, this inflation has resulted from the greed of those at the center of economic power who have abused that power to force up prices in order to increase their profits. This has been true of every major inflationary period since 1950. In a report on August 5, 1968, the *Wall Street Journal* said:

"In the past 20 years, there have been three distinct periods in which factory prices climbed substantially over a prolonged interval.

"In each instance, labor costs per unit of factory output were declining when the price climb began—and these costs continued to decline for a considerable period after the price rise was under way.

"In each case, corporate profits began to increase sharply well before the price climb started.

"Such facts, at least to some economists, bear an obvious message. 'The pattern is clear enough,' says Peter L. Bernstein, president of Bernstein-Macaulay Inc., a New York investment counseling service. 'Instead of labor costs pushing prices up, what we see instead is a sort of profit-push. Profits are already well on their way up before prices begin to rise, and prices are well on their way up before wages begin to rise faster than output.'"

In the meantime, misguided restrictions on our economic growth are damaging our economy and our whole society. They represent a retreat from the forward march we had been making toward full production and full employment. They are reducing the amount of national wealth we can produce just when we are called upon to strain every nerve to meet our needs at home and abroad. Reductions in essential government programs are crippling our efforts to eliminate poverty and create social justice for every American.

The present Administration and the Congress should readopt a policy to achieve the goals of the Employment Act of 1946—full production and full employment—and to remove the restrictions on economic growth, and invigorate all programs designed to meet America's deep social needs. The problem of inflation should be attacked not by reducing economic growth, but by adopting programs which will affect those corporation and industries responsible for unjustifiable price increases, which are the root cause of inflationary pressures.

The cities and states alone cannot meet the needs of the people. The federal response to this era of crisis must be affirmative and constructive; for America must fulfill its destiny and provide for all its people—young and old, all races, creeds and color, in whatever station of life—the economic and social justice which is the noble commitment of a free society.

How can these goals be achieved?

First we must reorder our national priorities. We must realize that America cannot long be defended abroad if we permit the continuation of indefensible conditions at home. We must make far greater efforts to end the war in Vietnam. We must work together with other powers to negotiate an arms control agreement and end the arms race. We must cut the flabby fat of inefficiency, overpricing and unnecessary spending from our defense budget.

We must adopt a fair and equitable tax system that closes the loopholes through which the wealthy escape their fair tax obligation. And we must use the funds and resources that such policies make available to meet domestic problems and meet our social needs.

#### FOR OUR CITIES

To save our cities will require a massive commitment of federal resources to help rebuild neighborhoods, to provide adequate, modern mass transportation, to create all of those community facilities that are still so sadly lacking.

We must make a reality of the promise of equal treatment for all, regardless of race, creed, color or financial condition. To this end we call for the following specific actions:

1. Full implementation and enforcement of civil rights laws; substantial increases in funds to assure adequate staffing in those agencies charged with enforcement.

2. Full enforcement and strengthening of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to give the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission adequate powers to eliminate job discrimination.

3. Vigilant and vigorous enforcement of the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1968.

4. The denial of any government contracts whatsoever to those employers who persist in denying their employees freedom from discrimination because of race, national origin, sex or union activity.

5. Federal law to secure equal administration of justice by ending the all-white jury system.

6. Public and private measures to assure equal access to justice in our courts, including fair and reasonable bail bond procedures; legal assistance to the poor; legal aid in civil as well as criminal actions; and provision of adequate defense services at all hearings involving the possibility of a serious deprivation of liberty.

7. On the educational front we call for sharply increased efforts to eliminate de facto segregation in northern as well as southern schools; extension of quality early childhood education to every disadvantaged child in the country; reoriented vocational education emphasizing the work-experience training and the involvement of business and industry; expanded opportunities for higher education through increased federal assistance to disadvantaged students; revision of state aid formulas to assure more per student aid to districts having a high proportion of disadvantaged school age children.

8. The American labor movement must face up to its full responsibilities on the job front and intensify its efforts to open up employment opportunities for minority groups, including the higher paid and higher skilled jobs.

#### TO ASSURE A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING

To bring an end to poverty and hunger in America and to assure a decent standard of living, the ALA supports a comprehensive program of assured minimum income for all Americans, including:

#### JOB

A job, at decent wages, for every American who is willing and able to work. If the private sector is unable to supply the necessary jobs, the federal government should become the employer of last resort and provide productive employment for all persons who are unable to obtain other suitable employment.

#### MINIMUM WAGE

Increase in the minimum wage so that those who work will receive enough for their labors to live at least at a modest and decent standard of living. The \$2 minimum wage is a first step, to be increased then in line with the general movement of wages in the nation.

#### SOCIAL INSURANCE—(SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH, UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION)

Improvement of the social insurances—old age, survivors', disability, health insurance, and unemployment and workmen's compensation—to help fill the gap that now exists between income from work and needed income and services to maintain health and decency during periods of unemployment, disability, illness and retirement. Of equal importance is improved protection of survivors, who are predominantly women and children. Benefits in all the insurance programs should be substantially increased at all levels, including both minimum and maximum benefits. Provision should be made under Social Security for earlier retirement. Exemptions from payment of Social Security taxes by individuals with low earnings should be provided, similar to income tax exemptions. And contributions to the Social Security fund should be made by the federal government out of general revenues as well as by employers and employees.

#### PENSION REINSURANCE

We call also for a federal program of reinsurance to protect private pension plans.

The systematic accrual of pension funds to meet future benefit costs has been recognized by responsible unions and managements as

a sound general method of underpinning promised pensions. However, business failures, plant shut-downs and other factors arising from technological change and competitive forces have resulted in the unforeseen and often abrupt termination of an otherwise sound pension plan at a time when currently accrued assets are insufficient to meet accrued benefit liabilities. Such pension plan terminations all too frequently subject affected workers to the double tragedy of lost jobs and loss of substantial prospective pension rights at a stage in life when they have little or no opportunity to earn further benefit entitlements.

Well-established precedents exist for broadly based, self-financing federal insurance mechanisms in the cases of home mortgage financing and bank deposits, and a similar approach to the problem of pension plan terminations—through legislation establishing pension reinsurance—can be achieved at relatively nominal premium cost to individual plans.

The ALA therefore urges prompt Congressional action in the adoption of a comprehensive, federally-administered insurance program guaranteeing meaningful pension plan termination protection of workers' benefits.

#### ADEQUATE INCOME ALLOWANCE

An adequate income allowance should be assured for all Americans whose income is not sufficient to afford them a modest and decent living standard. In addition to employment and social insurance there must be assurance of an income floor below which no family or individual should be permitted to fall—this floor to be provided through a system of children's allowances or a negative income tax.

#### NATIONAL SYSTEM OF WELFARE

The present welfare system is historically obsolete. It destroys individual initiative and incentive and robs people of their sense of human dignity.

A drastically reorganized, federally financed public welfare system must be established for those who temporarily may not qualify for other programs. This system should establish national standards and uniform benefit levels, regardless of the location of recipients, and provide for eligibility based on the already proven income certification test. The program should be augmented by the services of qualified professional personnel competent to assist the disadvantaged in their efforts to cope with their problems and in overcoming the obstacles which block them from full participation in our society.

#### EDUCATION

We must recognize that state and local governments are no longer able to finance the educational requirements of our nation. Adequate federal funds must be provided so that in every state and community we can build the new schools we need, pay adequate salaries to attract the additional teachers we need and provide expanded opportunities for higher education to all who wish it and can use it, while at the same time reducing the crippling burden of educational costs on state and local taxpayers.

#### PROTECTION OF CONSUMERS

Protection of consumer interests should have a high priority. We call for the establishment of a Department of Consumer Affairs and an independent, non-governmental Consumer Council to represent consumer interests; reform of insurance abuses, especially in the field of auto insurance; strengthened and vigorous enforcement of the Federal Disclosures Act, and defeat in State legislatures of the so-called National Uniform Consumers' Credit Code which would subvert the purposes of the Federal Disclosures Act; passage of all needed legislation to protect consumers against products that endanger health or safety, or that are fraudulent, and publication of data on such prod-

ucts by the Food and Drug Administration; protection against the abuse of economic power by monopolistic or semi-monopolistic corporations in their relations both with consumers to whom they sell and suppliers from whom they buy; and compensation for the innocent victims of crime and their families.

#### OUR LIVING ENVIRONMENT

To end the destruction of our living environment through pollution of our air and water, we call for creation of a Federal Department of Natural Resources, supported by strong anti-pollution legislation; organization of a People's Lobby against Pollution, and establishment of a Council on Environmental Quality, composed of laymen and experts, to serve as a link between the Federal Department and the people; a Federal Recreation Service, with authority to acquire more land for recreational areas, possibly financed from oil shale revenues; elimination of visual pollution by billboards, exposed junkyards and land disfigured and made barren by strip-mining; U.S. cooperation in the International Biological Program for research on the exploitation of resources in and under the sea.

These proposals and others brought to this Conference deal with the more glaring of the ills and problems that afflict our nation today. This ALA Conference pledges its support of these and other measures to enrich the quality of life for all Americans, and we urge the affiliated unions to mobilize their leadership and membership in vigorous action to bring them to realization.

The ALA Conference urges the leadership of the ALA to request an appointment at an early date with President Nixon and the appropriate members of his Cabinet and also to request appointments with the majority and minority leadership of both Houses of Congress to discuss these urgent questions and to present the views of the ALA concerning them.

[From the New York Times, May 25, 1969]  
**ALLIANCE OF TEAMSTERS AND U.A.W. POSES KEY TEST FOR REUTHER**  
 (By Damon Stetson)

Walter P. Reuther's dream of a revitalized labor movement, on the march and inspiring social change, is on the verge of its first period of testing.

The test will begin tomorrow in Washington when the nation's two biggest unions, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the United Automobile Workers, begin a potentially powerful alliance aimed at organizing millions of still unorganized workers and infusing in American labor a new commitment to human progress.

Mr. Reuther, the fervent and imaginative president of the U.A.W., has been scurrying about the country for weeks laying the groundwork, in conjunction with Frank E. Fitzsimmons, acting president of the teamsters, for the unusual combination that will be known as the Alliance for Labor Action.

The 61-year-old auto union president was busily completing plans for the alliance earlier this week in his spacious, book-lined office overlooking the Detroit River in Detroit. Working in his shirt sleeves, he rose from behind his paper-strewn desk to emphasize his enthusiasm about the program of the alliance and to give assurances of the full-fledged commitment of both unions to it.

#### FUNDS TO BE USED

"Both the teamsters and the U.A.W. are prepared to devote sizable resources to meaningful organizing projects," he said. "We're going to strengthen collective bargaining and devote major efforts to improving housing, health, race relations and education. And we're going to be building community unions to help people help themselves.

"We've got a programmatic alliance," he said in an interview, "and we're going to do

specific things. . . . I think our program and activities will also persuade the A.F.L.-C.I.O. to do more. They'll do things they didn't even consider before."

In Washington, Weldon Mathis, assistant to Mr. Fitzsimmons, described the alliance's proposed program as "ambitious" and "tremendous." He warned, however, that no one should expect instant miracles.

"It's got to be a long-range program," he said, "and it's going to take time to accomplish."

Both the teamsters and the U.A.W. are outside the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. When the auto union withdrew from the parent federation last July on the grounds that it was moribund and undemocratic, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. lost about \$1 million in annual income and nearly 1.6 million members.

#### DUES INCREASE PROBABLE

The federation has not reduced its staff or programs, but faces the prospect of a per capita dues increase (the per capita dues are 7 cents a member) if new programs are to be developed.

Probably the greatest impact of the U.A.W.'s secession, however, was at the level of state and city labor councils. Because the auto union's membership is heavily concentrated in some industrial states, the city and state councils of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. in such states as Michigan, Ohio and Indiana suffered heavy losses of both income and membership.

The initial agreement of the new alliance worked out last year by the executive boards of the teamsters and the U.A.W. declared that the two unions would join in a "common effort to get the American labor movement on the march and to help America find creative and constructive answers to the urgent complex economic and social problems that we face as a nation."

#### PROPOSALS LISTED

Joint action programs proposed in the prospectus worked out by the teamster and U.A.W. leaders include:

Organizing the unorganized in the unskilled and lower-paid jobs in the white collar field, in residential housing construction, and in specific areas such as the chemical industry.

Strengthening of collective bargaining and the development of machinery to cope with the growing complexes of industrial conglomerates.

Supporting agricultural workers in their efforts to gain social justice and the benefits of collective bargaining.

Cooperation with other groups in helping to organize community unions, so that the working-poor, the unemployed and the underemployed may have the opportunity of participation, of self-organization and self-determination in dealing with their problems.

Joining with other community groups to promote equal opportunity and to assure a job at decent pay for every person able and willing to work, with guaranteed income and with the government acting as the employer of last resort when the private sector cannot provide such an opportunity.

A massive effort to help rebuild and rehabilitate America's urban areas by the full use of advanced technology, new materials and methods.

#### LABOR IS AT A CROSSROAD

"The labor movement is at a crossroad," the Declaration of Purpose says. "It must subject itself to honest self-searching and self-evaluation. It must free itself from complacency and self-congratulation. It must acquire a sense of renewal and rededication to social progress.

"It must free itself of old attitudes and habits and demonstrate the willingness, the capability and the commitment to make

fundamental changes in its policies that respond to the realities of a swiftly changing world."

More than 500 delegates, half from the 2-million member teamster union and half from the 1.6-million member auto union are scheduled to convene at the Washington Hilton Hotel tomorrow and Tuesday for the founding conference of the alliance, which was first announced last summer.

The two unions have rented 9,000 square feet of office space here in a new building at 666 11th Street N.W., where they will have 11 executive and 11 secretarial offices. Each of the unions is planning to name a deputy director for the alliance to work with an as yet unannounced director.

Basic financing has already been agreed upon by the boards of the teamsters and the U.A.W. A per capita payment of 10 cents a month is expected to provide about \$360,000 a month or \$4,320,000 per year for the programs and operation of the alliance.

The high-sounding goals and grandiose plans of the somewhat surprising alliance between the programmatic, liberally oriented U.A.W. and the bread and butter, aggressive teamsters have elicited some skeptical and even derisive comments from officials of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

The teamsters were expelled from the federation in 1957 for corruption. The U.A.W. was suspended last year for nonpayment of dues after Mr. Reuther and the union's leaders had criticized the federation for complacency, for clinging to the status quo and for undemocratic procedures. The auto union subsequently seceded from the parent body.

Just how much support the new alliance will get from other unions is not clear as yet, although the initial reactions from most federation unions have been cool. Moreover, the executive council of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. has adopted a resolution saying that "membership in or support of" the alliance would do "violence" to the objectives and principles of the federation.

The council said that such membership or support for the alliance would constitute grounds for suspension or expulsion under the federation's constitution.

The International Chemical Workers Union adopted a resolution favoring affiliation with the alliance at its last convention, but the union has continued to pay its dues to the federation.

There have been reports that the Glass and Ceramic Workers of North America might be sympathetic to the alliance, particularly because the products that members work on are to a great extent utilized in the auto industry.

The United Rubber Workers at their convention last fall authorized their officers to explore the possibilities of affiliation with the alliance but emphasized that they were not to jeopardize the union's standing with the A.F.L.-C.I.O.

Although the aggressiveness of the alliance may precipitate some abrasive confrontations with the A.F.L.-C.I.O., leaders of the new grouping would like to have the support of other unions.

#### NEW UNION IS FORMED

SUFFOLK, Va., May 24.—A national labor union consisting of 10 breakaway locals of the Retail Wholesale and Department Store Unions was formed here today.

The new union was named the National Council of Distributive Workers of America. Its inception was based on complaints that the retail workers had no Negroes in top national posts.

The new president, Cleveland Robinson, formerly secretary-treasurer of the District 65 Wholesale and Retail Office and Processing Union in New York, called the new group "a union for poor people, the blacks and Mexi-

can Americans who have heretofore been left out."

Mr. Robinson's District 65 was the first union to break with the national organization over the lack of black leadership. The 10 local unions forming the new national organization had a combined membership of 40,000.

Extensive negotiations are being held with the teamsters and the U.A.W. with an eye toward cooperation under the Alliance for Labor Action, the leaders said.

Walter Reuther, president of the U.A.W., lent the neophyte union \$125,000 interest free and 200 of the best auto union organizers.

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 14, 1969]  
**UNION CONGLOMERATE—ALLIANCE OF TEAMSTERS, UAW MAPS BOLD PLANS IN LABOR, SOCIAL FIELDS—HOUSING VENTURES, ORGANIZING DRIVES ARE AMONG GOALS; FINANCIAL RESOURCES LARGE—ARE THE PARTNERS COMPATIBLE?**

(By James P. Gannon and Laurence G. O'Donnell)

WASHINGTON.—The nation's two biggest, richest unions are quietly putting the finishing touches on the labor movement's first conglomerate.

Like today's multifaceted corporate conglomerates, the labor organization about to be launched by the United Auto Workers union and the Teamsters Union will engage in a kaleidoscopic array of activities. The UAW-Teamsters joint venture, the Alliance for Labor Action, is designed on so grand a scale that it could be the pride of the most ambitious corporate empire-builder.

According to the prospectus outlined by key planners of the ALA, the alliance will be: A real-estate developer, planning, designing and building low-cost urban housing for slum dwellers, retired union members and others, using advanced building technology.

A private antipoverty program, sponsoring job-training centers and slum-neighborhood service centers that would take an ombudsman's role in helping the poor with legal, medical and financial problems.

A ghetto-mobilizing "new politics" machine, organizing, registering and "educating" black and other minority voters to increase pressure on city hall, school boards, landlords and merchants.

A new, well-financed organizing force, aiming to spread unionism to low-wage industries and to unorganized regions, such as the South.

A new bargaining-table combine, backed by a huge strike fund, eager to match muscles and wits with corporate conglomerates.

#### A FINAL FLING

If the scheme seems grandiose, it is because some of the labor movement's most visionary planners are drafting it. The ALA is basically Walter Reuther's dream, but the idealistic UAW president has found in the Teamsters Union other big thinkers eager to embellish it. Many labor observers see the ALA as a final, grand fling for the 61-year-old Mr. Reuther before retirement and as a hopeful grasp at respectability by the Teamsters Union, whose last two presidents have landed in prison.

The unlikely alliance of the UAW idealists and the hard-bitten Teamsters has led to widespread skepticism in the labor movement that the partnership will ever work. "It's a rope of sand," contends the leader of a big AFL-CIO union who thinks the Teamsters and UAW officials are such disparate characters they won't be able to work together.

The curious confederacy faces many sticky problems. Despite sales pitches to numerous unions, the partners have won only two small groups as allies—the 110,000-member International Chemical Workers Union and the break-away New York division of the AFL-

CIO's Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, embracing 30,000 workers. Hoped-for recruits, including the United Rubber Workers, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers and the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen, have hung back, though they could join later.

#### TACTICAL PROBLEMS

There are tactical problems, too. Various UAW and Teamsters men have differing ideas on just which workers should be organized by the ALA. Finding suitable targets for the ALA brand of "conglomerate bargaining" isn't easy either, because AFL-CIO unions have a strong foothold in most of the big, diversified companies.

And over the grand dream hangs a nightmare worry voiced by one UAW official: "What happens if Hoffa becomes free?" In the unlikely event that the jailed Teamster president is paroled from his eight-year jury-tampering sentence while still holding his office, then idealist Walter Reuther would find himself presiding along with ex-con Hoffa. Intimates say Mr. Reuther gets fretful and snappish when this possibility is even gently suggested.

The alliance's aims will be revealed publicly soon. After lengthy delay, the ALA will hold its first national conference here May 26 and 27. The meeting of some 500 UAW and Teamster officials and staff men from around the country will mark the formal launching of the joint venture agreed to last July.

"In 1969, we are going to provide some therapy to the American labor movement just as the CIO did in 1939," says Mr. Reuther, who vows the ALA will prod AFL-CIO leaders "to get off their rusty bottoms."

Adds acting Teamster chief Frank E. Fitzsimmons: "We're not going to come out of the sky wearing white robes and waving magic wands and expect everyone to capitulate or bow down. But we're ready to get off the ground with a program that reinvigorates the labor movement."

#### AMPLE RESOURCES

Officials of the AFL-CIO, which expelled the Teamsters on corruption charges in 1957 and which the UAW quit last year, tend to scoff at the rival group's plans as grandstanding by Mr. Reuther, more rhetoric than action. But they privately concede the two strong alliance partners have the resources to make good on their big promises.

The Teamsters, with more than two million members, and the UAW, with some 1.6 million, are the largest unions in the U.S. Their combined net worth tops \$170 million.

The alliance, insiders say, will be very well-heeled. To bankroll it, the two unions each have agreed to contribute a dime per member per month, or a total of nearly \$4.5 million a year. (The AFL-CIO's head-tax yields about \$11.5 million a year.) In addition, it's understood each union has earmarked an added \$3 million or so for a "strike defense fund." The big war chest would be used to help weaker unions in strikes against strong employers, strategists say. Such aid to unions in distress could be a potent ALA recruiting tool.

The ALA partners have taken a five-year lease on a floor of a new, downtown Washington office building to serve as the alliance's national headquarters. A staff is being assembled, and each union plans to name a man to serve as deputy director of the ALA. To head the new organization, the unions are seeking "a man of stature," says one Teamster chieftain, but they apparently are having some difficulty finding one who wants the job. James J. Reynolds, former Under Secretary of Labor, turned it down.

Such problems have delayed the ALA's launching. "We're finding out we can't get going as fast as we thought we could," concedes a top Teamster. "There are lots of road-

blocks when you are trying to design national programs."

The planning for the alliance has been done by two committees. A five-man group headed by Teamsters' Acting President Frank E. Fitzsimmons has mapped organizing and bargaining plans; a similar committee under Mr. Reuther's direction has outlined social and political activities.

Some of the ALA programs are firmly planned, but many others are still in formative stages. Subject to change, the planning committees have outlined four major areas of operation: Organizing, Bargaining, Social action and Politics.

Here's a sample of the planning in each area:

**The organizing:** Recruiting many of the nation's 58 million unorganized workers into unions gets the top priority of the alliance. Farm workers, white-collar workers, service workers—what one official calls "the miscellaneous unorganized millions"—are among the targets.

"Who will we be organizing?" muses one planner. "Mostly the people the labor movement has been neglecting. They work in small manufacturing shops, retail stores, service establishments, sometimes for city governments. They are in considerable measure, minority-group members."

Some UAW men seem less interested in the miscellaneous millions than in industrial workers and white-collar employees. The chemical industry, especially lightly organized Du Pont Co., is attracting ALA attention. So are the thousands of white-collar employees of Blue Cross and Blue Shield medical insurance plans.

The alliance's promise to organize farm workers threatens a possible conflict with the AFL-CIO's United Farm Workers, headed by Cesar Chavez. The UAW has had close ties to Mr. Chavez's union, which is locked in a marathon struggle with California's grape growers. ALA men are hoping the UFW can cooperate with both the AFL-CIO and the alliance; if not, a tug-of-war for the farm union's allegiance is likely.

**Bargaining:** The special target of the alliance's bargaining designs is the fast-growing corporate conglomerates, which pose a new challenge to unions; when a corporation is widely diversified, no one union can exert great pressure on it by striking.

AFL-CIO unions have tried to deal with this changed power balance through coordinated or coalition bargaining by several unions; the ALA is planning a similar approach but chooses to call it "conglomerate bargaining." A major problem, however, will be finding a target where the UAW and Teamsters are so dominant that cooperation of the AFL-CIO affiliates isn't crucial to success. One possibility under study: California-based FMC Corp., maker of food-processing machinery, power transmission equipment, chemicals, textiles, ordnance and other products.

Besides the conglomerates, the alliance aims to throw its weight against other selected employers. The big strike fund would be used to stiffen the backbone of weaker unions that the ALA decides to aid in struggles against "union-busting" companies. Just what strike situations would fit this designation isn't clear. In 1967, the UAW lent the United Rubber Workers \$3 million to finance its strike against the major rubber companies, on the theory that the tire-makers were out to "destroy" the financially strapped union.

**Social Action:** Building low-cost housing for the inner-city poor and retirees will be high on the alliance's agenda. Planners aim to sponsor nonprofit housing projects financed mainly with Federal Government dollars. The ALA would put up "seed money" to buy land, hire architects and help pay for construction.

In California, alliance leaders are eyeing building sites in East Los Angeles, a mixed Negro and Mexican-American community, and in Richmond, a heavily Negro community across the bay from San Francisco. For retirees, the ALA is planning a "series" of projects for union pensioners and other lower-income aged folk "all across the country," says one official.

A rough prototype of the alliance housing projects, not directly connected to the ALA, exists in Detroit. There, the UAW has put up \$1 million of the \$5 million seed money for the Metropolitan Detroit Citizens Development Authority, which promotes low-cost housing sponsored by community groups. Mr. Reuther says the authority has about \$50 million of housing "in the pipelines."

The authority recently sponsored a contest among builders of prefabricated and modular homes to show how functional, attractive houses could be built cheaply. Mr. Reuther wants to pioneer in the use of labor-saving, assembly-line types of construction methods. His plan could draw the ALA into bitter conflict with the AFL-CIO's building trades unions, which generally resist such new techniques as a threat to members' jobs.

"We are going to do everything in our power to work with the building trades," Mr. Reuther said recently. "But we say if you drag your feet, no group has the right to veto the right of people to decent housing."

Other social-action plans include job training and direct aid to ghetto residents. "We're going to set up a whole bunch of training centers to train employees for various industries," says a Teamsters vice president.

Community service centers that would dispense advice to the poor on health, legal problems, finances and discrimination troubles also are on the drawing board. "We'd set up the headquarters in the ghetto and give technical assistance but have the black community run it," says one official.

**Political Action:** A drive to mobilize the "ghetto vote" could be the most controversial of the alliance's aims. The campaign seems sure to sharpen conflicts between slum-dwellers and city government, the school system, real estate interests and slum-neighborhood businesses. "It's an effort to try to get poor people organized for political leverage," says one ALA planner.

"We want to establish some political education organization to involve the blacks, the browns, all the disadvantaged," says a Teamsters' leader. "This is the first real attempt to harness their voting strength." The organization wouldn't be "partisan," he contends, but might endorse candidates for office. It definitely would work to register poor voters and get them to the polls.

Tied in with the ghetto-political apparatus would be "community unions" such as those set up by the UAW in Watts and East Los Angeles and by the Teamsters in a slum area of St. Louis. The UAW-aided Watts Labor Community Action Committee last year won a battle with Los Angeles County officials to bring a public hospital to Watts. The Teamsters-financed Tandy Area Council in St. Louis has been involved in battles with slum landlords and supermarkets accused of price-gouging.

[From the Des Moines Register, June 2, 1969]

#### NEW LABOR PARTNERS

The curtain was raised last week on the new Alliance for Labor Action formed by the idealistic United Auto Workers and the rough-and-tumble Teamsters union.

The formation of the alliance was announced last summer by U.A.W. President Walter Reuther and the Teamsters Acting President Frank Fitzsimmons. Last week the two unions, the two largest, richest unions in the nation, held their first public conference.

It was an impressive event. The alliance has rented a full floor in a new building in downtown Washington. The speakers at the conference, held in the Washington Hilton, included Secretary of Labor George Shultz, who wished the alliance well.

Even the friends of the alliance expect a stormy relationship. The Detroit Free Press's Saul Friedman describes it as "a wedding of convenience and a marriage of opposites." Reuther is clean living; Teamster President Jimmy Hoffa is in federal prison. Reuther is an articulate crusader for social causes; the Teamsters have been guided by a pragmatic self-interest.

Reuther can be expected to help deliver the ghetto vote for Senator Edward M. Kennedy (Dem., Mass.), if he makes a bid for the presidency. The Teamsters can hardly be expected to aid the brother of the man who put Hoffa behind bars.

The U.A.W. and Teamsters are both outcasts from the AFL-CIO, which is their principal bond. The new alliance denies that it is seeking to compete directly with the AFL-CIO, but this is nonsense. Its strong emphasis on "action" is designed to contrast with the stand-pat policies which alliance leaders attribute to the AFL-CIO.

The new A.L.A. came out for deferring the Safeguard anti-ballistic system, for a disarmament conference and for cuts in defense funds, in sharp contrast to the AFL-CIO positions.

Despite the problems confronting the alliance, it is an interesting partnership. It is expected to aim its organizing efforts at farm workers, hospital and governmental employees, white collar and technical workers—areas possibly ripe to union efforts. The alliance is considering plans to build low-cost housing for the poor by using modern, factory-assembled building techniques which could reduce sharply the cost of new ghetto housing (and bring the alliance into sharp conflict with the AFL-CIO building trades union). The alliance also is considering "community unions" formed, not of employees of a single industry, but of the assortment of persons living in a neighborhood where poverty and government disinterest created a common bond.

The alliance is well heeled with a \$4.4 million annual budget. The apparent incompatibility of the two large unions could become an advantage if the social idealism of the U.A.W. is united with the tough effectiveness of the Teamsters.

[From the Milwaukee Journal, June 1, 1969]

#### NEW LABOR ALLIANCE ASSAILS OLD IDEAS

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Perhaps it was only a marriage of convenience, as skeptics suggested, but the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the United Auto Workers apparently have decided to make the most of their unlikely match.

Their honeymoon here last week—the founding of the Alliance for Labor Action—was marked by harmony, fervor and a tone of great expectation for the future. There also were strong indications that the ALA would evolve into a labor federation to rival the AFL-CIO.

"Hell, this is ain't the ALA; this is the CIO," one veteran teamster official was overheard remarking to another as he listened to the social action evangelism of UAW President Walter Reuther and Reuther's counterparts in the historically conservative teamster leadership.

#### ON STUDENT REBELLION

The reference was to the kind of CIO that existed under Reuther before he merged it with the AFL in 1955. Last year, Reuther pulled the UAW out of the AFL-CIO in a policy dispute.

Even Frank E. Fitzsimmons, the plodding, normally inarticulate leader of the teamsters, joined in proclaiming liberal positions. Con-

sider, for example, his remarks on the student rebellion:

"I, for one, do not believe that the so-called generation gap is something which cannot be bridged. I believe that a constructive and meaningful dialog can be established with the youngsters, if only we take time to talk to them."

Or his call for the end of the Vietnam war:

"We find the youth of the nation up in arms over an unpopular war in Vietnam, up in arms over the billions of dollars this country spends annually to carry on this war in the far east, when our own people go begging right here at home."

"This war, the bane and plague of both Democratic and Republican administrations, must be stopped and must be stopped soon."

#### PARSEING STATEMENTS

Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.), in a speech the next day to the ALA convention, hailed Fitzsimmons' remarks as "two of the most intelligent and farseeing statements I have seen from a top labor leader."

Many persons would not side with Fitzsimmons on youth and the war, and therefore would not agree that the remarks were "farseeing," but just about anyone who knows the teamsters and has observed Fitzsimmons in action before would agree that the statements were unusual for him.

Although he was reading the speech, and the words were much more bookish than his usual workingman's language, he at least committed himself publicly to the ideas.

In general, union men have tended to support the war and to be unsympathetic toward rebellious youth. With a few individual exceptions, the teamsters have been as conservative on those scores as any group.

#### ENDORSED LIBERAL AIMS

And Fitzsimmons, hand picked by the tough, pragmatic James R. Hoffa to head the union while Hoffa is in federal prison, was identified with the union's old guard. Hoffa, serving a sentence for jury tampering, still is president. Fitzsimmons is general vice-president.

Even the UAW, which likes to consider itself labor's avant garde, gave at least qualified support of the war until recently.

The ALA convention delegates overwhelmingly (unanimously in almost every case) endorsed their leaders' call for an end of the war, scuttling of the anti-ballistic-missile, disarmament efforts and a broad program of social and economic reform.

They also supported a campaign to unionize millions of unorganized workers, and they endorsed Reuther's warning that AFL-CIO jurisdictional claims would not stand in the way.

The delegates approved plans for ALA promotion of mass produced housing and an attack on restrictive building codes. That could put the teamsters at odds with their historic allies, the AFL-CIO building trades. The UAW, of course, never has got along with the trades very well.

In many cities, Milwaukee included, the teamsters have been an integral part of the AFL-CIO building trades councils—in violation of AFL-CIO policy.

In Chicago, the building trades have been closer to the teamsters than to their own AFL-CIO.

What will happen to such relationships?

Skeptics are inclined to say, "Nothing." That probably would depend on how much pressure was exerted from the top.

#### NOBODY SAID "HOFFA"

Another thing that must have seemed strange to teamster delegates was the complete avoidance of Hoffa's name by convention speakers. Hoffa and the union were synonymous for 10 years, and the union reacted with one giant persecution complex during the years he fought to stay out of prison.

And now suddenly he was not mentioned. Also unmentioned was the question of the teamsters' moral fitness, which disturbed Reuther so much in the 1950's. Reuther led the fight to oust the teamsters from the AFL-CIO in 1957 on charges of corrupt leadership (Hoffa's).

Reuther was asked about this last July in Chicago, when the ALA was first announced. He said a lot of water had passed over the dam since 1957. That was shortly after the UAW left the AFL-CIO in a fight between Reuther and AFL-CIO President Meany.

Reuther said the teamsters had demonstrated that they were a progressive, responsible union.

It was apparent at last week's meeting, that Reuther and his top aides had developed a close relationship with three of the more progressive vice-presidents in the teamsters' union—Harold Gibbons of St. Louis, Einar Mohn of San Francisco and Murray W. Miller of Dallas. And Fitzsimmons, whatever his past inclinations, was going along with them.

#### MILWAUKEE'S ROLE

Their philosophy is the same militant, liberal pragmatism as that of Reuther and his fellow UAW officers. The teamsters' nine other vice-presidents were for the most part silent at the convention.

Perhaps as influential as any of the teamster officials, if not more, is a man who was not even mentioned from the convention platform—Atty. David Previant of Milwaukee.

Previant, chief labor counsel of the union and Fitzsimmons' top adviser on many matters, reportedly drafted the ALA constitution. He also was at Fitzsimmons' side during the negotiations last year that led to the alliance, as he is at virtually every teamster executive board meeting.

Reuther warmly praised the key teamster leaders, and there were many signs of friendliness between staff aides of the two unions.

A veteran UAW staff man said his teamster counterparts were eager about taking part in social action programs. "They are wonderful people," he said. "They just never had been exposed to this sort of thing before."

He said they were relieved that their union was no longer under Hoffa's direct leadership.

#### REGAIN RESPECTABILITY

Another UAW official said that even teamsters who felt no affinity for the auto union were glad to be allied with it to regain some respectability. He predicted that they would support social reform and community action for the same reason.

The two unions are putting enough money into the alliance, more than \$4 million a year, to suggest that they mean business. That is more than one-third as much as the AFL-CIO gets from its 128 affiliated unions.

[From John Herling's Labor Letter, May 31, 1969]

This week we report on:

**ALA LAUNCHED.**—Will the Alliance for Labor Action (ALA) move from talk to action? Will the nation's two largest unions—the Teamsters, with more than 2 million, the Auto Workers with more than 1.5 million members—find common ground from which to launch a common program?

Ten months ago, Auto Workers President Walter Reuther and Teamsters Acting President Frank Fitzsimmons and their top associates announced their intention to organize the ALA. Since then, numerous meetings have been held, of the leadership, of the executive boards, of top staff men.

Observers, in and out of the labor world, could only gaze upon this development—of two such disparate unions—in wild surmise. Here was Walter Reuther joining forces with the Teamsters to attempt to do what he

declared was impossible to do inside the AFL-CIO. Here was Frank Fitzsimmons, Acting Teamsters President, ready to prove to the world that his union was prepared to move from "bread and butter" to higher considerations of larger social concerns.

The traditions of both unions seemed far apart. Their economic backgrounds are diverse. The Auto Workers bargain for workers concentrated largely in the auto industry, over the years probably the most productive and creative of American corporations. The Teamsters bargain for workers in a wide diversity of enterprises, large and small, mobile and stationary and in between, their members flowing together to make up the nation's largest transportation complex.

Each of these unions has strong attractive as well as repellent powers. The prestige of the Auto Workers is great at home and abroad. In fact, Mr. Reuther's reputation for civic virtue and social idealism often annoyed people who could operate on mundane levels. Certainly Jimmy Hoffa, the Teamsters president now in prison, for jury fixing, might have been fascinated by the Reuther spectacular; but he preferred his own theater of action which brought him to the ultimate absurdity of flipping mattresses in jail.

At any rate, the Teamsters cast from the AFL-CIO twelve years ago, the Auto Workers, divorced from the AFL-CIO a year ago, have now decided to go steady. Like money in the bank, they have decided not to let their power lie idle. They believe their confluence of power will multiply their influence in helping shape the nation's social policy.

In their "founding conference," Messrs Fitzsimmons and Reuther brought together 500 of their key local and regional leaders. Both men emphasized the positive. "We are not at war with the AFL-CIO. We are not a competitive labor federation," insisted Mr. Fitzsimmons. "We propose a set of ideals which we hope will rededicate the labor movement to its original purpose."

"The Alliance for Labor Action has been undertaken," said Mr. Fitzsimmons, "because, as we look back, we find there are a lot of things which got lost in the shuffle as we ran pell mell toward our present day affluence. We in the Alliance did not look back because of a guilt complex. We looked back to reevaluate and to correct and adjust our direction." Jimmy Hoffa's name was not mentioned once.

**KEY QUOTES FROM FITZSIMMONS.**—The Teamsters acting president insisted that the "ALA is not a competitive federation. It is the competition between labor organizations which we seek to place at rest."

He attacked the Landrum-Griffin Law as "not a measure of reform, but anti-labor legislation designed to hamper our efforts to help working men and women in need." Even government officials, he said, are "attributing general unrest in labor to the punitive measures of Landrum-Griffin. . . . As we predicted before passage of Landrum-Griffin, rabble rousers and malcontents are using the law to disrupt union meetings, where members discuss such important things as contract settlements. . . . Union leaders are powerless to act against the disrupters for fear of prosecution."

(In this connection, he said that in his home local 299 in Detroit four men had been recently indicted because the chairman ejected two men who, he said, had no right to be there. This incident occurred several months ago during the reelection of Hoffa and Fitzsimmons as president and vice president of the local.)

As chairman of the Committee on Organizing the Unorganized, Fitzsimmons emphasized the importance of bringing farm workers under the protection of the National Labor Relations Act "as a first step toward bringing these people up from the very bottom of the economic ladder. . . . These "second-class" workers have "taken to the

streets to demonstrate their desperate need. They are knocking at the door of recognition . . . not to be denied."

**ON THE "GENERATION GAP."**—"A constructive and meaningful dialogue can be established with the youngsters, if we only take the time to talk to them. Just standing back and shaking our heads when they storm a university or when they demonstrate is not enough. We, in the Teamsters, and in the UAW, I am certain, intend to establish communication with the youngsters, simply because they will be taking positions of leadership in organized labor and in the country as some of the present leaders retire."

From here he led in to the "unpopular war in Vietnam" against which the "youth of our country are up in arms . . . over the billions of dollars this country spends annually to carry on this war . . . when our people go begging right here at home. This war, the bane and the plague of both Democratic and Republican Administrations, must be stopped . . . soon. If it is not, its consequence will tear the fabric of Americanism until there is serious doubt that the tear can be mended satisfactorily."

**SOME REUTHER QUOTES.**—Following Fitzsimmons, Reuther seconded the latter's remarks: "We have come together not to weaken or undermine the labor movement, but to build its strength. . . . We want to try to make the labor movement more responsive to the forces of change. . . . Those of us in the leadership of the UAW—and I know I speak for the tens of thousands of our rank and file throughout the U.S. and Canada—extend the hands of friendship . . . and fellowship to Frank Fitzsimmons and the leadership of the Teamsters Union, and to every member of that great union. . . ."

**COOPERATION.**—"We in the ALA commit ourselves and our resources to the task of organizing the unorganized . . . industrial workers or white collar workers, workers in the South or migratory workers or the working poor. . . . We are prepared to join hands in that great historic task but we want to make it clear that while we extend that cooperative hand—and we hope that many organizations will grasp that cooperative hand—we do not accept the proposition that any organization has a divine right to sit upon its paper jurisdictional claims and block the organization of a million unorganized workers in America."

**OBJECTS OF ALA AS STATED IN CONSTITUTION.**—1. To organize the unorganized. 2. To encourage maximum cooperation, coordination and mutual support among all organizations prepared to join in a common effort. 3. To assist in the establishment of voluntary defense funds . . . to provide meaningful financial assistance to workers . . . where management refuses to bargain in good faith on a deliberate effort to weaken, undermine and destroy the union involved as an appropriate and effective collective bargaining agency. 4. To promote organization of agricultural workers. 5. To join with others . . . to organize community unions so that the working poor, the unemployed and the underemployed may have the opportunity of participation, of self-organization and self-determination. 6. Here are listed a comprehensive list of areas of cooperation with "other concerned community groups" for the realization of social and political goals.

**STRUCTURE OF THE ALA.**—Any "bona fide labor organization will be eligible to affiliate." The Executive Committee will determine eligibility and conditions under which such affiliation is acceptable. The Executive Committee is to be made up of the chief executive officers of the Teamsters and the Auto Workers, as co-chairmen, with four representatives from each of the unions. The method of financing of the organization is determined by the Executive Committee. (Per capita dues of ten cents per month from an estimated 3.5 million members.)

A Council of Joint Boards to be composed of the international union officers and executive boards of all affiliated organizations will be convened at least twice a year. . . . "to encourage and facilitate the broadest possible leadership participation . . . through the discussion of policies and programs and their effective implementation."

In addition, national or regional conferences would be called. Participants would be representatives from affiliated organizations, together with representatives of unaffiliated organizations and other guests invited by the Executive Committee.

There will be a fulltime administrative and office staff to be paid from the general treasury. . . . Organizations assigning personnel to the ALA would be reimbursed by the ALA treasury. Withdrawal from the ALA is permitted on 60 days written notice.

The joint nature of the enterprise was emphasized. On the platform, the Teamsters and UAW executive board members flanked Fitzsimmons and Reuther. Through arrangements in preliminary meeting in Chicago, the allocation of roles had clearly been decided upon. The Teamsters delegation came to 242, the UAW's, 247. Most of the talking was done from the platform, but in the discussion from the floor the UAW delegates seemed more active.

Some interest was shown in guests from other organizations. The partial list included a six-man delegation from the International Chemical Workers, headed by Thomas E. Boyle; there were two representatives from the AFL-CIO Glass and Ceramic Workers; and Leon Schacheter, vice president of the Meat Cutters. A representative from the striking Charleston, S.C. Hospital Workers (Local 1199B of AFL-CIO Retail and Wholesale Workers) reported on developments; she received a check for \$25,000, the ALA's first contribution from its "defense fund," matching the \$25,000 contribution by the AFL-CIO Executive Council last week. Other guests came from the National Postal Union and the independent Federation of Telephone Workers and Pennsylvania sent its president, J. C. Clendenning.

Who are to be organized? Pat Greathouse, UAW Vice President and a member of the ALA organizing committee, named the following groups as requiring additional organizational attention: chemicals, textiles, chain stores, distribution, transportation, white collar, farm, furniture, government and office workers generally.

Murray W. (Dusty) Miller, Teamsters vice president, chairman of the Teamsters Southern Conference, stressed the problem-ridden South. In contrast to the 1930's, he said, "employers are better educated and better financed in how to knock the hell out of working people." Turning to Reuther, he said, "Walter, you think you're a radical, but union organizers are the radicals down South." Then, expanding on the importance of ALA, he said: "In my 30 years in the labor movement, this is the first time I've been invited to join hands with a union that has any money. . . . The UAW has \$83 million in its defense funds; we can spend about \$80 million of that down South." The audience liked that.

COMMENT OF ONE TEAMSTER OFFICIAL.—The day after the conference, a Teamster official had this dry-eyed appraisal: "If 10 per cent of our hopes materialize, that'll be progress. I believe some of our guys might have been infected a little with the ideas. Others of course remain naturally skeptical. Most of the Teamsters in the conference had never been exposed to such talk in a labor meeting before. Many of them have been good at bargaining and organizing, but for the first time, they may come to believe there's more to a trade union philosophy than they've been conscious of. Teamsters have respect for the UAW as being a strong and effective union. For that reason, they would accept none of

this "social" talk from such a union when they might not from an outfit with less muscle.

"At any rate, implementation is what will count. Remember we are putting a lot of money into this."

MOHN'S FITCH.—In commenting on the basic document setting up ALA, Einar Mohn, Teamsters vice president and head of the Western Conference of Teamsters, told the ALA audience: "It will take backbone to get up in front of a local union and say we mean it. You are not going to solve the problems of the disadvantaged, which affect all of us, without changing the environment. . . . We've got to show young people in the country that when we say something we mean it. That's the hangup today: they don't believe us because promises that have been held out are not being kept. . . . Let's help the teachers. After all they're bringing up our children for us."

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, May 23, 1969]  
TEAMSTERS, UAW TO HELP POOR BUILD PREFABS

(By Fred Fralley)

A Teamster-United Auto Workers alliance will employ ghetto workers to build prefabricated housing units in their own neighborhoods, a spokesman announced Thursday.

The move could touch off a major jurisdictional battle between the two unions and the giant AFL-CIO, which includes the building trades unions.

Harold J. Gibbons, director of the Central Conference of the Teamsters Union, made the announcement following a planning session with UAW President Walther Reuther at the Ramada-O'Hare Inn.

The statement comes on the eve of next week's unveiling in Washington of the Alliance for Labor Action.

"We're not going into this looking for a fight," Gibbons said. "We want to cooperate with the building trades if we can, not fight them."

The building trades unions have historically fought against prefabricated housing, because it means fewer jobs at the assembly sites.

The AFL-CIO unions will be under pressure from embattled George Meany, AFL-CIO president, to attempt to thwart the alliance programs, since there is no love lost between Meany and Reuther. Meany views the newly forged Teamster-UAW alliance as a divisive force in the labor movement.

Gibbons, who is from St. Louis, said that the alliance would provide seed money for urban housing projects which would be financed mainly with federal government funds.

"We've done these things in St. Louis and there's no doubt in my mind that they won't succeed elsewhere," Gibbons said.

To date, alliance, plans have been mostly indefinite. But it is expected that the group will attempt to organize nonunion workers on a massive scale and involve itself in social action ventures in the inner cities, such as low-cost housing, community centers and political action.

Committees of high-ranking Teamsters and UAW officials started several months ago to devise alliance programs in these fields.

Their reports are expected to be made public at the first alliance conference next week.

[From the International Teamster]

BREAD AND BUTTER: THE INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER

(By Frank Fitzsimmons, general vice president)

The Founding Conference of the Alliance for Labor Action was held May 26th and 27th in Washington, D.C., and it was a meaningful day for American working men and women and for the country.

Elsewhere in this issue of the International Teamster, the happenings of the conference are fully reported.

Some have described Teamster participation in the Alliance for Labor Action as a radical departure from our past image as simply a bread and butter union. I do not view the ALA as that at all.

I think the International Brotherhood of Teamsters is still basically a bread and butter union. That the ALA pictures us as wanting bread and butter for all is nothing new.

But, let's compare the past with the future. We in the Teamsters have always prided ourselves on the excellent contracts which we have negotiated for our members. We are proud of the wages we have gained.

However, what good does it do to negotiate good wages earned under good conditions, if economic and social conditions are such that those conditions syphon off purchasing power from those wages?

Consider the goal of the ALA to organize the millions of unorganized workers of America. These millions of unorganized and underpaid workers have always been used by industry as a pool of cheap labor to hinder further gains by those already committed to collective bargaining.

Yes, consider the high taxes you pay to help support the nation's welfare system, only because every American has not been given a chance to earn his own way.

Consider the cost to the American taxpayer for crime in the streets, blamed on minority groups and bred in the ghettos of America, where family life is dissipated by such living conditions. If given a decent place to live, ghetto dwellers will suddenly become solid contributors to the American way of life.

Consider the millions of people in this country who have political and economic problems, but have no political power base from which to articulate those problems and no power base from which to demand solutions. Consequently, those who share in America's abundance pick up the bill for the economic want of the unfortunate and the deprived. And, good union wages are again eroded.

Consider the billions of dollars from tax funds which go to the military establishment, for needless wars and needless armament, which could be spent here at home for correction of conditions which too long have been ignored.

I like to believe that the more than 2 million Teamster members across the land subscribe to the programs of the Alliance for Labor Action from a moral standpoint. I believe you are willing to extend the hand of help to those who need it.

But, if there are those who are reluctant from that viewpoint, then look at the programs of the Alliance for Labor Action from a self-serving perspective. I think you will agree that the ALA will help not only those in need, but also will help those who have risen above the level of want and need.

I look forward to the programs of the ALA with enthusiasm as they are an excellent opportunity to make bread and butter a reality for all Americans, and I kind of like the feeling of belonging to a bread and butter union.

[From the International Teamster, June 1969]

ALA—FIRST FOUNDING CONFERENCE

An historic event in the annals of organized labor took place in late May as the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the United Auto Workers allied themselves to find the answers to the urgent problems of American society and do something about them.

The IBT and UAW formally created the Alliance for Labor Action in a founding convention held in Washington, D.C., May 26-27.

Co-chairing the event were Teamsters Union General Vice President Frank E. Fitzsimmons and UAW President Walter P. Reuther.

While the ALA was born officially at a July 23rd 1968 meeting in Chicago, Ill., where the IBT and UAW executive boards gave their unanimous approval of the alliance, its first step was taken in the nation's capital.

More than five hundred delegates—evenly divided between the two biggest unions in the United States—unanimously approved the ALA constitution.

They endorsed a program of policy and passed several resolutions aimed at implementing a plan to strengthen and revitalize the labor movement while advancing the interests of American workers and their families.

Some of America's foremost political, governmental and civic leaders graced the ALA podium as visiting speakers through the 2-day meeting in the Washington Hilton Hotel, including:

Secretary of Labor George Shultz.  
Sen. George McGovern, South Dakota Democrat and a candidate last year for his Party's presidential nomination.

Sen. Charles Percy, Illinois Republican, considered one of the brightest young stars in the GOP.

J. Curtis Counts, director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

Whitney Young, national director and president of the National Urban League.

It was Sen. McGovern who, in his address, complimented General Vice President Fitzsimmons with making the most significant statements voiced by any American labor leader in a decade.

The Senator was referring to Fitzsimmons' opening session speech in which the Teamster leader declared:

On the subject of American youth caught up in the spirit of revolution—"I, for one, do not believe that the so-called generation gap is something which cannot be bridged. I believe that a constructive and meaningful dialogue can be established with the youngsters, if we only take the time to talk to them. Just standing back and shaking our heads when they storm a university or when they demonstrate is not enough."

On the subject of the Vietnam war—"We find the youth of the nation up in arms over an unpopular war in Vietnam, up in arms over the billions of dollars this country spends annually to carry on this war in the Far East, when our own people go begging right here at home. This war, the bane and the plague of both Democratic and Republican Administrations, must be stopped, and must be stopped soon."

Delegates responded with heavy applause as Fitzsimmons delivered these words. He also received heavy applause when he said: "We in labor must seek to do our thing in waging a war on America's social ills."

Fitzsimmons stressed in his speech that the ALA is not a "competitive labor federation." Rather, he said, it is an alliance directed against the "conditions which must be corrected because they erode away basic American freedoms; conditions which erode away the American way of life for those who have gained the benefits of our abundance, and we are at war with the conditions which still deny the American way of life to so many of our brothers and sisters."

He said the ALA proposes a set of ideals "which we hope will rededicate the Labor movement to its original purpose; ideals which will revitalize our talents and resources for the total community good."

Fitzsimmons cited the numerous negative conditions that contribute to a sort of national frustration of any achievement for the welfare of people in the United States.

"Many of our people," said Fitzsimmons, "live in complete frustration." They are frustrated, not because of their own ineptness

and lack of interest, but in many instances because of government policies. Yes, policies of organized labor, and because of general public attitude which deprives them of opportunity to help themselves, economically, culturally, and socially."

Fitzsimmons wondered aloud why some of the government's policies seek to hinder Labor's efforts against social ills. He referred especially to such policies as Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act which permits states to pass compulsory open shop laws with the result that millions of workers are discouraged in any effort to gain the benefits of collective bargaining.

He described 14(b) as a "crutch" supporting low-paying industry in 19 states—a situation that exploits poverty rather than trying to overcome it. He also attacked the Landrum-Griffin Act as a piece of anti-labor legislation "designed to hamper our efforts to help working men and women in need."

Fitzsimmons issued an invitation in his concluding remark: "If you agree with our ALA principles and dedication, welcome aboard, for the task is difficult, and needs the cooperation of Americans of good will throughout the land."

UAW President Reuther issued a similar invitation in his opening-day speech: "We extend the hand of friendship and fellowship to all unions—let us work, march, build and fight together." A heavy round of applause was extended Reuther by the delegates when he stated: "We can move the American labor movement forward!"

Discussing the labor movement's "agenda of unfinished business" Reuther said a prime goal was the organizing of the unorganized and added that the ALA must make a total commitment to deal with domestic problems.

As did Fitzsimmons, Reuther also spoke against the Vietnam war situation and called instead for a "total war against human poverty in this land of plenty."

Improvements in public education, Social Security increases, tax reform, and numerous other needed changes were urged by Reuther. He also referred to "the insanity of the nuclear arms race" and made a strong statement against the anti-ballistic missile system now being seriously considered by the government.

Both Fitzsimmons and Reuther made reference to another historic event of the moment—the splashdown of Apollo 10 which came on the opening day of the ALA meeting, Fitzsimmons called it a "miracle of achievement" and expressed the thanks in the mind of every delegate that the astronauts had returned safely to earth after orbiting the moon. Reuther declared that a nation that can put a man on the moon can surely build housing for people who so desperately need it.

Resolutions passed by the delegates included:

A pledge of \$25,000 in ALA's first expenditure to support the hospital workers' strike in Charleston, S.C.

A resolve to continue a full-scale effort to organize the unorganized, bringing to them the advantages of union representation and collective bargaining.

#### UNMET NEEDS

A statement on America's unmet needs and the urban crisis, including a recommendation that the ALA leadership request an appointment with President Nixon to discuss urgent questions of poverty and hunger, equal opportunity, inflation, employment, national welfare, consumer protection, etc.

A declaration that America's housing crisis is staggering and that the objectives of the 1968 Federal Housing Act must be met, at the minimum, to prevent further decay and demolition which threatens to outrun rebuilding and rehabilitation programs.

Welcoming the cooperation of labor, religious, civil rights and community groups

in the task of achieving economic and social justice for America's disadvantaged through the process of community unions dedicated to peaceful social change.

A call for a national health insurance program, equitably financed, to guarantee the right to good health care for every American.

Reform of the unfair and inequitable tax system.

A call for the Administration and Congress to re-examine the projected Defense budget for fiscal 1970 and to turn down the proposed antiballistic missile program and, instead divert the money to the domestic needs of Americans.

Every member of the Teamsters Union general executive board was present at the ALA founding convention and many of them either introduced resolutions or spoke in support of them. Teamster leaders appearing before the delegates along with General Vice President Fitzsimmons were:

General Secretary-Treasurer Thomas E. Flynn of Washington, D.C.

Vice President Joseph J. Diviny of San Francisco, Calif.

Vice President Einar O. Mohn of Burlingame, Calif., director of the Western Conference of Teamsters.

Vice President Harry A. Tevis of Pittsburgh, Pa.

Vice President George E. Mock of Sacramento, Calif.

Vice President Murray W. Miller of Dallas, Tex., director of the Southern Conference of Teamsters.

Vice President Harold J. Gibbons of St. Louis, Mo., Secretary-Treasurer and acting head of the Central Conference of Teamsters.

Vice President Joseph Trerotola of New York City, director of the Eastern Conference of Teamsters.

Vice President Dominick Calabrese of Jersey City, N.J.

Vice President Robert Holmes of Detroit, Mich.

Vice President Ray Schoessling of Chicago, Ill.

Vice President William Presser of Cleveland, Ohio.

Vice President William J. McCarthy of Boston, Mass.

[From the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen, and Helpers of America]

REMARKS OF TEAMSTER GENERAL VICE PRESIDENT FRANK E. FITZSIMMONS TO THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF THE ALLIANCE FOR LABOR ACTION MAY 26-27, 1969—WASHINGTON HILTON

This morning, as we gather for the First Conference of the Alliance for Labor Action, I am reminded of a story:

There was a poor chap, lying flat on his back in an oxygen tent on a hospital bed. Into the hospital room walked a priest, who moved up to the bed and looked down upon the poor fellow. As the Priest stood there, the man in the oxygen tent made great efforts to communicate with the Father, but was able only to move his lips. The priest realized the poor condition of the man, and thought it might be time to administer last rites.

As the priest pondered the situation, the patient made a motion as if writing a note on the palm of his hand with his finger. The priest sensed that the man wanted to write a note, so he slipped a pad and pen to the man under the oxygen tent. With great difficulty, the patient scribbled a note, lurched and died. The priest reached under the oxygen tent and retrieved the note which said:

"You are standing on my air hose."  
Well, in a sense, The Alliance for Labor Action was formed because something or someone is standing on the air hose from which America receives its vitality.

First of all, I want to put things in their proper perspective.

When The Alliance for Labor Action was formed last July, in Chicago, we made every effort to assure the world that the ALA is not a competitive labor federation. Indeed, it is the competition between labor organizations which we seek to place at rest.

Yet, in spite of our efforts, there are those who proclaim today that the Teamsters and the United Auto Workers are at war with the AFL-CIO.

Well, again I protest. We are at war only with the conditions which must be corrected because they erode away basic American freedoms; conditions which erode away the American way of life for those who have gained the benefits of our abundance; and we are at war with the conditions which still deny the American way of life to so many of our brothers and sisters.

What we propose in The Alliance for Labor Action is a set of principles and ideals which are not at all foreign to the labor movement. What we propose is a set of ideals which we hope will rededicate the labor movement to its original purpose; ideals which will revitalize our talents and resources for the total community good.

If we take a quick assessment of the conditions of the country, what do we find?

We not only find our cities in constant danger of riot, sometimes at the hands of those who exploit every situation for personal gain and personal publicity;

But we also find that the situation is ripe for self-seeking individuals, because so many of our people live in complete frustration.

They are frustrated, not because of their own ineptness and laziness, but in many instances because of government policies. Yes, policies of organized labor, and because of general public attitude which deprives them of opportunity to help themselves economically, culturally, and socially.

As the U.S. government seeks ways to wage war on poverty and other social ills, some of its policies toward organized labor make us wonder why it seeks to hinder labor's efforts against these social ills.

I think especially about such policies as section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley which permits the states to pass compulsory open shop laws.

In 19 of our states such laws exist and serve as a crutch and a subsidy to low paying industries, which exploit poverty rather than wage war against it. And the compulsory open shop laws hinder labor in its quest for decent standards of living in those states.

We heard a lot back a few years ago about how the Landrum-Griffin act was going to reform organized labor. Those who championed Landrum-Griffin in the federal Congress were made to look like crusaders on white horses, charging against the forces of evil.

We in organized labor declared that the Landrum-Griffin Act was not a measure of reform, but anti labor legislation designed to hamper our efforts to help working men and women in need.

What do we find today, under the past experience of Landrum-Griffin. We find even officials in government attributing general unrest in labor to the punitive measures of Landrum Griffin. We find that legitimate and constitutional rights are being denied to working Americans. Such traditional rights as the right to work or not to work are being interpreted as secondary boycotts. Freedom of speech and assembly are being interpreted as secondary action in violation of Landrum Griffin.

And, as we predicted before passage of Landrum Griffin, rabble rousers and malcontents are using the law to disrupt union meetings, where members discuss such important things as contract settlements. And

because of the Landrum Griffin Act, union leaders are powerless to act against the disrupters for fear of prosecuting for denying the rabble rousers the right to disrupt union meetings, which Landrum Griffin calls the right of the union member.

Well, this is a government policy with which we in labor must deal on a day to day basis as we seek to do our thing in waging a war on America's social ills.

I think it is very appropriate that this first conference of the Alliance for Labor Action should be held here in Washington, D.C., as we direct our attention to the country's social ills.

I think it is appropriate because right here in this city, which is supposed to exemplify democracy to the world, the residents do not even have home rule. They are not the masters of their own destiny, they do not govern themselves, and every attempt to extend them the same measure of democracy enjoyed by others throughout the land, meets one road block after another in the federal congress. This is a social ill which should stand high on the priority list of every American of good will.

We have been concerned for many years about the plight of America's farm workers. They stand today as second class citizens without the protection of federal law to organize and bargain collectively.

And, present proposals for affording them some protection—if adopted—will leave them as second class citizens.

We maintain that they should be brought under the protection of the National Labor Relations Act, the same as other American workers, as a first step toward bringing these people from the very bottom of the economic ladder to a place of self-sufficiency and dignity in the American scene.

The current result of the second class status of American farm workers is that they have taken to the streets to demonstrate their desperate need—and they are knocking on the door for recognition with a firmness which cannot be denied.

We find millions of our citizens living in hovels and ghettos unfit for human habitation at a time when American technology and know-how has reached fantastic heights.

And we need only the will to wipe out the slums and give all Americans a decent place in which to live and a foundation for good family life—which I maintain is the foundation of a sound America.

We find a congress, many members of which, are entirely unconcerned about these and other problems which threaten to tear down the American way of freedom and equal opportunity.

And when we analyze the situation, we find these elected representatives are able to ignore the nation's problems because so many of our citizens in need have no political power base from which to express their problems and from which to demand solutions.

We all know of the position of power from which such groups as the National Association of Manufacturers, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the Farm Bureau, and other national associations speak in the federal congress. Yes, we know that organized labor, from time to time, is able to speak from a position of power on the political scene.

But millions of Americans are unorganized politically, and as a result, no one is speaking for them in Washington, D.C., and the result is that they are in need and are desperate for help.

And we find something else, which is, perhaps, most disturbing of all. We find the energies of our youth caught up in the spirit of revolution, tearing down the institutions of learning, and in rebellion against the inconsistencies of the older members of society, a youth hell-bent upon the

destruction of the very freedoms and values which they say they seek to secure.

I, for one, do not believe that the so-called generation gap is something which cannot be bridged. I believe that a constructive and meaningful dialogue can be established with the youngsters, if we only take the time to talk to them. Just standing back and shaking our heads when they storm a university or when they demonstrate is not enough.

We in the Teamsters, and in the UAW, I am certain, intend to establish communications with the youngsters, simply because they will be taking up positions of leadership in organized labor and in the country as some of the present leaders retire.

We find the youth of the nation up in arms over an unpopular war in Vietnam, up in arms over the billions of dollars this country spends annually to carry on this war in the Far East, when our own people go begging right here at home.

This war, the bane and the plague of both Democratic and Republican administrations, must be stopped, and must be stopped soon.

If it is not, its consequences will tear the fabric of Americanism until there is serious doubt that the tear can be mended satisfactorily.

We do not stand here today, like so many criticizing the administration for the war, but proposing no solutions. We don't have a solution, other than to urge the administration to make settlement of the war its number one priority. We take this position because until this war is stopped, all of our domestic problems and social ills will go un-solved.

So, with all of these things in mind, over a year ago, many of us in the Teamsters began to ponder what could be done to give the labor movement new direction, and if new direction was found what could be done to put plans for correction into action.

We found that there was similar thinking in the leadership of the United Auto Workers, and after many talks with the leaders of that great union, we decided to sit down and pool our concerns and our ideas.

I have been in the labor movement for more than 30 years, and that experience has taught me that there are two reasons for looking back over one's shoulder.

The guilty ones look back to see if they have been caught serving only their own well being, to see if it is time to run and hide.

The thoughtful and the concerned look back over their shoulders to ascertain what past mistakes have been, to see where, in this fast moving world, we have left things undone which ought to have been taken care of.

The Alliance for Labor Action has been undertaken because, as we look back, we find that there are a lot of things which got lost in the shuffle as we ran pell mell toward our present day affluence.

We in The Alliance for Labor Action did not look back because of a guilt complex. We looked back to re-evaluate and to correct and adjust our direction.

And, I can tell you here today that the time for looking back is now over. Today we look ahead to the fulfillment of the programs of the Alliance for Labor Action, adopted in a commitment to the total good.

The purpose of this conference is to acquaint you with those programs of action, and to challenge you to the commitment for the good of the total community.

To the critics, I say, take a look over your shoulder. If you see things in the past which provoke a feeling of guilt, no one here is willing to cast the first stone.

If you agree with our principles and dedication, welcome aboard, for the task is difficult and needs the cooperation of Americans of good will throughout the land.

## HIGH COST OF LIVING

**HON. JACK EDWARDS**

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, recently, the price of milk went up 3 cents a half gallon in Washington. There should have been complaints, but the general comment was: "What's the use?" As a matter of fact, prices continue to go up everywhere on just about everything, but the usual statement is, "Well, we had better rush out and buy a good supply before the price goes higher."

Interest rates have skyrocketed to 8½ percent and many businessmen have rushed into borrow more money before the interest goes higher.

Labor is demanding higher and higher wages so that the workman can pay higher and higher prices. In fact it has gotten so bad that we find it difficult to compete in world markets.

And many business and labor people are urging wage-price controls. But when you probe a little deeper you find that business is really the one that wants wage controls, while labor is only interested in price controls. And nobody really remembers the horrible problems involved with Federal controls of wages and prices during the past years.

Well, all of this adds up to what is called inflation psychology—the theory that everything is going up anyway, so I might as well get mine. But in the process the country is going bankrupt and the people who are hurt the most are the wage earner, the elderly, and all those people who live on fixed incomes. And they are hurt by the cruelest tax of all, the inflation that eats away at savings, retirement checks, and limited income.

When the 10 percent surtax was passed last year, I voted against it because there was no indication whatsoever that the Johnson administration had any real intention of cutting back on Federal spending, of balancing the budget, or of getting the Federal Government out of the money market where it was competing with the private investor for funds, thus pushing interest rates higher.

But the tax was passed last year and the poor taxpayer has, in the last 12 months, invested several billion dollars of his hard-earned money in the attempt to stop inflation. With the new administration in January, we have all of a sudden found some fiscal responsibility in the White House. President Nixon has already reduced the Johnson budget by \$4 billion and cuts have been made in every department of Government, except in the Justice Department where additional money was budgeted to fight crime. We have found a willingness to balance the budget, and in the last few weeks we have apparently started getting on top of the inflation problem. For example the consumer price index for March was 9.6 percent, but it dropped to 7.6 percent in April and to 3.7 percent in May. A similar decline can also be seen for these months in the wholesale price index. This does not mean inflation is over, not by a long shot, but it does mean that we are starting to see progress.

Can we now fall backwards and waste all that investment on the part of the taxpayer in trying to combat inflation? I think not. We must make the dollar worth something again—that is the best wage increase and the best tax reduction that there is.

As I listened to the debate on the tax bill yesterday, it became clear that at least two commitments were made which are very valuable to the taxpayer.

First, instead of extending the surtax indefinitely at 10 percent, the agreement was made to phase it out at 10 percent until January, then 5 percent until June 30, 1970, and then it is to be terminated. Almost all parties agree that it will not be extended further.

Second, we have a commitment from the President and the leadership for meaningful tax reform for the first time in many years; a tax reform that will give the average guy a break, that will assure that the wealthiest people of this country pay their fair share of taxes, that tax loopholes are closed.

And so we will have tax reform; we are hopefully on the road to making a dollar worth something again, and on that basis I voted yesterday to phase out the surtax over the next 12 months.

The popular vote would have been "No." And it would have been much easier to explain back home. But after listening to the debate and considering the future of this country, I concluded that the responsible vote was "Yes." Fiscal responsibility in this time of monetary crisis is an absolute must.

## THE SST DEBATE

**HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, in January of this year, Boeing Co. submitted revised design plans for a supersonic transport plane to the Federal Aviation Administration. The new design was submitted after earlier prototypes, which utilized the moveable wings concept which helped win Boeing the original contract for the SST, proved infeasible in performance tests. The submission of this new design means that both the executive branch and Congress will have another opportunity to evaluate the wisdom of proceeding with Federal financing of the SST.

Since 1963, more than \$500 million has been appropriated by Congress for development of the SST. If the Government decides to proceed with development of the new design submitted by Boeing, it is estimated that at least \$250 million in additional funds will be required during the fiscal year 1970.

The wisdom of sinking millions of Federal dollars into a plane of dubious technical feasibility—particularly in view of the urgent need for increased Federal support for more pressing transportation needs like mass transit—has been called into question by numerous critics, including myself. The possibility that the total development costs of

the plane to the Federal Government may reach as high as \$3 billion emphasizes the need for Congress to reassess the need for Federal participation in the development of the SST in light of pressing domestic needs, most especially in our major cities.

To spend millions more on a plane that can cut the flying time from New York to Paris from 6 hours to 3½, while transportation problems within our metropolitan areas fester would be to ignore the urgency of our real needs in favor of developing a plane which will, at best, only be utilized by a small minority of our citizens. I urge my colleagues to examine the issues surrounding the SST and to carefully assess the wisdom of extending Federal participation in this nonpriority program.

I include at this point in the RECORD an article by Richard P. Cooke which appeared in the June 30 Wall Street Journal which points out the issues involved in the SST debate and the case for halting Federal participation in the project:

[From the Wall Street Journal, June 30, 1969]

## THE SST DEBATE

(By Richard P. Cooke)

The supersonic airliner is an abomination. It will be grossly expensive to build, and once in the air its thunderous sonic boom will terrorize the people below—all to save a few hours of flying time for the privileged few.

The supersonic airliner is inevitable. The U.S. already is behind in developing one, and if we don't build one soon our airlines will buy theirs overseas. That would be a grievous blow to the U.S. balance of payments. What's more, most of the alarms about sonic booms are exaggerated; the only discomfort will be to a few sailors on the oceans the planes will span and an occasional polar bear.

Those, in essence, are the opposing arguments currently confronting President Nixon as he ponders whether to forge ahead with the Federally supported effort to build a supersonic jet transport, or SST, in this country. The Government has already pumped more than \$500 million into SST development over the past five years, and supporters of the project want Mr. Nixon to seek another \$250 million or so in the fiscal 1970 budget. The money would go chiefly to Boeing Co., which in 1966 won a design competition to develop the SST.

## AN IMBALANCE OF PRIORITIES?

But there is stiff opposition to continued Government support of the project. Several Congressmen have argued that if the SST is to be built at all, it should be financed entirely by private investment. "At a time of domestic crisis, for the Federal Government to spend billions of dollars on the SST is a vivid example of the imbalance in our national priorities," says Rep. William F. Ryan, a New York Democrat. If the Government is going to spend money on transportation, he argues, it should go toward solving urban transit problems.

Other critics object to the SST because of the sonic boom problem. A loud thunderclap will trail the supersonic airliner in a vast "carpet" that, at ground level, will extend 30 miles on either side of the flight path. The SST opponents contend that the boom will wake people up, aggravate the condition of ill persons, break windows, crack plaster and just be generally annoying.

The Federal Aviation Administration argues that such problems won't arise in the U.S. because the FAA won't permit supersonic flight over U.S. territory. It plans to limit full-speed operation of the SST to

flights over oceans and perhaps over the Arctic wilderness along the polar route. But some opponents contend that the economic pressures of flying the high-cost planes are likely ultimately to lead to routes over land.

#### ECONOMIC ARGUMENTS

The arguments in favor of the SST are mainly economic—and they have changed little since the late President Kennedy declared in 1963 that the national interest required development of an American SST. The central thesis is that, like it or not, supersonic airliners will be built by someone—indeed, test models already are flying overseas—and that airlines will be forced by competition to buy them. Thus, it is argued that if the U.S. fails to develop an SST, the nation could wind up a double loser: Its own airlines will be spending dollars overseas on foreign planes, and the domestic aircraft industry will be losing out on overseas sales.

Proponents point out further that U.S. hesitancy already has eliminated any chance of Boeing's having a plane ready to compete with the first generation of foreign SSTs. The Russian TU144, smaller and somewhat slower than the proposed Boeing SST, may go into supersonic commercial service as soon as next spring. The Concorde, a joint French and British product similar to the TU144, is due to begin carrying passengers, in 1973 or 1974. But even with complete cooperation from the Federal Government, Boeing says it won't be able to put its SST into operation much before 1978—or about the time the Europeans will probably be offering larger and more economical models to their planes.

The subject of all this debate, the proposed Boeing SST, is a big, delta-shaped craft that, in theory at least, will be able to flash through the skies carrying 298 passenger at 1,800 miles an hour—more than twice the speed of sound. It would cut New York-to-London flying time to less than three hours from the present six and one-half hours of subsonic jets. The 11-hour flight from San Francisco to Tokyo could be reduced to four and one-half hours or less.

#### EXPENSIVE LUXURY

Such luxury will come dear, however. The "target" cost for Boeing to build two test-model SSTs and fly them a total of 100 hours is \$1.2 billion—and backers of the project concede that the actual cost is likely to be somewhat higher. Moreover, the total doesn't include \$294 million contributed by the Government to participants in the 1966 design competition.

Present plans call for the Government to advance 90% of the SST development cost up to a total of \$1 billion. After that, it is to pay 75%. Most of the remainder would come from Boeing and General Electric Co., the engine manufacturer, though airlines also would contribute.

Once the prototypes have been built and tested, an estimated \$3 billion more will be required to tool up assembly lines and get SSTs into commercial production. Boeing and GE have complained that this expense is too much for them to handle. But the Federal Aviation Administration, which is overseeing the SST program for the Government, argues that once the high-risk development phase is over, it's up to the companies to raise their own money.

Eventually, it's planned, royalties on sales of the SST would repay the Government for its investment in development of the craft. Boeing already has tentative orders for 122 SSTs—assuming they are ever built. They are expected to sell for at least \$40 million apiece.

Controversy has dogged the American SST program from its inception. In 1967, nagged by doubts about whether the Government should continue its support, President Johnson appointed an eight-man advisory group under Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara

to review the project. The group recommended that the SST be abandoned. "We are agreed," said one leading economist involved in the study, "that there's absolutely no justification for building this plane."

Though the group's report was not made public, it's known that material it gathered indicated the SST might well prove technically far more difficult to develop than its backers supposed. Moreover, the group raised serious doubts about whether the SST could be operated on a sound economic basis once it was put in service. "This thing could become the FAA's Edsel," observed one member of the study committee.

Despite the negative report, however, Mr. Johnson chose to press on with the project. He asked Congress for—and got—\$198 million in the fiscal 1968 budget to keep SST development moving. Though no new funds were appropriated in fiscal 1969, work has continued with carryover funds from previous years and with contributions from airlines.

The continuing arguments over the SST and the resulting delays have caused several revisions of the project's timetable. Originally it was hoped that American SSTs would be in service by 1970. In 1967, the date was pushed back to 1974. Early this year, SST proponents talked of getting the plane into use by 1976 or 1977, but now they figure 1978 is a more realistic target.

Another cause of delay was a miscalculation on Boeing's part about the wing design of the SST. In the plans that won the Government's 1966 design competition, Boeing depicted the plane as having movable wings that would be extended for takeoffs and landings but would swing back close to the fuselage at supersonic speeds. Early last year, engineers decided that wind tunnel tests and other experiments indicated the movable wing design wasn't feasible, and Boeing redesigned the craft with fixed wings. The new design was submitted to the FAA Jan. 15.

Early this year, President Nixon commissioned another study of the SST situation, this time by an 11-man committee that included representatives of several Government departments. The committee's report hasn't been released, but it's understood to have recommended that the Government withdraw from the project. The committee is said to have based its argument on conclusions very similar to those reached by President Johnson's study group in 1967.

But the Department of Transportation, which administers the SST project through the FAA, remains enthusiastic about the SST and continues to argue strongly for it. So far, Mr. Nixon hasn't indicated his own feelings on the matter. Administration sources say he may not announce his plans until more urgent legislative matters, such as extension of the income tax surcharge, have been disposed of.

Meantime, U.S. airlines have already taken options on 38 of the 126-seat, 1,400-mile-an-hour Concorde, and foreign airlines have taken options on another 36—though not always with total enthusiasm. Some airline executives say they would rather wait for a Boeing SST or for a bigger, faster version of the Concorde.

"But enthusiasm for the Concorde is beside the point," says a top official of Pan American World Airways, which is scheduled to be the first U.S. airline to get the Concorde. "The British and the French airlines are going to fly it. I'm convinced it will become a reality—and we'll just have to meet the competition."

Developers of the Concorde still have some hurdles to overcome, however. Though two test models have been flying since last winter, neither has yet broken the sound barrier, and they're not scheduled to try until they are equipped with more powerful engines next winter. Moreover, airline executives say there are serious questions about whether early

models of the Concorde will be able to make the long nonstop ocean hops that presumably would be the main job of SSTs.

G. van der Wal, president of KLM Royal Dutch Airlines, points out that the ability to fly nonstop the 3,600 miles from Amsterdam to New York would be vital for any planes in the KLM fleet—and adds that he doubts early versions of the Concorde will be able to fly that far with a full payload. The Concorde's builders claim the craft will be able to fly 4,000 miles nonstop with a full load, but they are proposing a 112-seat version for long hauls rather than the standard 126-seater. Ostensibly, this is to provide greater leg room and more comfort—but critics suggest it may be a tacit admission that the plane won't be able to make a long trip with a full 126-passenger load.

Eventually, to be sure, the Concorde probably will be equipped with more powerful engines that would eliminate any such problems. Aircraft experts say that early versions of current subsonic jets also had range problems until more powerful engines were developed.

The Russian builders of the TU144 say their plane is considerably further along than the Concorde. It already has flown at supersonic speeds and undergone extensive testing, they report, and the Soviet airline Aeroflot may put it into service between Moscow and Tokyo as early as next March. Moscow-to-New York and Moscow-to-Montreal service may begin later next year, according to Vladimir D. Samoroukov, the airline's U.S. manager.

At least at first, fares on supersonic airliners seem certain to be higher than those for comparable seats on present-day planes. British Aircraft Corp. and Sud Aviation of France, builders of the Concorde, are suggesting that airlines establish a single class of Concorde service that will stress speed rather than comfort. Seats and legroom for passengers would be similar to economy-class on current airlines.

But fares would be close to first-class rates. On the North Atlantic run, where first-class fares now run 50% to 75% above economy rates, the Concorde makers suggest a supersonic fare only about 15% below first-class rates. On the California-Honolulu run, where first-class fares are only 27% above economy rates, the companies suggest that supersonic fares be even higher than first class—perhaps 15% to 25% higher.

Boeing contends, however, that fares for single-class service on its SST need be no more than those presently charged on economy flights and thus wouldn't limit supersonic travel to the "privileged few," as some critics have charged. Company officials say they expect demand for SST seats to be so great that the big Boeing planes will operate with near capacity loads on practically all flights for the first several years of service. The officials say such a high rate of occupancy would help offset the higher operating costs of the SST, making higher fares unnecessary.

#### THOSE CENSUS QUESTIONS—WHY ARE THEY BEING ASKED

**HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, there has been considerable discussion for some time now about the questions which it is proposed to ask in the decennial census next year.

Our Subcommittee on Census and Statistics, headed by the Honorable CHARLES

H. WILSON, of California, has been delving deeply into the criticism that has been raised in some quarters. The subcommittee now has scheduled executive sessions to consider the hearing record and prepare recommendations.

The other day, the popular financial columnist, Sylvia Porter, discussed the background of some of the criticized questions. Her column, as follows, from the June 30 edition of the Buffalo, N.Y., Courier-Express, gives some interesting insight into the need and origin of these questions:

HERE ARE SOME "HOT" QUESTIONS ON 1970 CENSUS

(By Sylvia Porter)

A major campaign is now under way to curb the 1970 census to a degree which would strip this vital economic tool of much of its validity. In fact, if legislation now before Congress becomes law, it would drastically cut the usefulness of Census data to tens of thousands of corporations, thousands of state and local planning groups hundreds of federal and private agencies, etc.

Some of the anticensus propaganda is really frightening, particularly to all of us who are sensitive to the danger of "Big Brother" in our land. Therefore, to help put the record straight, I've picked out the five questions stirring up the greatest fears—and obtained from Dr. Conrad Taeuber, the Census Bureau's top demographer, the reasons for asking them.

REUSE OF BATH

Is your bathroom shared?

Many uninformed Americans are under the utterly wrong impression that they'll have to name other people using their bathrooms—which is nonsense. The point of the question is that in this era, a private bathroom is considered a necessary for most families and thus a shared bathroom suggests the degree of our substandard housing, overcrowding.

MARKET VALUE OF HOME

What is the market value of your home?

This question has been asked since 1930 and is one of the best statistical indicators of the quality of housing and living standards in our land. Without reliable and detailed data on housing quality, our gigantic homebuilding and home-financing industries could not plan with accuracy and our mammoth national housing programs could not possibly work.

YOUR PHONE NUMBER

What is your telephone number?

This hotly criticized question is also the most misunderstood. The presence of a telephone in a home is another important gauge of living standards and the census-takers are asking the number so they can get back in touch if they need to complete missing data. Telephone numbers will not be put into census computers—and actually, if Big Brother wanted our telephone numbers, all "it" would have to do is check the phone books.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN

How many children have you ever had?

This question, to be asked of one in five households, could be an embarrassment to the woman who has had an illegitimate child or put a baby up for adoption. (However, she could lie, I would think, without any concern about punishment).

The question has been asked since 1890 without complaints and is considered a critically important indicator of future U.S. population growth. To illustrate, the average number of children "ever born" to the average family is 2.5, it could mean that by the year 2000 we will number tens of millions of Americans fewer than if the average number were, say, 3.3. The significance to school systems, city planners, industry, is obvious.

THE INCOME QUESTION

What is the family's 1969 income—from wages and salary; from business or profession; from a farm; from Social Security or Railroad retirement; from welfare payments and (in a lump) from "all other sources"?

This question will provide a vital measurement of the between poverty and dependence, education and income, occupation and income, race and income.

Would you object to answering these questions? Do you seriously consider them an invasion of your privacy—in view of the fact that the Census Bureau must, by law, keep every single name strictly confidential?

Actually, now that I've studied the questions to be included, my regret is for the ones the census bureau excluded because of fear of public censure. For instance, how much leisure time do Americans have; how many of us are participating in adult education courses; what are our total financial assets. If I had this sort of information, I could turn it into a batch of fascinating "trend" columns—and not invade your privacy one tiny bit.

GRAPE BOYCOTT IS HARD TO SWALLOW

HON. BURT L. TALCOTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. TALCOTT. Mr. Speaker, some beautiful people joined Mrs. Robert Kennedy at Southampton, N.Y., to not eat California table grapes and to "collect money for medicine and food for the grape pickers of Delano." The California table grape pickers are supplied with all of the medicines they can use. They would probably prefer to buy their own medicine and food. They are all employed. They all earn more money picking grapes in California than they can earn doing anything else anywhere.

I challenge anyone who attended the no grape eating affair to publish an accounting of the moneys collected. Not one penny will go to a bona fide California table grape picker. The party was a hoax; the contributors will be defrauded. But why should they not; none of them has seen a California grape picker. The money will probably get into the private coffers of Cesar Chavez and his group—none of whom is a grape picker.

If some of these beautiful people want to help some disadvantaged people who need and want help, may I suggest they have a nongrape eating party for the New York State grape pickers who earn approximately 45 percent less than the California grape pickers and who enjoy practically none of the farm labor benefits enjoyed by California farmworkers.

Mr. Speaker, William F. Buckley, an astute observer and a logical thinker, who has been to California, has commented on several aspects of the so-called grape boycott that should cause a few people to think through their reasons for attending such promotional or fund raising parties.

Under unanimous consent, I insert the column of William F. Buckley from the June 30, 1969, Washington Star. Neither the reportorial nor the editorial columns of eastern newspapers carry the facts concerning the table grape pickers of Cal-

ifornia. Mr. Buckley's column will provide some better perspective:

GRAPE BOYCOTT IS HARD TO SWALLOW

We have a softness for Ethel Kennedy, and therefore we weep. Imagine coming out of political retirement (incidentally, how fine it would be if she remained in political retirement and continued to inspire us all as a mother and a woman) in order to not eat grapes at a big social party in Southampton hosted by Ann Ford Uzielli, Charlotte Ford Niarchos, the Carter Burdens, the George Plimptons, the James Nivenses and, as the press puts it, "maybe Anthony Quinn."

That is what she is up to. Herewith, respectfully submitted, a few observations for Mrs. Kennedy, general and particular.

1. The ban-the-grapes movement centering upon the efforts of Cesar Chavez to unionize the grape-pickers in California is, to say the least, incompletely informed. The grape boycotters are contending that the pickers live in inhuman conditions and that all of this is the result of a few grape-growing monopolists who take ruthless advantage of the misery of immigrant Mexican farmhands, whose liberation is the cause of Cesar Chavez.

In fact, the situation is not as depicted. Two prominent Canadian liberals who figured in the Toronto grape boycott a while ago have just come back from a tour of Delano—the center of the struggle—to report that the squalid living conditions Chavez speaks about are largely fictitious, that the workers oppose a union because they fear that it would limit their working hours and therefore their earning power; and that there are reasons to suspect that the high pressure being put on the area is rather imperialistic than compassionate: that what the AFL-CIO desires is a foot-in-the-door to ease its way into the national scene as bargaining agent for all farm workers, which position would put its hands on \$84 million per month.

2. Ninety percent of the pickers are not migrants but permanent residents. Wages? The average farm-worker wage in California is, according to the Department of Agriculture, the highest in the nation at \$1.69. The average wage of the grapepickers is over \$2 per hour. Far from being owned by large corporations, all but two of Delano's 70 ranches are family-owned and operated.

3. If the grape boycott is finally successful, what will happen is very simply this, the grapegrowers will convert their vineyards into winegrapes, which do not need the human care that the other grapes need. That will result in the loss of thousands of jobs.

4. And now at a more general level. If we are in the mood to boycott people who displease us, it would appear that one ought to shop around a little more resourcefully.

Does Mrs. Kennedy know that the beautiful people regularly eat Polish hams? These are produced by a state in which living conditions are materially poor, and in which there is a total lack of political freedom.

Isn't it possible that the clan will gather at Southampton in automobiles that use Liberian rubber? Liberian rubber. Have you ever been to Liberia and seen the working conditions there? Might they, at that party at Southampton, offer tea. Tea from Ceylon? Nepal? Where the tea growers earn maybe 10, 15 cents an hour?

It gets chilly in Southampton at night, so the girls may wear their sables, tracked down by slave labor in the frozen wastes of Russia. It will in any case be a dressy affair, so the ladies will wear their diamonds. Mined in South and Southwest Africa, by black men earning a pittance, working under inhuman conditions.

Then, after the speeches, they will toast Chavez—with champagne, distilled from grapes picked in the champagne country in France by grapepickers who earn less than one half what they earn around Delano.

5. On the other hand, if we were to boycott sables, diamonds, tea and champagne, how will the beautiful people survive? They

can't eat Ethel Kennedy. I mean, politics isn't everything.

6. So that the moral, dear Ethel, is never, ever, ever, ever to join any committee, not even a committee to clean the streets, if its members are the Ford girls, George Plimpton, Carter Burden and the James Nivens. They are my brothers and sisters and I love them, but politically, well, you may as well ask Zsa Zsa Gabor to rewrite the Constitution.

#### VETERANS' BENEFITS

### HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, one of the most successful and far-reaching programs in American history has been the GI bill of rights. As a member of the House Veterans' Committee I have supported the extension and broadening of this program for young men and women now serving this Nation.

The Oakland Tribune, which serves a portion of my congressional district, on Thursday, June 26, outlined its views on these programs in an excellent editorial. In addition the Tribune said:

Congress would be well taken to reassess the government's role in higher education in light of the unprecedented achievement of the GI bill. Far better would be such an approach than the effort, as proposed by some Congressmen, to punish schools for "permitting" violence and student disorder.

I am in full agreement with the Tribune on this subject. Education is a program that always pays. Let us educate and thus strengthen our Nation.

I include the full Tribune editorial in this RECORD so that all of us can consider these wise views:

#### EDUCATIONAL BENEFITS

Would you believe a federal program that paid for itself?

A rare bird, indeed, that would be. But on the 25th anniversary this week of the enactment of the GI Bill of Rights, the Veterans Administration proudly reports a three-fold return on the government's "investment" in many of the millions who served in World War II.

The VA explanation is that the "better educated, higher earning veterans are returning taxes to U.S. coffers at a rate expected to repay the entire government funds expended as much as thrice over in the course of their lifetime." Considering that the federal outlay in direct benefits alone has been more than \$20 billion to date, the magnitude of the "return" is dramatic evidence of the success of this federal program.

A major element of the GI Bill was the provision for federally subsidized college education. Not only were tuition and books paid for, but the veterans received monthly living allowances while in school.

At the time it was enacted, the GI Bill was revolutionary in its concept and was written mainly in an effort to gratefully "repay" the men and women who had served in the armed forces during World War II. In the process, Congress rejected a bonus program, similar to that paid to World War I veterans.

The net effect, however, of providing advanced schooling opportunities for millions of Americans, who otherwise never would have attended college, permanently changed

the entire pattern of the nation's higher education system.

Thus the impact of the GI Bill, which was later extended to cover veterans of the Korean War, continues to be felt many years after its direct beneficiaries left the college campuses.

While the government is getting its money back—and certainly that's to be commended, perhaps the longest-lasting effect of the GI Bill may prove to be on basic educational philosophies.

From the viewpoint of "25 years later," it can be clearly seen that the continual broadening of educational opportunities is vital to the nation's well-being and that a program of such magnitude could only be carried out on a federal level.

Congress would be well-taken to reassess the government's role in higher education in light of the unprecedented achievements of the GI Bill. Far better would be such an approach than the effort, as proposed by some congressmen, to punish certain schools for "permitting" violence and student disorder.

#### MANIFESTO OF THE NATIONAL BLACK ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the communications media in recent days has been saturated with coverage of various racist reparations demands against the Nation's religious institutions by a self-styled National Black Economic Development Conference—which I related in the RECORD of June 23, 1969, page 16901, is but a creature of the apostasy of some of the same religious institutions.

While the reports always mention a manifesto, few have had the opportunity to read the document—to analyze the extremist views there expressed and the warped demagoguery used to justify its implementation.

So that all our colleagues may study for themselves the deluded state of the brotherhood of revolutionaries in the United States and the overall danger they present to free people, I include the Manifesto to the White Christian Churches and the Jewish Synagogues in the United States of America and All Other Racist Institutions in the RECORD:

#### MANIFESTO TO THE WHITE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUES IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND ALL OTHER RACIST INSTITUTIONS

(Presentation by James Forman delivered and adopted by the National Black Economic Development Conference in Detroit, Mich., on April 26, 1969)

#### INTRODUCTION

*Total control as the only solution to the economic problems of black people*

Brothers and Sisters: We have come from all over the country, burning with anger and despair not only with the miserable economic plight of our people, but fully aware that the racism on which the Western World was built dominates our lives. There can be no separation of the problems of racism from the problems of our economic, political, and cultural degradation. To any black man, this is clear.

But there are still some of our people who

are clinging to the rhetoric of the Negro and we must separate ourselves from those Negroes who go a round the country promoting all types of schemes for black capitalism.

Ironically, some of the most militant Black Nationalist, as they call themselves, have been the first to jump on the bandwagon of black capitalism. They are pimps; Black Power Pimps and fraudulent leaders and the people must be educated to understand that any black man or Negro who is advocating a perpetuation of capitalism inside the United States is in fact seeking not only his ultimate destruction and death, but is contributing to the continuous exploitation of black people all around the world. For it is the power of the United States Government, this racist, imperialist government that is choking the life of all people around the world.

We are an African people. We sit back and watch the Jews in this country make Israel a powerful conservative state in the Middle East, but we are not concerned actively about the plight of our brothers in Africa. We are the most advanced technological group of black people in the world, and there are many skills that could be offered to Africa. At the same time, it must be publicly stated that many African leaders are in disarray themselves, having been duped into following the lines as laid out by the Western Imperialist governments.

Africans themselves succumbed to and are victims of the power of the United States. For instances, during the summer of 1967, as the representatives of SNCC, Howard Moore and I traveled extensively in Tanzania and Zambia. We talked to high, very high, governmental officials. We told them there were many black people in the United States who were willing to come and work in Africa. All these government officials who were part of the leadership in their respective governments, said they wanted us to send as many skilled people that we could contact. But this program never came into fruition and we do not know the exact reasons, for I assure you that we talked and were committed to making this a successful program. It is our guess that the United States put the squeeze on these countries, for such a program directed by SNCC would have been too dangerous to the international prestige of the U.S. It is also possible that some of the wild statements by some black leader frightened the Africans.

In Africa today, there is a great suspicion of black people in this country. This is a correct suspicion since most of the Negroes who have left the States for work in Africa usually work for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) or the State Department. But the respect for us as a people continues to mount and the day will come when we can return to our homeland as brothers and sisters. But we should not think of going back to Africa today, for we are located in a strategic position. We live inside the U.S. which is the most barbaric country in the world and we have a chance to help bring this government down.

Time is short and we do not have much time and it is time we stop mincing words. Caution is fine, but no oppressed people ever gained their liberation until they were ready to fight, to use whatever means necessary, including the use of force and power of the gun to bring down the colonizer.

We have heard the rhetoric, but we have not heard the rhetoric which says that black people in this country must understand that we are the Vanguard Force. We shall liberate all the people in the U.S. and we will be instrumental in the liberation of colored people the world around. We must understand this point very clearly so that we are not trapped into diversionary and reactionary movements. Any class analysis of the U.S. shows very clearly that black people are the most oppressed group of people inside

the United States. We have suffered the most from racism and exploitation, cultural degradation and lack of political power. It follows from the laws of revolution that the most oppressed will make the revolution, but we are not talking about just making the revolution. All the parties on the left who consider themselves revolutionary will say that blacks are the Vanguard, but we are saying that not only are we the Vanguard, but we must assume leadership, total control and we must exercise the humanity which is inherent in us. We are the most humane people within the U.S. We have suffered and we understand suffering. Our hearts go out to the Vietnamese for we know what it is to suffer under the domination of racist America. Our hearts, our soul and all the compassion we can mount goes out to our brothers in Africa, Santa Domingo, Latin America and Asia who are being tricked by the power structure of the U.S. which is dominating the world today. These ruthless, barbaric men have systematically tried to kill all people and organizations opposed to its imperialism. We no longer can just get by with the use of the word capitalism to describe the U.S., for it is an imperial power, sending money, missionaries and the army throughout the world to protect this government and the few rich whites who control it. General Motors and all the major auto industries are operating in South Africa, yet the white dominated leadership of the United Auto Workers sees no relationship to the exploitation of black people in South Africa and the exploitation of black people in the U.S. If they understand it, they certainly do not put it into practice which is the actual test. We as black people must be concerned with the total conditions of all black people in the world.

But while we talk of revolution which will be an armed confrontation and long years of sustained guerilla warfare inside this country, we must also talk of the type of world we want to live in. We must commit ourselves to a society where the total means of production are taken from the rich and placed into the hands of the state for the welfare of all the people. This is what we mean when we say total control. And we mean that black people who have suffered the most from exploitation and racism must move to protect their black interest by assuming leadership inside of the United States of everything that exists. The time has passed when we are second in command and the white boy stands on top. This is especially true of the Welfare Agencies in this country, but it is not enough to say that a black man is on top. He must be committed to building the new society, to taking the wealth away from the rich people such as General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, the DuPonts, the Rockefellers, the Mellons, and all the other rich white exploiters and racists who run this world.

Where do we begin? We have already started. We started the moment we were brought to this country. In fact, we started on the shores of Africa, for we have always resisted attempts to make us slaves and now we must resist the attempts to make us capitalists. It is the financial interest of the U.S. to make us capitalist, for this will be the same line as that of integration into the mainstream of American life. Therefore, brothers and sisters, there is no need to fall into the trap that we have to get an ideology. We HAVE an ideology. Our fight is against racism, capitalism and imperialism and we are dedicated to building a socialist society inside the United States where the total means of production and distribution are in the hands of the State and that must be led by black people, by revolutionary blacks who are concerned about the total humanity of this world. And, therefore, we obviously are different from some of those who seek a black nation in the United States, for there

is no way for that nation to be viable if in fact the United States remains in the hands of white racists. Then too, let us deal with some arguments that we should share power with whites. We say that there must be a revolutionary black Vanguard and that white people in this country must be willing to accept black leadership, for that is the only protection that black people have to protect ourselves from racism rising again in this country.

Racism in the U.S. is so pervasive in the mentality of whites that only an armed, well-disciplined, black-controlled government can insure the stamping out of racism in this country. And that is why we plead with black people not to be talking about a few crumbs, a few thousand dollars for this cooperative, or a thousand dollars which splits black people into fighting over the dollar. That is the intention of the government. We say . . . think in terms of total control of the U.S. Prepare ourselves to seize state power. Do not hedge, for time is short and all around the world, the forces of liberation are directing their attacks against the U.S. It is a powerful country, but that power is not greater than that of black people. We work the chief industries in this country and we could cripple the economy while the brothers fought guerrilla warfare in the streets. This will take some long range planning, but whether it happens in a thousand years is of no consequence. It cannot happen unless we start. How then is all of this related to this conference?

First of all, this conference is called by a set of religious people, Christians, who have been involved in the exploitation and rape of black people since the country was founded. The missionary goes hand in hand with the power of the states. We must begin seizing power wherever we are and we must say to the planners of this conference that you are no longer in charge. We the people who have assembled here thank you for getting us here, but we are going to assume power over the conference and determine from this moment on the direction in which we want it to go. We are not saying that the conference was planned badly. The staff of the conference has worked hard and have done a magnificent job in bringing all of us together and we must include them in the new membership which must surface from this point on. The conference is now the property of the people who are assembled here. This we proclaim as fact and not rhetoric and there are demands that we are going to make and we insist that the planners of this conference help us implement them.

We maintain we have the revolutionary right to do this. We have the same rights, if you will, as the Christians had in going into Africa and raping our Motherland and bringing us away from our continent of peace and into this hostile and alien environment where we have been living in perpetual warfare since 1619.

Our seizure of power at this conference is based on a program and our program is contained in the following manifesto:

#### BLACK MANIFESTO

We the black people assembled in Detroit, Michigan for the National Black Economic Development Conference are fully aware that we have been forced to come together because racist white America has exploited our resources, our minds, our bodies, our labor. For centuries we have been forced to live as colonized people inside the United States, victimized by the most vicious, racist system in the world. We have helped to build the most industrial country in the world.

We are therefore demanding of the white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues which are part and parcel of the system of capitalism, that they begin to pay reparations to black people in this country. We are

demanding \$500,000,000 from the Christian white churches and the Jewish synagogues. This total comes to 15 dollars per nigger. This is a low estimate for we maintain there are probably more than 30,000,000 black people in this country. \$15 a nigger is not a large sum of money and we know that the churches and synagogues have a tremendous wealth and its membership, white America, has profited and still exploits black people. We are also not unaware that the exploitation of colored peoples around the world is aided and abetted by the white Christian churches and synagogues. This demand for \$500,000,000 is not an idle resolution or empty words. Fifteen dollars for every black brother and sister in the United States is only a beginning of the reparations due us people who have been exploited and degraded, brutalized, killed and persecuted. Underneath all of this exploitation, the racism of this country has produced a psychological effect upon us that we are beginning to shake off. We are no longer afraid to demand our full rights as a people in this decadent society.

We are demanding \$500,000,000 to be spent in the following way:

1. We call for the establishment of a Southern land bank to help our brothers and sisters who have to leave their land because of racist pressure for people who want to establish cooperative farms, but who have no funds. We have seen too many farmers evicted from their homes because they have dared to defy the white racism of this country. We need money for land. We must fight for massive sums of money for this Southern Land Bank. We call for \$200,000,000 to implement this program.

2. We call for the establishment of four major publishing and printing industries in the United States to be funded with ten million dollars each. These publishing houses are to be located in Detroit, Atlanta, Los Angeles, and New York. They will help to generate capital for further cooperative investments in the black community, provide jobs and an alternative to the white-dominated and controlled printing field.

3. We call for the establishment of four of the most advanced scientific and futuristic audio-visual network to be located in Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland and Washington, D.C. These TV networks will provide an alternative to the racist propaganda that fills the current television networks. Each of these TV networks will be funded by ten million dollars each.

4. We call for a research skills center which will provide research on the problems of black people. This center must be funded with no less than 30 million dollars.

5. We call for the establishment of a training center for the teaching of skills in community organization, photography, movie making, television making and repair, radio building and repair and all other skills needed in communication. This training center shall be funded with no less than ten million dollars.

6. We recognize the role of the National Welfare Rights Organization and we intend to work with them. We call for ten million dollars to assist in the organization of welfare recipients. We want to organize the welfare workers in this country so that they may demand more money from the government and better administration of the welfare system of this country.

7. We call for \$20,000,000 to establish a National Black Labor Strike and Defense Fund. This is necessary for the protection of black workers and their families who are fighting racist working conditions in this country.

8. We call for the establishment of the International Black Appeal (IBA). \* This International Black Appeal will be funded with

\* (Revised and approved by Steering Committee.)

no less than \$20,000,000. The IBA is charged with producing more capital for the establishment of cooperative businesses in the United States and in Africa, our Motherland. The International Black Appeal is one of the most important demands that we are making for we know that it can generate and raise funds throughout the United States and help our African brothers. The IBA is charged with three functions and shall be headed by James Forman:

(a) Raising money for the program of the National Black Economic Development Conference.

(b) The development of cooperatives in African countries and support of African liberation movements.

(c) Establishment of a Black Anti-Defamation League which will protect our African image.

9. We call for the establishment of a Black University to be funded with \$130,000,000 to be located in the South. Negotiations are presently under way with a Southern University.

10. We demand that IFCO allocate all unused funds in the planning budget to implement the demands of this conference.

In order to win our demands we are aware that we will have to have massive support, therefore:

(1) We call upon all black people throughout the United States to consider themselves as members of the National Black Economic Development Conference and to act in unity to help force the racist white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues to implement these demands.

(2) We call upon all the concerned black people across the country to contact black workers, black women, black students and the black unemployed, community groups, welfare organizations, teacher organizations, church leaders and organizations explaining how these demands are vital to the black community of the U.S. Pressure by whatever means necessary should be applied to the white power structure of the racist white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues. All black people should act boldly in confronting our white oppressors and demanding this modest reparation of 15 dollars per black man.

(3) Delegates and members of the National Black Economic Development Conference are urged to call press conferences in the cities and to attempt to get as many black organizations as possible to support the demands of the conference. The quick use of the press in the local areas will heighten the tension and these demands must be attempted to be won in a short period of time, although we are prepared for protracted and long range struggle.

(4) We call for the total disruption of selected church sponsored agencies operating anywhere in the U.S. and the world. Black workers, black women, black students and the black unemployed are encouraged to seize the offices, telephones, and printing apparatus of all church sponsored agencies and to hold these in trusteeship until our demands are met.

(5) We call upon all delegates and members of the National Black Economic Development Conference to stage sit-in demonstrations at selected black and white churches. This is not to be interpreted as a continuation of the sit-in movement of the early sixties but we know that active confrontation inside white churches is possible and will strengthen the possibility of meeting our demands. Such confrontation can take the form of reading the Black Manifesto instead of a sermon or passing it out to church members. The principle of self-defense should be applied if attacked.

(6) On May 4, 1969 or a date thereafter, depending upon local conditions, we call upon black people to commence the disruption of the racist churches and synagogues throughout the United States.

(7) We call upon IFCO to serve as a central staff to coordinate the mandate of the conference and to reproduce and distribute en mass literature, leaflets, news items, press releases and other material.

(8) We call upon all delegates to find within the white community those forces which will work under the leadership of blacks to implement these demands by whatever means necessary. By taking such actions, white Americans will demonstrate concretely that they are willing to fight the white skin privilege and the white supremacy and racism which has forced us as black people to make these demands.

(9) We call upon all white Christians and Jews to practice patience, tolerance, understanding and nonviolence as they have encouraged, advised and demanded that we as black people should do throughout our entire enforced slavery in the United States. The true test of their faith and belief in the Cross and the words of the prophets will certainly be put to a test as we seek legitimate and extremely modest reparations for our role in developing the industrial base of the Western world through our slave labor. But we are no longer slaves, we are men and women, proud of our African heritage, determined to have our dignity.

(10) We are so proud of our African heritage and realize concretely that our struggle is not only to make revolution in the United States, but to protect our brothers and sisters in Africa and to help them rid themselves of racism, capitalism, and imperialism by whatever means necessary, including armed struggle. We are and must be willing to fight the defamation of our African image wherever it rears its ugly head. We are therefore charging the Steering Committee to create a Black Anti-Defamation League to be funded by money raised from the International Black Appeal.

(11) We fully recognize that revolution in the United States and Africa, our Motherland, is more than a one dimensional operation. It will require the total integration of the political, economic, and military components and therefore, we call upon all our brothers and sisters who have acquired training and expertise in the fields of engineering, electronics, research, community organization, physics, biology, chemistry, mathematics, medicine, military science and warfare to assist the National Black Economic Development Conference in the implementation of its program.

(12) To implement these demands we must have a fearless leadership. We must have a leadership which is willing to battle the church establishment to implement these demands. To win our demands we will have to declare war on the white Christian churches and synagogues and this means we may have to fight the total government structure of this country. Let no one here think that these demands will be met by our mere stating them. For the sake of the churches and synagogues, we hope that they have the wisdom to understand that these demands are modest and reasonable. But if the white Christians and Jews are not willing to meet our demands through peace and good will, then we declare war and we are prepared to fight by whatever means necessary. We are, therefore, proposing the election of the following Steering Committee:

Lucious Walker, Renny Freeman, Luke Tripp, Howard Fuller, James Forman, John Watson, Dan Aldridge, John Williams, Ken Cockrel, Chuck Wooten, Fannie Lou Hamer, Julian Bond, Mark Comfort, Earl Allen, Robert Browne, Vincent Harding, Mike Hamlin, Len Holt, Peter Bernard, Michael Wright, Muhammed Kenyatta, Mel Jackson, Howard Moore, and Harold Holmes.

Brothers and sisters, we no longer are shuffling our feet and scratching our heads. We are tall, black and proud.

And we say to the white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues, to the government of this country and to all the white racist imperialists who compose it, there is only one thing left that you can do to further degrade black people and that is to kill us. But we have been dying too long for this country. We have died in every war. We are dying in Vietnam today fighting the wrong enemy.

The new black man wants to live and to live means that we must not become static or merely believe in self-defense. We must boldly go out and attack the white Western world at its power centers. The white Christian churches are another form of government in this country and they are used by the government of this country to exploit the people of Latin America, Asia and Africa, but the day is soon coming to an end. Therefore, brothers and sisters, the demands we make upon the white Christian churches and the Jewish synagogues are small demands. They represent 15 dollars per black person in these United States. We can legitimately demand this from the church power structure. We must demand more from the United States Government.

But to win our demands from the church which is linked up with the United States Government, we must not forget that it will ultimately be by force and power that we will win.

We are not threatening the churches. We are saying that we know the churches came with the military might of the colonizers and have been sustained by the military might of the colonizers. Hence, if the churches in colonial territories were established by military might, we know deep within our hearts that we must be prepared to use force to get our demands. We are not saying that this is the road we want to take. It is not, but let us be very clear that we are not opposed to force and we are not opposed to violence. We were captured in Africa by violence. We were kept in bondage and political servitude and force to work as slaves by the military machinery and the Christian church working hand in hand.

We recognize that in issuing this manifesto we must prepare for a long range educational campaign in all communities of this country, but we know that the Christian churches have contributed to our oppression in white America. We do not intend to abuse our black brothers and sisters in black churches who have uncritically accepted Christianity. We want them to understand how the racist white Christian church with its hypocritical declarations and doctrines of brotherhood has abused our trust and faith. An attack on the religious beliefs of black people is not our major objective, even though we know that we were not Christians when we were brought to this country, but that Christianity was used to help enslave us. Our objective in issuing this Manifesto is to force the racist white Christian church to begin the payment of reparations which are due to all black people, not only by the Church but also by private business and the U.S. government. We see this focus on the Christian church as an effort around which all black people can unite.

Our demands are negotiable, but they cannot be minimized, they can only be increased and the Church is asked to come up with larger sums of money than we are asking. Our slogans are:

All roads must lead to revolution.  
Unite with whomever you can unite.  
Neutralize wherever possible.  
Fight our enemies relentlessly.  
Victory to the people.  
Life and good health to mankind.  
Resistance to domination by the white Christian churches and the Jewish synagogues.

Revolutionary black power.  
We shall win without a doubt.

**MONEY TO FIGHT CRIME IS NEEDED  
IN THE CITIES**

**HON. JOSHUA EILBERG**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, Mayor James H. J. Tate, of Philadelphia, is an experienced big city mayor. His record is one of distinction. Philadelphia, which I am proud to represent here in Congress, has known all the problems that have beset other big cities in the 1960's.

Much attention has been paid in the press recently to the job hazards of the big city mayor, the political liabilities, the sheer exhaustion of the day-to-day fight to solve what seem to be insoluble problems.

Jim Tate knows these problems well and he has been dealing with them since he became mayor in 1962. Past president of the National League of Cities and vice president of the International Union of Local Authorities, Mayor Tate addressed the recent mayors' conference in Pittsburgh.

His topic was crime and recent Federal attempts to assist in this fight.

Rarely do we the Members of Congress get as incisive a view of how money we authorize and appropriate to take care of a domestic problem is spent—or rather misspent.

The mayor makes the point that the money is distributed by population not on the basis of need, that the money is used to build empires rather than to fight crime, that the bloc grant approach has been used as a subterfuge by States to undercut big city attempts to ball themselves out.

For example, under the Safe Streets Act, Philadelphia received \$152,000 of the State's allocation of \$1,427,000 or little more than 10 percent, of the State's grant.

Of an \$880,000 planning grant to fight crime this year, the State kept the statutory limit of 60 percent of the grant to create a new bureaucracy in Harrisburg and distributed the rest to local communities. Its contribution to Philadelphia amounted to \$62,419, or about 7 percent of the total grant.

These Federal funds were authorized by legislation designed to fight urban crime. Now the State of Pennsylvania has obviously subverted congressional intent by generously awarding 10 percent of one grant and 7 percent of another to the State's largest city and therefore, by definition, its most crime ridden.

Compare that paltry largesse, with these statistics offered by Mayor Tate: Philadelphia has 17 percent of the population of Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia is the scene of 25 percent of the serious crime in Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia city courts dispose of 40 percent of the serious criminal cases in Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia's police force is more than twice as large as the Pennsylvania State Police force.

Philadelphia's city prisons house as many as the entire Pennsylvania prison system.

Mayor Tate makes the point that if an epidemic erupts in a State, you do not spread the serum, in short supply, around the State but use it where the most need exists. The Federal Government does not give flood relief to a whole State, for both the cities on the plains as well as the cities in the river valleys, but rather to those communities inundated by flood waters.

The floodtide of crime is rolling through our cities. The fever of crime is reaching epidemic proportions in our cities.

Yet we continue to permit our shallow resources to be dissipated in the naive belief that State capitals know better than beleaguered city halls where the money would do the most good.

I commend to my colleagues this excellent speech by Mayor James H. J. Tate of Philadelphia, delivered June 17, 1969, in Pittsburgh:

**IMPROVING LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT**

(By Mayor James H. Tate, Philadelphia, Pa.)

Our nation has reached the rather unhappy state where government is under great pressure to find ways and means of better regulating human behaviour and more effectively enforcing the laws under which we as a community have decided to govern ourselves. During the sixties we have experienced unmatched economic growth and prosperity, but the stability of our society has now been challenged and severely tested by internal turmoil and dissent, amid cries of upholding law and order, police brutality and leniency by the courts.

The crime rate in our nation has increased nine times greater than our population growth. Our streets and campuses have been the scenes of many violent disturbances. The issue of crime in the streets has been identified as one of the most important domestic problems in the minds of many citizens. In New York City, according to the New York Times, "black and white, rich and poor, young and old—have become preoccupied with crime. Their fear has become so pervasive that it shapes election campaigns, influences the decisions of government, business and labor, exacerbates racial tensions and molds the day-to-day living habits of virtually all of the city's eight million residents."

The tremendous citizen concern for law and order was reflected in the passage of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. Was it too late, with too little—or is it the beginning of federal concern? This legislation is designed to provide federal funds to state and local governments to improve law enforcement and the administration of criminal justice. Although the funds for the current year under this Act are \$63 million, we know it is very small in relation to our needs. Congress has now been asked to appropriate \$300 million for fiscal 1970 (starting July 1, 1969) and \$1 billion in subsequent years.

We in local government have a large stake in the administration of these funds because law enforcement is basically a function of local government. This is evident when we consider that:

Over 83% of the law enforcement personnel in our country are employed by units of local government.

While there are 50 federal departments and 200 state agencies involved in some aspect of law enforcement, almost 40,000 law enforcement agencies are operated by the local governments of our nation.

Local governments now provide 80% of the funds which support law enforcement agencies.

On a per-capita basis, local governments

spend about nine times more for law enforcement than the federal government, and six times as much as state governments.

The concept of law enforcement by local government has a strong and noble tradition in the history of our nation. Our democratic system can achieve the goals of liberty, justice, and social order only when law enforcement is in tune with local needs and desires. We in local government should be sure that the implementation of the Safe Streets Act reaches down to the local level, where the problems facing law enforcement really exist, and where there is an urgent need for funds.

However, we get nothing but a dismal trickling down of funds. Of the \$1,427,000 allocated to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, only \$152,000 goes to the City of Philadelphia. This is based on population and not on the reality of urban need.

Yet the problems of crime, violence, and civil disorder are urban in nature. For example:

25% of the total crimes reported to the Federal Bureau of Investigation during 1968 were committed in our ten largest cities, although 10% of our people reside in these cities. Consider, for example, these statistics for 1968 in New York City—904 murders, 1,840 rapes, 54,405 robberies, 28,515 felonious assaults, 173,559 burglaries, 143,319 larcenies of \$50 or more, and 74,440 car thefts.

Over 85% of all crimes reported during 1968 were committed in cities, although only 68% of our population are city dwellers.

The crime rates, or offenses per citizen, of our cities are 2½ times as great as suburban areas and five times the crime rates for rural areas.

The crime rate, or offenses per citizen, increases geometrically with the size of the city. For example, cities with populations of 250,000 have crime rates over twice as high as cities of 25,000 people.

In evaluating ways of improving local law enforcement, we must look at the problems facing law enforcement. In essence, the problems facing law enforcement are the major challenges facing our entire society. Crime, violence, and disorders are really manifestations of complex and inter-related social ills. Unfortunately, our cities and towns do not have the financial resources or tax base to deal with deep-rooted social problems. By necessity, we are finding ourselves increasing our law enforcement budgets in municipal government simply to provide better police protection which will "hold the line" and maintain law and order in our communities.

It has been estimated to put one policeman on patrol on each of New York's city blocks would cost \$25-billion a year. And, even if this were possible, the Times says, "policemen say it would not stop crime since more than half of it is committed in areas they do not patrol, such as homes, restaurants, hallways and elevators."

In Philadelphia, our budget for the Police Department has increased from \$30 million in 1960 to \$70 million for the fiscal year starting July 1, 1969. If we have any emergencies requiring extraordinary police overtime, our expenditures will go well over the \$70 million Budget. As a percentage of the total City of Philadelphia budget, police funds represented 14% of our 1960 spending and have increased to 18% of our 1970 budget levels. Police have been, and probably will continue to be, the most expensive and most important local government function. If present trends continue, we must accept this as an established fact. At least it becomes a consolidation.

Considering our limited tax sources, already at the breaking point in providing new and expanded municipal services to our people, our local governments cannot continue to afford the high costs of maintaining peace in our communities, brought about presumably by the failures of our state and federal governments to properly and equita-

bly support programs to improve the economic and social life of our nation.

To better control crime, we should present programs which will strike at the roots and causes of crime. We should marshal our urban experts in the field of housing, education, employment and the entire spectrum of agencies involved in the criminal justice system—from the police to the courts, to the prisons, to the probation and parole authorities. We do have the expertise and technology in this great nation to handle our problems, but we lack a comprehensive and cohesive strategy for dealing with the inter-related problems. But the Federal and State governments cannot continue to operate in bureaucratic isolation of the real needs of this nation. They must involve themselves to a much greater degree and contribute their realistic share of the funds needed to handle our problems.

Regrettably our Federal State-Local structure in grant programs has been crippled with the usual over-reliance on bureaucratic rules and regulations. Our crime problems have been over-studied and under-implemented. We have had enough studies made—the professional practitioners in our cities know "how" to solve the problems—and we should now be spending the study funds for action programs. Our action programs have lagged behind schedule because of too much red-tape in the review of programs by the bureaucratic hierarchies of our state and federal governments.

We in local governments, who deal directly with the problems, must demand action, not the insulation of layers and layers of regulations and the resultant delays in getting programs underway.

We should demand and receive a strong voice in the allocation of monies under the Safe Streets Act. Congress, in order to ensure that a federal agency would not control and dominate local law enforcement in the administration of these funds, stipulated that block grants be awarded to state agencies. However well intended this regulation may be, this very legislation created 50 separate state bureaucracies to administer the funds, many of which will be less efficient and less responsive to urban needs than one federal agency.

Pennsylvania, my home state, is a case in point. During the current year, Pennsylvania received \$880,000 for planning purposes under the Act. Congress, in drafting the legislation, had stipulated that certain minimum percentages of state grants must be allocated to local units for planning and action purposes. Congress established a floor of 40% for planning by local governments; but there was no ceiling or maximum amount which a state could allocate to local governments if the state wished to realistically deal with the problems of law enforcement within its jurisdiction.

Regrettably, the State of Pennsylvania, however, has retained 60% of the planning funds to create a new state bureaucracy, and the absolute minimum of 40% has been allocated to local governments. The 40% has been distributed to eight geographic regions of the state, on a population basis. The City of Philadelphia, which is a separate geographic region for funding purposes, received \$62,419 for planning purposes. This amount of \$62,419 is only 7% of the total planning grant received by the state. In relation to the 40% given to the local governments by the state, we received 17%, which is about equivalent to our population—which is, of course, a higher crime area because of the density factor.

The population basis, however, ignores the realities of law enforcement problems. While we represent 17% of the people, 25% of the serious crimes in the state are committed in Philadelphia, our city courts dispose of 40% of the serious criminal cases in Pennsylvania, our Police Department is more than twice as large as the Pennsylvania State Police, the caseloads of our probation officers are larger

than the State staff, and our prison populations are as large as the state institutions. Strangely enough our city must also contribute from \$3 million to \$5 million annually to the state for the care of prisoners sent to state prisons by Philadelphia courts. Pennsylvania is the only state in the nation requesting payment by local governments for prisoners.

Pennsylvania has also been allocated a grant of \$1.4 million for "action" programs. New York State got \$2,250,000, and California, \$2,351,000. Congress has stipulated that 75 percent of action grants be given to local government, but the actual amount that trickles down to the municipalities is only tokenism, and not nearly enough to tackle the job.

The funds under this act should be distributed primarily where the need exists, not based on population as Pennsylvania chose. There is no federal requirement that funds be distributed according to population. If we were to do so with polio by distributing a limited amount of polio vaccine in small dosages to the general population, while ignoring the area where the disease exists in epidemic proportions, we could not have been successful in stamping this disease out.

In seeking to make our cities and towns safer places in which to live, we must insist that all the agencies involved in criminal justice perform in the best interests of the communities they serve. This has not been the case in our recent history. There has been what I might call a rather complete defaulting to the overwhelming incidence of crime.

This situation involves not only the so-called generation gap, but also the cynical attitude of too many of the leaders of our society. I refer to the so-called sophisticated approach to pornography in its many ugly manifestations, to indecent motion pictures and "topless" entertainment in public places—all masquerading under the euphemistic description of "art." The hypocritical suggestion that these are really art, reflecting the moral tone of the community, is both false and dangerous. It is a repudiation of responsibility on the part of the men and women who are expected by the youngsters to be their guides in these ways. The net result is simply to put more pressure on the vice-control programs of the local police departments, not only bringing about increased activity in response to irate citizen demands, but also creating a new atmosphere of cynical permissive or selective enforcement.

Another example of society's defaulting to crime is the abdication by the Establishment of its proper responsibility when confronted with the demands of the militants, whether from the colleges or the ghetto communities. Far too often, the Establishment has met confrontation by grudging concessions—taking the easy way out and dodging violence by giving in to irresponsible demands. By doing this, the leaders of society, themselves, have abandoned the rule of law.

By thus yielding to violence or the threat of violence, the Establishment simply proves to the militants that demonstrations, sit-ins, kidnappings, and seizures are really more effective than the due processes of law!

In Philadelphia, which has earned the right to call itself the Safest Big City in the United States for six straight years, we make it very clear that lawful demonstrations and petitions will be honored and protected, but contempt for law and violence in the streets will be treated for what they are—criminal offenses.

Furthermore, even the best police department in the world cannot control crime when it must operate under another default to crime—inadequate judicial systems which offer legal immunity to the criminals within our communities. Unrealistic bail practices which permit hard-core criminal repeaters to remain at large indefinitely in spite of numerous arrests while awaiting trial is an example of a think in our armor.

Another weak area is the overcrowded

Court Calendars which show a shocking backlog so serious that it takes years to bring a criminal case to the bar of justice. In Philadelphia, for example, of persons awaiting trial in Common Pleas Court on May 31, 1968, the prisons had in custody—797 defendants. Only seven months later, on December 31, 1968, this number had jumped to 1,176 defendants, with 160 waiting more than a year for trial.

This situation is aggravated by over-lenient judges who rarely, if ever, imprison convicted criminals. I am not talking about the first offender but the hardened criminals who cannot be rehabilitated. No responsible person is against rehabilitation—in fact, we know that only through effective rehabilitation can we hope to reduce the mounting crime problem of our nation. But our judiciary must realize that many criminals cannot and will not be rehabilitated. In Philadelphia only 2,045 were actually jailed in more than 11,500 cases.

Our social scientists have not developed effective rehabilitation programs to the degree where any large-scale success can be achieved. Until we reach that level, the safety and welfare of the great majority of our law-abiding citizens should be the first concern of our judicial system. This means that hardened criminals should be treated as hardened criminals, not as first offenders.

Our entire system of criminal justice requires much more coordination than presently exists. Each agency must consider the impact of its decisions upon the other agencies who must function in the same arena. Consider the effects of a judicial decision, like that which occurred in Philadelphia, which negated intoxication as a criminal act and stated that drunkenness was not a crime, but must be treated as an illness and therefore drunks were not subject to arrest.

Certainly, anyone who is even slightly familiar with the problem of alcoholism will acknowledge the humane thinking of the judge in this decision. But this decision did not take into account the almost total lack of any treatment facilities to handle chronic alcoholics, who represent a real problem in every major city. Our police are faced with the responsibility of protecting the lives of down-trodden derelicts and often place them under arrest for their own protection. But the police do not have the responsibility for, nor the resources necessary to, the operation of treatment facilities. The judge who handed down this decision did not consider this crucial point in his decision-making, and regrettably failed to realize the full consequences of his adjudication.

The Supreme Court of the United States reversed this decision and our police can continue to pick up intoxicated persons for their own protection. The Supreme Court acknowledged the lack of treatment facilities in most communities, but recognized that arrest by police often is the only way in which the poor drunks can be protected.

In addition, anyone who has any experience with traffic accidents will underscore the tremendous danger of drunken driving. Certainly the general public must be protected against anyone who drives under the influence of alcohol. Most assuredly it is equally recognized as a huge traffic safety hazard involving reckless driving and hit-and-run criminals.

Still another area which illustrates the need to coordinate our activities is in the processing of narcotics offenders. There has been a substantial increase in the arrests of narcotics users in our society, particularly among our young people. Law enforcement nationally has failed to meet this challenge, and the strained resources of the local community cannot cope with it.

In their sentencing practices, judges usually release great number of convicted narcotics users on probation to be supervised by an overworked and understaffed probation department. The users tend to go right back to their former environments where

they can acquire more narcotics; consequently they have a high rate of recidivism and are quickly rearrested to start the cycle all over again. Our communities desperately need adequate treatment facilities for narcotics users. Only by adequately treating the increasing number of users can we hope to curb the narcotics problem in our metropolitan areas.

These illustrations point up the need to review and reinforce our overall approaches to crime, delinquency, and the other problems facing law enforcement. I am sure that the effectiveness of our police agencies would greatly increase, and with it, a greater measure of safety for our citizens, if all the agencies of criminal justice performed their tasks in as responsive and dedicated manner as our police, on the first line of defense, execute their responsibility.

As I stated earlier, we as chief executives of local government have an important responsibility to see that the funds under the Safe Streets Act reach down to the cities and towns and the people of this great nation where the problems really exist.

The magnitude of crime is overwhelming nationally, as shown by across-the-board statistics, but it is even more serious in the urban areas. If it rates a priority nationally as a problem, certainly it cannot be solved by a block grant system of trickle-down funds without any significant thrust.

Should we enter the seventies with this questionable treatment? Should we give it a chance? Yes, but it is really not the answer to our problem. Our job is still the involvement of the limits of our capability—for no longer can we push the cause of crime under the rug and hope it will not be noticed.

#### PAVING THE ALASKA HIGHWAY

### HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, under the chairmanship of our able and distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. KLUCZYNSKI), I and several members of the Subcommittee on Roads of the Public Works Committee recently completed a trip to Montana, Alaska, and Canada on which we held several hearings on the possibility of paving the Alaska Highway. Nowhere did we encounter opposition to this project. The people most directly involved, the citizens of Montana, Alaska, and western Canada all favor the paving of the highway which would open up this part of the world to the rest of North America.

Mr. Speaker, the Montana Standard recently carried an editorial of support for the paving of the Alaska Highway which I would like to share with my colleagues. It follows:

[From the Montana Standard, June 24, 1969]

#### IT IS UNREALISTIC

It would be short-sighted if, in arriving at a decision on whether to pave all of the Alaska highway, too much emphasis were placed on vehicle counts.

To be sure, traffic counts are a widely used device on streets and county roads to determine if they should be improved, widened or better regulated. And there is logic in this, for a local or area situation.

However, the same logic cannot be applied to a proposed paved highway that would link the 48 contiguous states with Fairbanks.

According to an official study mentioned in Butte and elsewhere in Montana last week at hearings on the proposed all-weather route

from Butte to Fairbanks, truck traffic along the route by 1985 is expected to be only 33 vehicles a day if the highway is unpaved; if paved, the estimate is 37.

This would seem unrealistic. The vast resources of Alaska offer tremendous commercial potential. But an all-weather road is a must if this potential is to be realized.

Tourist traffic is estimated to be 72 cars a day if unpaved, 178 a day if paved.

The low vehicle counts along the route now are easily explained. Of the total 3,000 miles from Butte to Fairbanks, 1,300 are unpaved. Of the 1,523 miles of Alaska highway proper, from Dawson Creek, B.C., to Fairbanks, only 385 miles are paved.

Certainly the average tourist, increasing in great numbers each year, is not going to take the family car, loaded with belongings and children, on a road more than one-third of which is a spring-busting, tire-blowing washboard of dirt and gravel.

The road to Alaska has a sorry reputation with travelers in the 48 states who would like to make the trek to see Alaska's rugged beauty and share the adventure the northern most state offers. But the prospects of ruining the family car, or incurring extensive repair bills, keep most of them at home.

If, on the other hand, the road were paved and known to be a trouble-free route to the north country, who can say how many would make use of it?

As Montana's Rep. Arnold Olsen says, "They say, 'What's the traffic count?' Well, there is no traffic count, but as sure as you have the surfaced highway, you'll have the commerce to support the highway."

An all-weather route to Alaska means opening up a new frontier, to be visited by auto travelers, and to be serviced by truckers.

To try and project on the basis of today's traffic counts is unrealistic and regrettable.

#### EXTENSION OF THE SURTAX

### HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, the closeness of yesterday's vote on the bill to extend the surtax and the significance of this legislation in the lives of millions of American taxpayers make it very much in order, I believe, for individual Members to explain why they voted as they did.

In my most recent newsletter to my constituents, I dealt at some length with this issue. Since I prepared the newsletter on Friday, 3 days before the vote, and distribution to constituents was scheduled for later this week, I concluded my review of the surtax issue this way:

In any event, whenever the House votes on tax legislation, I shall cast my own vote in the way best calculated to obtain the benefits of both the surtax and tax reform. Both are essential. Growing inflation would cost most of us much more than another six months of surtax at 10 percent and six more at 5 percent, while continued tax inequities would tend to place most of the burden of fighting inflation on those least able to carry it—a fact I developed at some length in my May 8th Report to the People.

At that writing, as I also indicated in my newsletter, I had hoped it would be possible to vote on a motion to extend the surtax only long enough to allow the Ways and Means Committee to report a comprehensive tax reform bill, following which a combined surtax ex-

tension-tax reform measure could be brought to the House as a package.

As our colleagues know, Mr. Speaker, the parliamentary situation which existed yesterday precluded such a motion. Under the circumstances, therefore, I concluded that I had no alternative—no responsible alternative—but to vote for the 1-year extension of the surtax.

Indeed, I believe that those circumstances were such that our affirmative vote has actually brought closer the day when the House can vote on tax reform legislation. As the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means pointed out during debate, had the House defeated the surtax extension bill, the committee would have had to postpone its work on tax reform legislation to take up once again the question of the surtax.

I was further persuaded, Mr. Speaker, by the absolute and unqualified assurances of all concerned—the President of the United States, House Republican and Democratic leaders, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and committee members—that they are committed to comprehensive tax reform and that tax reform legislation will be ready for the House by the middle of next month. Given this kind of commitment, we are certainly justified in trusting our elected leaders.

Their commitment was more than just a token assurance, more than simply a tactical device in a hard-fought legislative battle. It reflected, I believe, their recognition that the American people are demanding the overhaul of our outdated and inequitable tax system—an overhaul that will close indefensible tax loopholes, eliminate unjustified tax subsidies, and assure that the taxes required to support our Government will be assessed on all on the basis of their ability to pay.

Our approval of the surtax extension bill, and the accompanying promises of early action on tax reform legislation, greatly increase the likelihood that this Congress can enact both—either as a single package or as separate bills with a minimum of further delay. With the surtax extension issue now before the Senate, with the Ways and Means Committee resuming its work on tax reform, and with a House-Senate conference committee likely to be necessary to resolve any differences, either course is still possible.

On the strength of this situation, Mr. Speaker, I am personally convinced that a vote against the surtax bill yesterday would have been, for me, irresponsible. Not only would defeat have delayed action on tax reform, but it would also have shaken the confidence of people here and abroad in our determination to check inflation. And inflationary psychology may be our worst enemy, for if businessmen, investors, and consumers are convinced that costs, prices, and interest rates will continue to escalate then they will act to protect themselves in ways that can only add to the inflationary spiral.

Defeating the proposed extension of the surtax would have been tantamount to abandoning the fight against inflation. In just 1 year, the surtax has be-

come a key weapon in that fight. It has been responsible, to a significant extent, for the progress that is now becoming felt and visible. We have moved, in 1 year, from a budget deficit of \$25 billion in fiscal 1968 to a small surplus in the fiscal year which ended yesterday. The rate of increase in the basic economic indicator, the gross national product, has begun to decline, as have the rates of increase of other important indicators, including the consumer price index. And we have now apparently been successful in bringing monetary policy in line with fiscal policy. If we can continue along this path of calculated restraint, we can lick inflation, and we can do it—especially if we succeed with tax reform—without imposing too heavy a burden on any one segment of our society.

In the final analysis, Mr. Speaker, most American taxpayers and consumers must see this issue, for all its complexity, in terms of the dollars and cents they will have to buy the things they need. The facts convince me that, given the present realities of our economic situation, our people will save money by continuing to pay the relatively modest surcharge for another year at a declining rate.

Uncontrolled inflation is the great robber, and I see no way of stopping it—short of depression—without the surtax.

As a part of my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I include the text of my most recent newsletter which I mentioned above:

CONGRESSWOMAN DWYER'S REPORT TO THE PEOPLE

DOLLAR BILLS IN YOUR WALLET

Questions of economic policy—of dollars and cents—have dominated Congress in recent weeks: extension of the surtax, higher interest rates, appropriations bills. Complicated matters, yes; but just as personal and direct as the dollar bills in your wallet. And there'll be more or less of those in your future depending on what we do on these issues.

Surtax extension is the most immediate issue for the House. When you read this, it may be settled. But as I write it (Friday night) the House is scheduled, after an earlier postponement, to vote on the surtax bill on Monday, though on past performance and present uncertainties this could be changed.

If the schedule holds up, you now know how I voted. As I write, I don't—for what I believe are very good reasons. Most important, while I accept the necessity of the surtax for a brief additional period, I also strongly favor a comprehensive reform of the tax system itself. Without reform, the surtax simply perpetuates existing inequities and imposes relatively heavier burdens on low- and moderate-income taxpayers than on many of the more fortunate who benefit from the variety of subsidies built into the tax system.

THE COST OF A TAX CUT

On the other hand, dropping the surtax now (a move which would pump into the economy an additional \$9.26 billion in spendable funds and add to the possibility of an inflationary Federal budget by a like amount) would almost inevitably start a new wave of price increases at a particularly sensitive time, a time when fiscal and monetary restraints seem about to take hold and reverse the mad climb of prices and interest rates.

An obvious way out of this dilemma would appear to be to combine the extension of the surtax with a comprehensive tax reform

in a single bill. Yet, Administration and House Ways and Means Committee supporters of the surtax oppose such a step, even while they emphatically repeat their commitment to tax reform—a position I have not found very persuasive.

No one has yet explained to me, satisfactorily, why a combined surtax-tax reform bill can't be passed if each can be enacted separately. If, as some suggest, the presence of tax reform provisions in a surtax extension bill would threaten the surtax, then how could tax reform be enacted alone—a question, I suggest, which answers itself and raises some doubt about the depth of commitment to tax reform on the part of those who would separate the two.

The position of the surtax-first camp was further weakened just today. Though they have strenuously protested that short-term extension of the surtax past its June 30th expiration date (to give the Ways and Means Committee time to finish work on tax reform) would weaken the anti-inflation fight, they nevertheless quietly accepted an "emergency" one-month extension through July of tax-withholding rates at the present surtax level—a move which, in effect, extends the surtax itself.

SURTAX PLUS REFORM

Why, therefore, a formal extension of the surtax for one month—or two or three, if necessary—can't be utilized to permit completion of tax reform proposals escapes me.

In any event, whenever the House votes on tax legislation, I shall cast my own vote in the way best calculated to obtain the economic benefits of both the surtax and tax reform. Both are essential. Growing inflation would cost most of us much more than another six months of surtax at 10% and six more at 5%, while continued tax inequities would tend to place most of the burden of fighting inflation on those least able to carry it—a fact I developed at some length in my May 8th Report to the People (Number 5).

One of the more disturbing ironies of the present effort to deal with inflation involves the position of many of the country's biggest banks. While bankers have been among the most persistent of those warning us against inflation and advocating continuation of the surtax—a most responsible position, so far as it goes—they have effectively dealt the public interest in opposing inflation a very serious blow by yielding to their own private interests and raising the prime interest rate from 7½% to 8½%.

In my entire public life, I have rarely seen a decision more universally condemned than this. Republicans and Democrats, Congress and the Administration, even some bankers, all were shocked at the suddenness of the action, the extent of the rate increase, and the poor timing. It was largely a surprise. The full percentage point by which rates were raised was the largest in a quarter century and followed five other rate increases during the past 12 months. And it came at a time when self-discipline, voluntary restraint and effective self-regulation were essential to the health of the economy.

DANGEROUSLY UNCONVINCING

Our full Banking and Currency Committee has already held several days of hearings on this latest rate increase, and there will be more. After listening to the bankers make the most of their case, I remain unconvinced. It was fundamentally a selfish act disguised in the rhetoric of the money market. While it strengthens commercial banks' competitive position in the fierce search for lendable funds, the rate rise will not slow inflation. It will add, and is already adding, to inflation, badly hurting the housing market, drying up consumer credit, penalizing small business, restricting State and municipal efforts to build needed schools, hospitals, housing, etc., driving down the stock market, denying needed loans to college students, and

costing home-buying families thousands more over the life of an average mortgage. The banks' profits picture, however, should be improved.

I do not mean to be too harsh on the banks. Bankers are not evil, grasping men. Tight money is not basically their fault. Inconsistent Federal Reserve Board policy, a haltingly unsure former Administration, and a slow-moving, overly political Congress have been major contributors to the crisis. Yet, we are asked to expect much from private enterprise by private business leaders. If, when the chips are down, private business cannot act in the public interest, then government may have no alternative but to impose the necessary controls.

LOSING MORE CONFIDENCE

In the midst of all this, Congress once again has illustrated why it has been unable, as an institution, to attract more public confidence. Last year, as part of its budget-cutting crusade, Congress forced most Federal agencies to cut back sharply the number of their employees, a policy which is still in effect. This past Tuesday, the House continued its budget-cutting, this time reducing appropriations for housing and urban development by \$473 million, nearly 25% below the Nixon Administration's balanced-budget request (a move which, inexplicably, HUD Secretary Romney didn't protest until after it had happened). But the very next day, economy was forgotten as House leaders (of both parties) slipped through a bill authorizing an additional employee for all 435 House members at an estimated cost of \$3.6 million.

Though the vote was close—204 to 195—it was not close enough to preserve what's left of Congress' credibility and integrity. As one who voted against it, I saw the issue less as a matter of money than as a further example of Congressional arrogance, of Congressional insistence on taking care of its needs or desires or convenience or pettiness first.

PEACH GROWERS OF SPARTANBURG COUNTY

HON. JAMES R. MANN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege today to present fresh South Carolina peaches to the leadership of the House of Representatives and to arrange for fresh sliced peaches to be served in the House restaurants on a complimentary basis. This was made possible by the peach growers of Spartanburg County and by the South Carolina Peach Growers Association.

South Carolina is approaching its centennial as a fresh peach export State. It was in 1870, that Col. R. B. Watson shipped the first peaches out of State from his Ridge Springs orchard. His starting shipment was a small express lot. Later he planted a commercial orchard and in 1890 shipped the State's first entire carload, packed in empty sugar barrels.

The first carload of peaches shipped from Spartanburg County, rolled from Gramling in the heart of the upper Spartanburg belt on July 31, 1924. No grower had enough peaches to fill the first car so orchardists pooled "every ripe peach we could scrape together," according to one of the pioneers.

Approaching its 100th year as a fresh peach export State, South Carolina now ranks second in the Nation in total peach production. For 3 years in a row—1966, 1967, 1968—the State has produced a crop valued at \$20 million or more per annum.

In fresh peach exports, South Carolina holds the "Dixie peach championship" according to the Federal-State Market News Service.

In 1968, South Carolina shipped 4,939 carlot equivalents, as opposed to Georgia's 3,597.

The South Carolina peach season runs from early June through August—producing approximately two dozen varieties of fresh peaches—which are shipped and sold as far west as Minnesota and as far north as Maine and Canada.

Spartanburg County, located in the Piedmont area of South Carolina and home of the South Carolina Peach Growers Association, produces 65 percent of the State's fresh peach produce.

As a matter of fact, Spartanburg County is now recognized as the Nation's No. 1 county in the production of peaches for the fresh produce market.

I am proud of the peach growers in my district and wanted my colleagues to know of the significance of Spartanburg County and South Carolina in the fresh peach market.

#### ANOTHER POSTAL INCREASE IS NOT THE ANSWER

### HON. J. HERBERT BURKE

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, last week I received a statement from the Post Card Manufacturers Association which expressed its views on the suggested proposals which would increase the present postal rates.

It is my understanding that the Post Card Manufacturers Association represents members who claim to print about 90 percent of all of the picture post cards in the United States.

In the past, each of us has, I am sure, mailed post cards "back home" to our friends when we have been away from home. It does not seem too long ago when I, as a boy, received post cards from my parents when they were away from home. I am sure also that each of us can remember the 1-cent postage stamp that once was sufficient to carry the card and its message from the point of mailing to its ultimate place of destination. Unfortunately, the 1-cent stamp, like the nickel beer and the 5-cent cigar, has passed into oblivion, but what really concerns me is the idea that a 1-cent increase, be it on postal rates, sales tax, gas tax, or other items, is but a small unnoticeable increase.

The 1-cent increase on the post card obviously concerns the Post Card Manufacturers of America because the 1-cent increase on the mailing of cards has been a continual one and has gone from 1 to 5 cents, and yet we now have the sug-

gestion of the Post Office Department that there be another 1-cent increase, raising what used to be a 1-cent cost to 6 cents. The Post Card Manufacturers Association may be right in its fear that if the postage on scenic cards continues to increase, it will seriously impair the use of post cards by the public and will thereby greatly curtail the pleasant habit of vacationers of sending cards to their friends.

I am inclined to agree that their concern is justified and even though I recognize the desire of the postal authorities to come up with some program to better make up the huge postal deficit, yet I do not believe that the continual increase of our postal rates for the post card is the answer to the postal dilemma.

Although I am well aware of the fact that any change in the postal program will be subject to extended hearings and lengthy debate, nevertheless I feel that the following article by the Post Card Manufacturers Association is entitled to be read and considered by my colleagues, regardless of their views for or against. The article reads as follows:

#### POSTAGE RATE INCREASE COULD RUIN AN ENTIRE INDUSTRY

A warning that another increase in postage rate for picture post cards may mark the beginning of the end of vacation cards was given today by the Post Card Manufacturers Association.

The New York based trade group is alarmed about reports that postal rates for picture cards may be increased again for the second time within two years.

"Continued boosts in postage rates for picture cards eventually will outprice the card for travelers and vacationists," says William J. Stevens, PCMA National Secretary. Each postage increase cuts into the sale and use of cards. We believe the point of diminishing returns has set in. If we keep upping the rate, the old "Wish you were here" phrase will be replaced by "Sorry, can't afford it," Stevens added.

Originally priced at one-cent postage, picture cards were raised by 25 percent from four to five cents two years ago. An increase to six cents, now sought by the Post Office Department, would mean another 20 percent raise from the current rate.

Post card manufacturers point to the necessity of maintaining the rate differential between picture cards and first class envelope mail. Letters would be raised to seven cents if the Post Office Department has its way.

Suggestions to avoid raising picture post card rates were offered by the PCMA national secretary.

"If cards are still to be sent first-class," said Mr. Stevens, "the Post Office Department could reduce its deficit by charging a cent or more for the price of government postal cards, but maintain the present five-cent postage rate."

"If this is not acceptable, we would have no objection to having vacation picture cards mailed on the third-class mail rate. Time usually is not of the essence for post cards, but if time is important, the sender could add the necessary first-class postage similar to the present air mail practice."

PCMA members have suggested to members of the Senate and House Post Office Committees that if the government is serious about reducing Post Office Department deficits, it should get out of the postal card printing business, and stop supplying free cards.

Such printing, the association contends, should be left to private industry, because private card printers are better equipped to produce cards more economically and at less cost than the Government Printing Office.

Certain businesses have taken over the major use of government postal cards and are using them at public expense for mass mailing to promote their own business and products. These firms, says PCMA, would be required to buy their own cards from private sources and not have them supplied by the general taxpayers.

A fact sheet on the issue of picture post card postage rates is being distributed to members of Congress to alert them to the harmful effects to the picture post card business if their postage rates continue to climb.

#### LAMPREY CONTROL

### HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, Congressman JOHN D. DINGELL has established for himself an enviable record as a conservationist devoted to the preservation and enhancement of our natural resources. It is good, therefore, to see Congressman DINGELL's efforts given recognition. The Mining Journal, published at Marquette, Mich., in an editorial on June 20, 1969, took note of one of Congressman DINGELL's actions on behalf of the fisheries of the Great Lakes. So that my colleagues may be aware of the Mining Journal's comments, I include the text of its editorial at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

#### LAMPREY CONTROL

Congressman John D. Dingell (D-Detroit) appeared before a House appropriations subcommittee the other day to urge Congress to appropriate full funds for the United States' share of the Great Lakes Fishery Commission's sea lamprey control program. He pointed out that the United States and Canada appropriated \$1,288,800 for use by the fishery commission when it initiated lamprey control on Lake Superior in 1958. Last year, 10 years after the start of the control program, the total appropriation was only \$123,000 more than it had been in 1958, despite the fact that the program had been extended to Lakes Michigan and Huron in the meantime.

The amount appropriated last year fell \$150,000 short of the funds needed, and this amount was raised by the State of Michigan, the Upper Great Lakes Regional Commission, local government and sportsmen's groups in order to continue the lamprey program in Lake Huron. The \$150,000 was earmarked for lamprey control at the expense of other programs by the various contributing agencies.

Now, Dingell reports that the Michigan Department of Natural Resources has informed him "that the President's budget request of \$1,063,100 for the Great Lakes Fishery Commission is more than \$200,000 short of what is needed to carry out a minimum level of lamprey control in Lake Huron. I urge you to appropriate \$1,297,500 for the Great Lakes Fishery Commission for fiscal 1970. I have been informed the Canadian government will match this increased appropriation to the limit of the terms of the international agreement."

As Dingell pointed out, the lamprey control program in Lakes Superior and Michigan had enabled the joint federal-state trout and salmon stocking program to become extremely successful. "In 1968, Michigan extended its coho and chinook salmon stocking program to Lake Huron, fully anticipating that the lamprey control program would be funded at the level recommended by the Great Lakes Fishery Commission," Dingell said.

Discouraging developments in the battle against the sea lamprey were reported by *The Mining Journal* earlier this year. For instance, there was an increase last year in the number of lampreys captured in electro-mechanical weirs on streams in the Upper Peninsula and northern Wisconsin. In 1967, the number captured was about 4,000. This doubled to around 8,000 last year. The number this year also is up over last year—6,286 to date, compared to 5,251 during the same period in 1968.

There also was an increase in the rate of lake trout scarring by lampreys in Michigan waters in 1968. And there was an indication that lampreys may transform into their parasitic (adult) stage after three years instead of four or more years, as was previously believed to be the case. This would mean that the frequency of treatment of streams with lampricide to kill young lampreys would have to be stepped up.

Biologists for the U.S. Bureau of Commercial Fisheries are aware that some young lampreys escape the lampricide by drifting into the Great Lakes while still in their larval (pre-parasitic) stage. Other young lampreys may miss being exposed to the lampricide because they are in some backwater of a stream where the chemical does not reach.

So it is possible that even thorough treatment of all lamprey streams will not produce complete lamprey control. In fact, the bureau's biologists doubt that lampreys ever will be eradicated. But they are convinced that they can be successfully controlled at whatever level is deemed necessary.

This is where economics enter the picture. If lamprey control is to be maintained on the same level as in the past, adequate funds will have to be provided by Congress. If these funds are appropriated, the program can move ahead at least until it is established whether it is successful or not. If the appropriations are insufficient, the control level will drop, endangering the trout and salmon programs and leaving unanswered the vital question of whether chemical treatment is the solution to the lamprey problem.

pied the colonies and in 1923 Rwanda-Burundi became a League mandate under Belgian administration. The connection between the two countries had no basis in historical development. In fact, prior to European occupation, the two countries had been almost in a perpetual state of war.

The Belgians continued the system of indirect administration instituted by the Germans. But in matters of importance the local power structure was always superseded by the Belgian Parliament.

The population of Rwanda is mainly composed of three tribes, one of which, the Hutu, comprise nearly 85 percent of the total inhabitants. The original inhabitants, the Twa, now only amount to 1 percent of the total population. The rest of the Rwandans were also the traditional leadership elite and are known by the lyrical name of Tutsi. The Hutu's desire for a proportionate share of power has led to many acts of violence and eventually succeeded in destroying the Tutsi hegemony just prior to liberation. But tension remains high.

I hope that the future will see the Rwandans continue to search for solutions to their problems. Besides the tribal one, there are many severe economic ones, including a very high population density, a high rate of population increase, a shortage of fertile land, and an embryonic industrial base. But with aid from its more developed world neighbors and with a concerned and progressive government, I am sure she will continue her search.

#### JULY CALENDAR OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

### HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following Calendar of Events at the National Gallery of Art for July 1969:

#### NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART—CALENDAR OF EVENTS, JULY 1969

Recent acquisition: An outstanding feat of connoisseurship by a British art scholar, confirmed by infrared photography, has led to an important acquisition on view this month in Lobby D. *Portrait of a Man* by the Flemish master Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678) was purchased through the Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund.

For more than a century the picture hung in Perthshire, Scotland, in the remote country house of Lord Kinnaird. John Walker, Director Emeritus of the Gallery, saw it there several years ago and was struck by the beauty of this brilliant portrait of a cavalier. According to the owner it had been ascribed both to Velazquez and to Rubens. Puzzled by such completely diverse attributions, Mr. Walker sent photographs of the panel to Michael Jaffé of Cambridge University who responded at once: "My impression, a very strong one, is that it is an early work by Jordaens, not by Rubens. The landscape, among other things, is a clear indication."

Mr. Jaffé then went to Scotland to see

the painting and reported he was "more than ever convinced that the handsome three-quarter length of a man in a hat was an early Jordaens—a real masterpiece!"

The 350-year-old picture was brought to the National Gallery for further study. With infrared photography, the artist's characteristically abbreviated signature ("Jof") was discovered at the lower right.

Attributions of pictures are often problematical and it is a rare event when science discloses a signature supporting, as it does in this case, the connoisseurship of a distinguished scholar.

American naive painting: 111 Masterpieces of American Naive Painting from the Collection of Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch continues on exhibition in the ground floor galleries. Selection includes *Flax Scutching Bee*, *General George Washington on White Charger (Jack)*, and one of the famous scenes of *The Peaceable Kingdom* by Edwards Hicks. Fully illustrated catalogue with foreword by John Walker and preface by Lloyd Goodrich, 9½" x 8", 160 pages, 55 color plates, 56 black-and-white illustrations, \$3.50 postpaid.

John Constable: An exhibition of 66 paintings by Britain's foremost landscape artist, selected from the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon. Studies of sky and clouds, portraits, and a group of landscapes including the incomparable *Hadleigh Castle*. Fully illustrated catalogue with introduction by John Walker and notes by Ross Watson, 10" x 7½", 64 pages, 66 black-and-white illustrations, \$2.50 postpaid.

Summer film lectures: A special series of eight lectures with films dealing with the history of art from ancient times to the present day. Starts July 6 and continues through August 24. All programs presented by National Gallery staff lecturers on Sundays at 4 o'clock in the auditorium.

Daily films: Two films dealing with art in the collections of the National Gallery are shown in the auditorium on a daily schedule.

Recorded tours: *The Director's Tour*. A 45-minute tour of 20 National Gallery masterpieces selected and described by John Walker, Director Emeritus. Portable tape units rent for 25 cents for one person, 35 cents for two. Available in English, French, Spanish, and German. *Tour of Selected Galleries*. A discussion of works of art in 28 galleries. Talks in each room, which may be taken in any order, last approximately 15 minutes. Small radio receivers rent for 25 cents.

Gallery hours: Weekdays 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Sundays 12 noon to 10 p.m. Admission is free to the building and to all scheduled programs.

Cafeteria hours: Weekdays, 10 a.m. to 4 p.m., luncheon service 11 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. Sundays, dinner service 2 p.m. to 7 p.m.

#### MONDAY, JUNE 30, THROUGH SUNDAY, JULY 6

Painting of the week\*: Birley, *Andrew Mellon* (Gift of Mrs. Mellon Bruce) Founder's Room, Tuesday through Thursday; and Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

Tour: Introduction to the Collection. Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11, 1, and 3; Sunday, 2:30 and 5.

Sunday film lecture: "Art of the Ancient Era." Speaker: William J. Williams, staff lecturer, National Gallery of Art. Lecture hall 4.

Sunday film: "The American Vision," 1. Weekday films: "The National Gallery of Art," 2; "The American Vision," 4.

#### MONDAY, JULY 7, THROUGH SUNDAY, JULY 13

Painting of the week\*: Renoir *Madame Henriot* (Gift of the Adele R. Levy Fund Inc.) gallery 76, Tuesday through Saturday 12 and 2; Sunday, 3:30 and 6.

\*11" x 14" reproductions with texts for sale this week—15¢ each. (If mailed, 25¢ each.)

#### INDEPENDENCE DAY OF RWANDA

### HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, we take this opportunity to send warm felicitations to President Geogoire Kayivanda of Rwanda and Rwanda's Chargé d'Affaires to the United States, Mr. Synphorien Ntezilizaza, on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of Rwanda's independence.

July 1, 1969 will mark the seventh anniversary of Rwanda's independence. I would like to take this opportunity to extend my congratulations to that tiny but virile African country. Rwanda is bounded on the west by the Republic of the Congo, on the north by Uganda, on the east by Tanganyika, and on the south by Burundi, to which it was formerly joined in United Nations trusteeship.

The Berlin Conference of 1885 staved off a possible European clash but in doing so it relegated Rwanda and Burundi to the German zone of influence. The German occupation was principally military, however, and the indigenous political authorities continued to rule. During the First World War, Belgian forces occu-

Tour: Introduction to the Collection. Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11, 1, and 3; Sunday, 2:30 and 5.

Sunday film lecture: Art of the Classical Era. Speaker: Margaret Bouton, curator in charge of educational work, National Gallery of Art. Lecture hall 4.

Sunday film: The American Vision, 1. Weekday films: "The National Gallery of Art," 2; "The American Vision," 4.

MONDAY, JULY 14, THROUGH SUNDAY, JULY 20

Painting of the week\*: Watteau, *Italian Comedians* (Samuel H. Kress Collection) gallery 53; Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday 3:30 and 6.

Tour: Introduction to the Collection. Rotunda, Monday through Saturday, 11, 1 and 3; Sunday 2:30 and 5.

Sunday film lecture: "Art of the Medieval Era." Speaker: Carleen Keating, staff lecturer, National Gallery of Art. Lecture hall, 4.

Sunday film: The American Vision, 1. Weekday films: "The National Gallery of Art," 2; "The American Vision," 4.

MONDAY, JULY 21, THROUGH SUNDAY, JULY 27

Painting of the week\*: Gossaert, *Portrait of a Banker* (Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund) gallery 40, Tuesday through Saturday, 12 and 2; Sunday 3:30 and 6.

Tour: Introduction to the Collection. Rotunda Monday through Saturday, 11, 1 and 3; Sunday 2:30 and 5.

Sunday film lecture: "Art of the Renaissance Era." Speaker: John Hand, Staff Lecturer, National Gallery of Art. Lecture Hall, 4.

Sunday film: "The American Vision," 1. Weekday films: "The National Gallery of Art," 2; "The American Vision," 4.

Inquiries concerning the Gallery's educational services should be addressed to the Educational Office or telephoned to 737-4215, ext. 272.

For reproductions and slides of the collection, books, and other related publications, self-service rooms are open daily near the Constitution Avenue Entrance.

## GOOD EARTH?

### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the July 7, 1969, issue of *Newsweek* carries a special section entitled "The Moon Age" in which various aspects of the space program are discussed in some depth. One of these articles included in the special section, "Good Earth?" by John Mitchell, a former *Newsweek* science and space editor and now editor of *Open Space Action* magazine, comments on the earth's deteriorating environment. So that my colleagues may have an opportunity to be aware of Mr. Mitchell's warnings as to the future of our globe, I include the text of his article at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

#### GOOD EARTH?

Viewed from space, the earth appears benign, blue and beautiful. Astronaut Frank Borman, from his vantage point aboard Apollo 8, called the planet "that good earth." Up close, the perspective is less pleasing. The same technological impetus that is carrying Apollo 11 outward to the moon is also threatening the home environment. In a report last week to the United Nations, Secretary-General U Thant warned that a worldwide "crisis of the human environment" could

lead the planet toward global suicide. Unless action is taken against the pollution of air, water and land, U Thant said, "the future of life on earth could be endangered."

To be sure, ecologists and conservationists have been predicting the apocalypse for so long now—it is seven years since Rachel Carson summoned up an image of a "Silent Spring" when all the birds are cut down by DDT—that most listeners have tended to discount warnings about the deteriorating quality of life, or else have assumed that something at last was being done. After all, didn't Pittsburgh muffle its belching smokestacks? And didn't Lady Bird Johnson's beautify-America campaign hide some roadside junk heaps behind fences?

The depressing answer appears to be that these measures are piecemeal, inadequate and essentially defensive—like a doctor treating symptoms rather than the disease. What was once visible—and repugnant—like the black plumes of industrial smoke, is now being made invisible, but more deadly. Pollution-control technology has turned smoke into toxic gases which penetrate even further into the lungs. Sewage-treatment plants now purify human wastes, but their phosphate and nitrate effluents still flow into rivers and lakes—and help feed algal blooms that eventually choke and "kill" the water, as in the case of Lake Erie. Thus, the esthetic victories are not necessarily healthy ones. Some scientists, despairing of an imminent victory, search instead for a civil-defense-style checkmate. One laboratory is developing pollution shelters for the home and astronaut life-support helmets for the man-on-the-smoggy-street.

In every area, it seems, man is a victim of his own technological virtuosity and of his own habits and shortsightedness. Though birth-control and family-planning techniques are beginning to make slight inroads on population growth in the developed countries, the individual's "right to breed" still remains enshrined around the world. The "good earth" is crowded with 3.5 billion people, and more than 7 billion are expected by the end of the century. And as the people increase, so do the pressures they exert on the earth's balance of air, water and soil.

#### A WORLD WITHOUT SUNSHINE?

Neo-Malthusians, like Cornell ecologist Lamont Cole, foresee the disaster of global famine as one likely result of overpopulation. The threat of famine may also accelerate other catastrophes. In the rush to produce more food, more nitrate and phosphate fertilizers will be broadcast upon the croplands of the world, only to run off into more waterways and contribute to new blooms of lake-destroying algae. And the persistent pesticides, which already threaten some species of birds, would be sprayed over still more of the world's acreage.

The automobile is now held accountable for 60 per cent of all air pollution generated in the U.S. and for an increasing amount in other Western nations. Now scientists are also worrying about the proliferation of jet aircraft and their contribution to the contamination of the upper atmosphere. At very high altitudes, there is no washing effect, so that effluents from planes may circle the earth many times before settling by gravitation. "If transportation continues to grow in the direction it's going," says Alfred Hulstrunck, assistant director of the Atmospheric Sciences Research Center at the State University of New York in Albany, "it's possible the next generation will never see the sun."

Yet while some scientists foresee an age of global gloom, others fear the planet may become a giant hothouse. Transparent to sunlight but opaque to the earth's radiation, a blanket of moisture and carbon dioxide conceivably could raise the surface temperatures

of the earth enough to melt the polar ice-packs and raise sea levels 300 feet. Even 200 feet would inundate New York, Boston and most of Florida.

Farfetched? Perhaps. A more imminent threat is the vast accumulation of garbage that is stifling the developed world. Nearly 5 pounds are generated daily by every American; burning it fouls the air and burying it often destroys valuable wetlands. As for noxious-waste disposal, instead of dumping acids, poison gases, pharmaceutical and petrochemical byproducts into some convenient waterway, the new alternative is to drop the fluids down wells. Many of the nation's 130 disposal wells, however, are less than 2,000 feet deep; most are in relatively permeable sandstone or limestone strata, aquifers that feed eventually into surface waters. "This stuff they're dumping," says geologist David M. Evans of the Colorado School of Mines, "won't stay put. Once it gets into the drinking water, there's no way in the world you can clean it up. It may take 50 years to discover that it is on the march, and by that time the whole countryside has become poisoned."

Oceans are being poisoned for miles around, too. In fact, the sea is the final repository of just about everything man wants to get rid of. According to Cole, we are putting some 500,000 different chemicals into our environment. Most find their way to the sea. Airborne lead from anti-knock gasoline falls into the ocean at the rate of about a quarter million tons a year—an amount equal to that introduced through natural processes. Pesticides are washed into the sea and reappear thousands of miles away, tankers spill oil and the military dumps chemical-warfare gases.

#### HEAVY FOOTED IN THE TROPICS

Environments gone awry are by no means found only in the industrial nations of the world. Egypt and its Aswan Dam provide an example of what happens when a predominantly agricultural nation moves rapidly into the twentieth century. As one of the world's largest structures of its kind, Aswan Dam was designed to reap a multitude of socioeconomic benefits: doubled electrical output, a 25 per cent increase in cultivated land. But already the balance sheet shows a different kind of account. Aswan's giant Lake Nasser, many experts foresee, will retain most of the silt on which the rich Nile delta farmland depends. The dam is also impounding natural minerals essential to the web of marine life in the delta; since Aswan began regulating the river's flow five years ago, Egypt has suffered a \$7 million-a-year loss in its native sardine industry, and now there are reports that the delta shrimp fishery is also on the decline.

The damming of the Zambezi River in southern Africa brought similar results. According to one report by Caltech's Thayer Scudder, the Zambezi dam builders had predicted that an increase in the fisheries resources would offset the loss of flooded farmland. As it turned out, the fish catch fell off after an initial flourish, and the lakeshore soon enough bred herds of tsetse flies that infected native livestock. Nevertheless, engineers now are designing massive dams for two of the world's longest rivers—the Mekong and the Amazon. One Amazonian proposal would call for creation of an inland sea almost as large as both East and West Germany.

Such examples of misguided and perhaps overambitious technology disturb economist Kenneth Boulding, now a professor of social dynamics and international systems at the University of Colorado. "We're going around heavy-footed," Boulding complains. "You can muck around with Ohio; it has resilience. But there's a precariousness about the tropics. . ."

## IT ALL BEGAN IN EDEN

Why this disdain for the environment? Man no longer has the excuse of innocence—presumably he has now advanced beyond the Mayan farmers who overtilled the soil with little thought for any harvests beyond the immediate ones. Ecologist Raymond F. Dasmann of Washington's Conservation Foundation says, only half-jokingly, that man's difficulties in living with his environmental date to Eden—"the first place some one decided he wanted something he didn't need." Others attribute man's profligate ways to a deep emotional commitment to the idea—grounded mainly in Western Christian thought—that nothing exists in the universe apart from man. "The Copernican revolution," says historian Lynn White Jr. of Cornell, "should have taught us that man is part of nature. Yet curiously, even after Darwin, neither our scientists nor technicians absorbed this truth. We are still anthropocentric and ruthless toward our environment."

White's indictment of Western man is particularly applicable to the U.S., where the frontier and free enterprise still exert strong influence. If it can be done, the saying goes, do it—and then move on to the next virgin territory. C. C. Johnson, HEW's administrator for consumer protection and environmental health service, suggested recently that the "problems that plague us today are largely the result of our narrow pursuit of limited objectives—economic efficiency, fast transportation, agricultural abundance—and our tendency to endow these activities with a life and purpose of their own."

The narrow pursuit of limited objectives is still evident in Washington. In fact, according to one insider, many bureaus are manned by civil servants who believe that Rachel Carson made no valid case against DDT. At the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, Commissioner David D. Dominick admits that the U.S. pure-waters program is still muddled and stagnant. Unable to get Congress to appropriate sufficient matching funds (some \$3.4 billion) for municipalities to complete construction of waste treatment facilities by 1972 (a deadline set by U.S. law), the FWPCA is considering an alternative: financing the sewage plants through local bond issues which the Federal government would help retire over the next 30 years. The trouble with this scheme, however, is that Washington has scant assurance U.S. voters will approve the issues at the polls. Though a recent public-opinion survey found that three out of four Americans would be willing to pay higher taxes to clean up the environment, the fact remains that in general Americans are apathetic about their environment—short of a catastrophe—and are reluctant to pay for its upkeep.

Everyone in Washington is for cleanliness right next to godliness: clean air, clean water, clean cities, clean recreation areas—as long as too many sacred cows are not disturbed. It took a lot of pressure to get action against auto-exhaust pollution. For example, even though the Justice Department has brought suit against Detroit manufacturers for conspiring to suppress antipollution technology, it is going to take a great deal more vigorous action on the part of the Administration, the courts and Congress to clean up the auto-exhaust and other man-made environmental problems.

As an effort in that direction, no fewer than four bills were introduced in Congress this session to create a national technology-assessment board or an environmental-advisory council that would function in the ecological arena as the President's Council of Economic Advisers presides over fiscal affairs. President Nixon recently created his own Cabinet-level environment council which will be meeting from time to time to consider such problems as the debate over a jetport at the edge of the Everglades National Park in Florida.

## NEEDED: A NEW U.S. CONSTITUTION?

Testifying at a recent hearing on one environmental bill, W. H. Ferry, for ten years a vice president of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, noted somewhat dolefully that while councils and committees can do no harm diagnosing "the warts" on technology's "chin," drastic surgery is needed. Ferry proposes a two-year moratorium on technological innovation to "compel a searching revision of our national aims"; amendment of the U.S. Constitution to permit, for example, limitations on the number of autos one family might own, and finally, establishment of a national ecological authority, with sweeping regulatory powers over all major technological undertakings that might pose ecological hazards.

Social scientist Richard A. Falk of Princeton University goes further than Ferry and proposes a limited world government and an international, "macro-functional" approach to such global undertakings as climate control and cleaning up of the oceans. Economist Hans H. Landsberg of the Washington-based Conservation Foundation is more specific. "We've passed the point where water and air can be free and therefore squandered," says Landsberg. "We've got to have incentives to behave less wastefully." One suggested incentive: water metering that would make the consumer pay for what he uses. Boulding advocates taxes on pollution—on cars, for example, whose emissions exceed permissible limits.

One good sign is the universal restlessness of the young and their unwillingness to accept shoddiness or further deterioration in the name of progress or property rights. It is not simply a matter of a hip generation worshipping Thoreau and doing battle over a "people's park." Few of the youthful dissidents are truly turned into nature—yet. But they do insist that beauty and quality should be a part of man's legitimate inheritance on earth, and that technology must be led by man instead of leading him. This was certainly the prevailing mood among students gathered in Berkeley's Sproul Plaza one day this spring for an environment teach-in. "The politics of ecology," shouted one rebel with a cause, "is going to replace both capitalism and Marxism."

Technology, of course, need not alienate man from anything. If used wisely, it might well allow him to restore some measure of harmony to the biosphere. The sophisticated technology required to create the Apollo spaceship, for example, has done much to demonstrate the ecological principles of "interrelatedness" in a closed system. NASA has spent billions to provide the moonbound astronauts with the ecology of the "good earth"—pure air, pure water and careful disposal of waste. Each spaceship, in effect, is a model and a reminder of what earth should be like.

More specifically, space technology is now capable of providing new understanding and control of the earth environment itself. Remote sensing devices, like infra-red scanners and radar, and high-resolution cameras aboard satellites far above the earth's surface will be able to pick out blighted trees from healthy forest areas and determine the amount of pollution an industrial plant contributes to rivers or harbors. Already, Gemini and Apollo photos have revealed remote—and possibly mineral-rich—volcanic areas, noted urban air pollution and charted deep ocean currents. U.S. and Russian weather satellites now follow hurricanes and icebergs, issuing warnings to countries and ships in their path. In the 1970s, NASA will orbit a series of unmanned Earth Resources Technology Satellites, which may discover new mineral resources beneath the sea, spot likely fishing areas and record evidence of coastal erosion.

## HELP FOR A SICK PLANET

"This is no longer pie-in-the-sky," says J. Lynn Helms of the Bendix Aerospace Electronics Co. Satellite sensors, he explains, will

be able to judge when the right temperature and moisture combine to produce the best moment for planting crops. They will tell a farmer not only when to plant, but on which acreage and how much fertilizer to use. Such information, Helms predicts on the basis of recent tests, could increase American farm production by 200 per cent.

The question that remains is whether man, forearmed with this kind of reconnaissance, will in the future choose to use it wisely and avoid some of the blunders of the past.

Now man is going to the moon. He will undoubtedly go beyond the moon to Mars, and, some day, beyond that. A few pioneers may even decide to live there—inside plastic bubbles, dining on algae cultures and recycling their fluid wastes. Anything is possible. It is even possible that technological man will begin to apply what he has learned about keeping astronauts functioning efficiently in space to the task of keeping Homo sapiens alive and well on planet earth.—JOHN G. MITCHELL.

## PERFORMANCE BONDS AND THE BLACK CONTRACTOR

## HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the construction business in the United States today is a multibillion-dollar industry. But, as with any other large industry, for all of the potential rewards that it offers it is also one that is strewn with successes and failures.

Traditionally, construction work has been a "way up" for minority groups striving to enter mainstream America. The Irish and Italians, to cite examples, are two nationality groups that have used the building trade as a vehicle for attaining prosperity and acceptance in America.

Today black Americans are trying to mirror this development and break into the construction business as owners and employees.

A major obstacle facing Negroes wanting to start their own firm is not solely a black problem but a dilemma faced by many small contractors—the need to secure a performance bond.

In essence, this is a form of insurance purchased by a contractor in which a surety company guarantees that the work contracted for is carried out to the specifics of the contract.

Insufficient working capital, little work experience, a general lack of management skills, and a certain amount of prejudice all legislate against the minority contractors' chances of being granted a bond. This inability to obtain a bond thus excludes the minority contractor from most of the larger construction projects where the client is more likely to insist upon a bond.

Shortly, I hope to introduce legislation which will alleviate this problem and allow small contractors to secure a bond and put their skills on the open market, thus building up the necessary job history and confidence needed to be an entrepreneurial success in the construction industry.

A paper by the Ford Foundation's G. Douglas Pugh, which will appear in a forthcoming American Assembly book,

"Black Economic Development"—copyright, the American Assembly, Columbia University, New York, N.Y., 1969—discusses this problem of bonding for the minority contractor and offers some suggestions in handling the problem.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to introduce Mr. Pugh's article into the Record:

BONDING MINORITY CONTRACTORS  
(By G. Douglas Pugh)

BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

Black contractors have been the victims of exclusionary practices of the construction craft unions, which have, in the past, denied them entry into the construction trades. Today, because of their lack of experience and qualifications, too many black contractors are unprepared to participate in the benefits which will flow from the expected growth of the construction industry over the next decade from a 1960 level of \$105 billion annually in new construction, maintenance, and repairs of \$180 billion in the 1970s.<sup>1</sup>

These exclusionary practices have made it almost impossible for black workers to acquire construction skills and to enter the construction business through the normal channel of graduating from skilled worker and foreman into small scale contracting and then, with the accumulation of experience and capital, into larger and more complex work. It has also made it impossible for black contractors to have available to them the quantities of skilled workers needed for large enterprise. When to this pattern is added lack of access to financing, the result is an almost total inability of black contractors to qualify for surety bonds needed for participation in most FHA insured projects and on public construction work. A recent study<sup>2</sup> of seven major cities by the National Business League indicated that 67 per cent of all minority contractors have been unable to obtain a single surety bond.

Thus, black contractors find themselves in a kind of circular trap where their lack of experience in bonded work makes it virtually impossible to obtain surety bonds for construction work requiring such bonds and thereby gain experience on this type of work, even though they might otherwise have the ability to perform.

Two actual cases illuminate the nature of the problem. In 1967, despite the offer of the Oakland Small Business Development Center to put up the money necessary to guarantee performance by a minority subcontractor unable to obtain a surety bond, the subcontractor who had submitted the lowest bid was rejected for the work by the general contractor on an Oakland public school construction project. When asked to intervene, the Oakland Board of Education refused to take action, citing a provision of California law<sup>3</sup> which gives a prime contractor the discretion to reject a bid from a subcontractor unable to furnish a bond from an admitted surety. The same problem faced a Negro construction company which had received a contract to build a \$587,000 multipurpose health service center in Watts for the University of Southern California. The award was predicated upon the contractor's securing a surety bond. After a dozen rejections from surety companies, the University was finally persuaded to permit the contractor to proceed without a bond. It did so, but only after threats were made to burn down any building not constructed by a black contractor. The health center was successfully com-

pleted by the Negro contracting firm according to contract and is presently in operation.

But in all too many cases the minority firm never receives the opportunity to perform and often, even if given the opportunity, does not have the experience or financial capacity to engage in large-scale work. At this point in time, when a major thrust of our national housing program is to rebuild ghetto areas and the need for qualified black contractors to work in these areas is greater than ever, we find that there are very few black contractors who are eligible. There are approximately 870,000 general and specialty contractors in the United States.<sup>4</sup> In 30 states comprising 107 cities for which information on Negro contractors is available, it is estimated that no more than 1500-2000 black contractors are in business.<sup>5</sup> Most of these are small scale enterprises employing four workers or less, with an average construction contract value of \$20,000.<sup>6</sup> Simply to house new families and to replace the normal demolition of old housing units will require the construction of 20 million new dwellings over the next ten years. In addition, six million new or rehabilitated units are needed for lower income families now living in big city slums and slated for renewal under the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 and the Model Cities Program.

FORD FOUNDATION INVOLVEMENT

To help solve the problem that Negro and other minority contractors face. The Ford Foundation, in May, 1967, initiated discussions with surety companies in an effort to obtain their assistance in developing a program to qualify minority contractors for surety bonds. The Foundation addressed itself to this problem partly in response to requests for assistance from two sources: from minority contractors in various parts of the country and from representatives of the federal department of Housing and Urban Development who were concerned about the need to develop qualified black contractors to participate in urban redevelopment programs.

The Foundation viewed the problem as one of devising a program to bring minority contractors up to a standard that would permit them to engage competitively in the quest for business, and qualify in the ordinary course for surety bonds. The larger goal, as in other Foundation work toward expanding equal opportunity, is to "help talent to better help itself."

Contacts were made with the Surety Association of America, The American Insurance Association, and with three major surety companies: The Travelers Indemnity Company, The Hartford Insurance Group, and The Aetna Casualty and Surety Company. These companies expressed a willingness to cooperate in the design of a program to develop increased Negro contractors' bonding capacity. They made it clear, however, that while desiring to render every assistance, they would not bond a contractor unless they felt reasonably certain that the contractor had the experience, organizational and financial capacity to undertake and satisfactorily complete the project. In their view, the construction business was risky even under the best of circumstances—with a relatively high rate of failure—without encouraging inexperienced or undercapitalized contractors to engage in it.

They also believed that the problem fac-

ing minority contractors, in addition to the one of insufficient financial resources, was inexperience and lack of managerial capacity, which could not be solved merely by making capital available.

This point of view, as expressed by professional surety men, was succinctly stated in a position paper entitled, "The Surety Industry and Minority Group Contractors," prepared by the American Insurance Association in October, 1968. (Unpublished memorandum.)

"Absolute candor compels us to point out that the chief and recurring difficulty which most minority group contractors encounter in applying for surety bonds arises from their marked deficiencies in experience, management and other skills in running construction jobs of more than limited scope. While very many also lack working capital to a certain degree, with the availability of financing through such governmental sources as the Small Business Administration coupled with various lending techniques, such financial weakness is often secondary to lack of expertise . . .

" . . . We believe that it will serve no useful purpose, economic or sociological, for surety companies to issue contract bonds indiscriminately to all applicants, qualified or not. Such an unqualitative underwriting policy will unquestionably undermine the present confidence of owners in contract surety bonds. It will not only anger owners left with unfinished projects, but will also inflict a mortal wound on the performance reputation of minority group contractors as a class."

In addition to providing an understanding of the industry viewpoints, these contacts with the surety industry have led to the establishment of an informal channel for looking into complaints by minority contractors who have been rejected for surety bonds. In one case, inquiry to a surety company which had allegedly rejected the application of a New Orleans contracting firm for a bond for a \$2,700,000 FHA project revealed that the application had never been forwarded by the local surety agent to the company. When made aware of this, the company suggested the name of another local agent to process the application. The contractor had substantial experience, a net worth in excess of \$500,000 and an irrevocable letter of credit from a local bank for \$200,000. The bond was written.

THE OAKLAND MODEL

The three-year Oakland demonstration program was sponsored by the General and Specialty Contractors Association of Oakland, California, an organization of some sixty minority general and specialty contractors, in cooperation with the Oakland Small Business Development Center, the Management Council for Bay Area Employment Opportunity and the Alameda County Building and Construction Trades Council.

The development of the program was assisted by a feasibility study conducted by Kaiser Engineering and was further refined as the result of processing a test case with the cooperating San Francisco surety company representatives. It called for the formation of a Contractor's Assistance Board to supervise the operation of a supportive assistance program for minority contractors and to engage an appropriate professional staff and consultants necessary to service the assistance program.

The pilot project had four elements:

(1) The organization of general and specialty contractors in the community into a trade association through which they could be reached and aided. The association serves at the same time as a conduit for the dissemination of information to the contractors about the programs being developed to assist them, and as an organizational vehicle

<sup>1</sup> U.S. Industrial Outlook 1968 BDSA, Department of Commerce.

<sup>2</sup> National Business League—"Preliminary Analysis of Negro Contractors from Seven Cities," (Unpublished memorandum) April, 1968.

<sup>3</sup> Government Code Section 4108.

<sup>4</sup> Fortune magazine, December, 1968—"The Unchecked Power of the Building Trades"—Thomas O'Hanlon.

<sup>5</sup> Ford Foundation list compiled from information received from individual minority contractors.

<sup>6</sup> National Business League—"Preliminary Analysis of Negro Contractors from Seven Cities," April, 1968.

for membership participation in these programs. It plays a major role in:

Seeking out construction opportunities for its members;

Referring these opportunities to eligible members;

Cataloging the skills and capabilities of its members;

Sharing common problems and providing, through mutual assistance, for their solution;

Securing federal and other funds for educational and training programs;

Bringing together consortia to perform contracts beyond the unaided skills and abilities of a single member;

Undertaking the development of projects such as "turnkey" public housing projects which could provide job opportunities for its members;

Contracting and negotiating with various government agencies about construction contract opportunities;

Representing the various interests of the contractors in the contractor assistance program and with other construction industry associations.

The constructive roles which could be played are limitless.

(2) The provision of technical assistance at the level of general instruction and at the level of supervising the performance of a particular job and, if necessary, being prepared to actually take over its operation. This has been accomplished through the establishment of a Contractors' Assistance Board composed of minority contractor representatives and members drawn from the business and financial community experienced in the problems of the construction industry. Serving on the Oakland board, in addition to representatives of the minority contractors trade association, are:

A business executive presently serving as the director of a non-profit organization to promote economic opportunities for minorities in the San Francisco Bay area;

A senior construction loan officer of the Bank of America;

A senior construction vice-president of Kaiser Engineering;

The director of Oakland Small Business Development Center, Inc.;

The Business Representative of the Alameda County Building and Construction Trades Council;

The Assistant Secretary of the Carpenters Bay Counties District Council;

The Executive Director of the Human Rights Commission in San Francisco.

(3) The provision of adequate financing so that the contractor has available a *ready credit source to permit the job to be properly financed and to enable him to have the liquidity and "quick assets" which a surety company would require for bonding.* In a non-bonded job the same cash requirements would exist to insure that a proper flow of money on the job would be available. This financing was supplied in Oakland by a grant of funds to be loaned to the contractors on a basis subordinate to the sureties.

(4) Through its paid expert staff of accountants, cost estimators, construction specialists, its ability to engage first rank consultants and the skills of its board members, the Contractors Assistance Board can provide assistance to a contractor on a particular job in:

Accounting and record keeping;

Cost estimating;

Locating proper subcontractors and skilled labor;

Preparing and submitting bids;

Preparing proper construction contracts and documents;

Organizing the job site and supervising the job;

Determining the cash flow requirements of the job;

Administering job funds through a blocked account;

Establishing proper relationships with trade unions and government agencies concerned with the job;

Finding and hiring proper skilled foremen, supervisors, and craftsmen;

Insuring that job proceeds are properly received and applied to the job, etc.

In short, the project seeks to help in the performance of every conceivable function that could be required for a successful job. In its role as the supplier of assistance, the board also serves to screen out obviously unsuited contractors and attempts to guide contractors toward jobs within their aided capacity and which will permit reasonable and orderly growth.

The Board also is constituted in a manner that will generate confidence on the part of surety companies that might bond any of the contractors. This will be done by assuring that proper business management and experience will be available to assist the contractor in carrying out the job, which is important if the contractors are to be helped in performing bonded work.

The Oakland project received a \$300,000 grant from the Ford Foundation in June, 1968, of which \$150,000 was to provide a revolving fund for the purpose of making financing available to satisfy the "quick assets" needed for bonding eligibility. The remaining \$150,000 was to be used to pay the salaries of the program manager and staff for a three-year period. An additional \$105,000 was subsequently granted in December 1968 to cover additional operating expenses and the employment of consulting services. In addition, a grant of \$75,000 was made by the Economic Development Administration of the Department of Commerce for the strengthening and support of The General and Specialty Contractors Association, the minority contractors trade association.

#### THE OAKLAND PERFORMANCE

Between its inception in June, and December, 1968, the Oakland program loaned or committed to contractors \$110,000, which has aided them in securing construction work valued at almost \$1.5 million—most of which has involved bonded work and none of which would have been possible without the assistance provided by the bonding program. This six-months record compares well with initial hope that the program would generate about \$4 million a year in additional construction volume—doubling the 1967-68 volume of GSCA members.

Some of the different accomplishments of the project include:

Obtaining a bond on a \$250,000 contract for a general contractor whose largest previous bond had been \$80,000;

Obtaining a bond on an \$80,000 job for an electrical subcontractor who had never been bonded before;

Assisting a minority contractor to develop a "turnkey" project for the Oakland Housing Authority;

Assisting eight contractors who had never bid on public work before to obtain bonds and to submit bids (These contractors having been shown how to proceed are now beginning to bid on their own without assistance. One contractor was a successful bidder and others have placed second and third in the bidding process);

Arrangements have been made to have contractors qualified to bid on local university construction and to receive notice of prospective work; and

Lines of communication have been opened with local surety company representatives which have resulted in bonding acceptance on every application submitted by a contractor who has used the facilities of the project to develop a set of books and records and a current financial statement.

On the basis of the encouraging signs in

the Oakland Project and the positive response from the Surety Industry regarding the approach to the problem. The Ford Foundation has initiated similar projects in three other cities: Cleveland, Boston, and New York.

#### OTHER CITIES

##### Cleveland

In Cleveland the project was organized under the sponsorship of The PATH Association, a private non-profit civic organization established to foster the development of programs to improve the quality of housing, planning, and community development in the Greater Cleveland area and to provide a clearinghouse for information and citizen participation. The project has the support of the Insurance Board of Cleveland (and its Suretyship Subcommittee), the Cleveland Homebuilders Association, The Greater Cleveland Growth Association, The Businessmen's Interracial Committee on Community Affairs, and the Greater Cleveland Associated Foundation. It is also supported by the Society of Registered Contractors, an association of more than 78 Negro contractors and subcontractors, the organization of which was stimulated by the proposed establishment of the Bonding Program. The total funding for the three-year program is \$645,000. A Ford Foundation grant of \$225,000 made in January, 1969, was to be utilized at the rate of \$20,000 in the first year and \$102,500 per year for the next two years. The Economic Development Administration of the Department of Commerce has granted \$100,000 to The PATH Association, of which \$80,500 will be used for salaries and operating expenses for the Bonding Program and \$19,500 for a three-month construction and maintenance training program during the first year with anticipated additional grants of \$35,000 per year in the second and third years of the program. A revolving loan fund for contractors of \$150,000 will be locally funded from the Cleveland NOW! program, a ten-year program of \$1.5 billion primarily concerned with job development and better housing in Cleveland. Funds have been raised and committed from individuals, industry, and civic groups and federal funds. Cleveland NOW! is administered by Mayor Carl B. Stokes. It is anticipated that an additional \$100,000 for the revolving fund will be provided by the Hough Development Corporation.

##### New York

In New York City, AUCOA (the Association of United Contractors of America) is a non-profit organization comprised primarily of 60 black and Puerto Rican contractors, but also including members of the allied professions, such as architects, engineers, and suppliers. It has established a subsidiary Contractors Accreditation and Control Board (CACB) which will have the responsibility for administering and conducting the Bonding Project. In setting up this Board, AUCOA reserved the right to participate in the selection of non-AUCOA members in order to maintain AUCOA's integrity and to form a Board sympathetic to the aims of the project. Serving on the Board, in addition to AUCOA representatives are: a construction loan officer of the Chase Manhattan Bank; the manager of the Bonding Department of Travelers Insurance Company; a professor from Columbia University School of Architecture; an attorney from the New York City Human Resources Administration; a construction lawyer and two insurance executives. The New York City project is funded for three years for a total of \$935,000. The Economic Development Administration of the Department of Commerce has granted \$135,000 to CACB for technical assistance for the first year with anticipated additional grants of \$135,000 per year in the second and third years of the program. The Model Cities Program has granted \$120,000 for a start-up

fund to CACB for the first year. A Ford Foundation grant of \$210,000 will go to AUOCA at \$70,000 per year for three years, and an additional \$50,000 grant for the Revolving Loan Fund. The New York City Urban Coalition will provide the remaining \$150,000 for the Revolving Loan Fund.

*Boston*

The Boston project was organized through the efforts of the Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates in conjunction with the Contractors Association of Boston (CAB), a non-profit organization representing approximately thirty-five black and Spanish-speaking contractors. The format is the same as in other cities and the program is funded for three years for a total of \$892,550. EDA will contribute \$130,850 for the bonding program during the first year with anticipated similar grants in the second and third years. The Model Cities Program will contribute \$150,000 for the Revolving Fund and the Urban Foundation of Boston will grant an additional \$50,000 to the Revolving Fund. The Ford Foundation will grant \$300,000 for three years to support the CAB trade association.

The project has been endorsed by the surety Underwriters Association of Massachusetts, the local Small Business Administration and the financial and business community. There is a good possibility that a consortium of banks will create a revolving loan fund for contractors to secure loans utilizing, Small Business Administration guarantees provided a subordination agreement acceptable to the surety companies can be worked out.

By January 1969, The Ford Foundation had issued 5,000 copies of a *Manual of Organizational Steps and Procedures for the Establishment of a Minority Contractor Bonding Program* which was based upon the Oakland experience. The hope was that it would serve both as a stimulus and a tool for individuals and organizations interested in sponsoring similar programs throughout the country.

The overall response to the announcement of the program and the requests for similar assistance from minority contractors in almost every major urban area makes clear the acceptability of the program to the minority community and the need for a program of this type on a national basis. It also indicates the need for a National Minority Contractors Institute which would perform, at the national level, all of the functions of a national trade association and would help to organize and develop local contractors' assistance programs where need might exist. Such an institute could join minority contractors' representatives with representatives of the business and construction communities who could make available professional assistance and access to the resources of their respective industries. Preliminary discussions along these lines have been held by representatives of:

- The National Technical Association;
- The National Association of Home Builders;
- The Associated General Contractors of America;
- The Mortgage Bankers of America;
- The American Sub-Contractors Association;
- The National Retail Lumber and Building Material Dealers;
- The National League of Insured Savings Association; and
- The U.S. Savings and Loan League.

**NEW OPPORTUNITIES**

Although the initiative in this endeavor should be taken by the private sector, the vast resources of federal programs in the construction field hold a broad range of productive opportunities for action now—action that could make a measurable impact on the development of black entrepreneurship. In October 1968 a federal government Committee on Federal Construction Contracts and Programs began working intensively on de-

veloping ways to make federal programs a more effective tool in upgrading minority contractors. For example:

(1) Supplemental funds of the *Model Cities Program* could be used in:

Training prime or subcontractors in management skills;

Providing a revolving fund for working capital to meet overhead costs;

Providing a revolving fund for equity capital; and

Assisting non-profit organizations to act as sponsors of projects providing construction opportunities.

(2) Section 3 of the 1968 *Housing and Urban Development Act* calls for maximum feasible utilization by professional businesses of architects, planners, builders, contractors, etc., owned or partly-owned by persons residing in the project area. These businesses are to be used to perform planning, construction or rehabilitation as prescribed by HUD under Sections 235, 236; Section 221(d)(3) of the National Housing Act; and the low rent housing program under the Housing Act of 1937.

(3) *FHA Insurance and Subsidy Programs*. The effect of Section 3 on the FHA program may require sponsors to certify that the contractor has made efforts to use subcontractors located in the neighborhood or that FHA give preference to sponsors using minority contractors under Section 221(d)(3), 221(h) and the new 235 and 236 programs.

(4) *HAA (Housing Assistance Administration) Turnkey Public Housing*. Associations of minority contractors or minority development corporations can prepare proposals and participate in the Turnkey Program. Under the turnkey procedures for low rent public housing program, private developers submit site and development plans for a housing project to the local housing authority. With HUD approval, the developer builds and equips buildings and then turns the key over to the local housing authority when the project is completed. The opportunities should be excellent since local housing authorities, because of the provision of Section 3, will have to show their efforts to solicit and employ neighborhood-based contractors in all public housing construction.

(5) *RAA (Renewal Assistance Administration)*. Under the Renewal and Neighborhood Development Program, a developer can be selected who will maximize the objectives of minority contractor participation.

(6) *New Communities*. Under Section 409 of the New Communities Act (Title IV of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968), the Secretary may adopt requirements which encourage the use of small builders in the New Communities Program. Non-discrimination provisions would assure that minority builders have adequate representation in the program.

(7) *MDTA (Manpower Development & Training Act, The Department of Labor)*. Programs can include managerial training and technical assistance to minority contractors, plus liberalizing the *MA 4 Program* (under which the government compensates employers for the costs of training entry-level employees) to facilitate the use of MA 4 funds by minority contractors who have limited capital. Special Impact Funds could be utilized for grant equity to provide venture money to entrants into the contracting field.

(8) *OEO (Office of Economic Opportunity)*. Under Title I of the Economic Opportunity Act, these programs can generally be used for any community purpose to provide training and other assistance where the importance of community action can be justified. Similarly, the New Careers Program under Section 205(e) of the OEO Act might be used for upgrading the skills of minority contractors or in developing the skills of promising candidates, although this program has not generally been used for this purpose, but rather has been focused on upgrading employee skills to sub-professional levels.

(9) *Small Business Administration*. In addition to its power to guarantee business loans to contractors (particularly loans subordinated to sureties to permit contractors obtaining such loans to qualify for surety bonds), the SBA under Section (8)(a) of the SBA Act can subcontract with minority contractors for federal construction work. Section (8) of the SBA Act authorizes SBA to enter into contracts with federal agencies obligating it to furnish supply articles to the government and to perform such contracts by subcontracting with small business concerns or others. It may be possible for the SBA contracting officer to enter into construction contracts with military and civilian agencies for appropriate projects mutually selected with such agencies. These contracts would fall into two classes—*limited and large projects*. In the *limited* projects SBA would contract directly with qualified minority contractors. In the *large* projects, SBA could contract with large contractors and require them to subcontract to "disadvantaged" contractors to the maximum extent feasible. As the prime contractor, SBA could assure compliance with this requirement.

(10) *EDA (Economic Development Administration, Department of Commerce)*. EDA makes funds available in three categories with the overall purpose of eliminating unemployment.

The three categories of assistance are:

	<i>Million</i>
Public works.....	\$606
Business loans .....	138
Technical assistance and planning.....	9

(NOTE.—Dollar amounts indicate funds allotted over a three year period. Committee on Federal Construction Contracts Memorandum HUD-95 (7-65), Nov. 14, 1968, p. 7. The committee final report noted that bonding requirements are less stringent for all contracts of less than \$2,000. The writer feels that this figure should be substantially higher, with the federal government thereby assuming the role of self-insurer for a larger number of minority contractors.)

EDA guarantees 90 per cent of the working capital on projects they approve.

The federal programs enumerated and the approaches indicated are just a beginning.

The organization and implementation of a contractor's bonding program on a national scale gives promise of making available to minority contractors meaningful participation in the construction opportunities ahead. Such a program can create access to the construction industry not only for minority general and subcontractors, but also for thousands of minority adults and youths who are now excluded from the building trades unions. In addition, increased construction opportunities for black people can spawn growth and opportunity in many related fields: better housing and community development programs; opportunities in real estate development and ownership; in banking, mortgage, and surety brokerage, and insurance; and in real estate management and brokerage, law, accounting, and other fields.

This wide spectrum of opportunity adds up to a challenge—the challenge of harnessing the available resources, not merely to rebuild the cities, but to develop in the process new sources of economic strength within the black communities.

**PESTICIDES AND INSECTICIDES**

**HON. DON EDWARDS**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, we are facing a growing threat

from the unrestricted use of pesticides and insecticides. In San Francisco Bay marine life is dying as a direct result of the use of DDT. In fact, we of the United States have been the leaders of the world in poisoning the environment.

However, the United States also has been one of the world's leaders in recognizing the dangers of its past actions and in attempting to correct those mistakes. Perhaps, the leadership has come more from the private sector than the public one. An example of such private actions was the recent decision by *Sunset* magazine, a very popular western living magazine, to ban advertising for products containing DDT and five other insecticides. The magazine, a product of Lane Magazine & Book Co. of Menlo Park, Calif., goes into thousands of homes throughout the Western United States. Its action is truly a brave one, for it is supported by a great deal of garden product advertising. *Sunset* has put its convictions ahead of the advertising dollars. In addition the company is revising all of its *Sunset* gardening books to recommend products other than those including DDT and the other pesticides. *Sunset* magazine recently issued a statement explaining its stand and I include it in this RECORD. Finally, I would like to offer my personal congratulations to *Sunset* magazine and its president, L. W. "Bill" Lane, Jr. and Melvin B. Lane, publisher of *Sunset* Books. The statement follows:

**SUNSET MAGAZINE MOVES AGAINST DDT AND FIVE OTHER INSECTICIDES**

**MENLO PARK, CALIF.**—*Sunset* Magazine announced this week an immediate ban on accepting advertising for products containing DDT and five other insecticides, and is revising all of its *Sunset* gardening books to recommend substitute products, according to Lane Magazine & Book Company president, L. W. (Bill) Lane, Jr.

The move came after a continuing concern and a six-month intensive study convinced the magazine's gardening staff and management that damage to wildlife and the eventual possibility of harm to humans is far too great to offset the product advantages for use in home gardens.

The announcement is especially significant in view of the fact that *Sunset* currently carries more insecticide and pest-control advertising than any other non-farm magazine in the country.

Lane also announced that the magazine will publish a comprehensive report on the subject in its August issue, listing 19 acceptable substitute products for use around the home and recommended methods for getting rid of present supplies of the insecticides. He emphasized that many of the substitute products have been included in recent and all current printings of *Sunset* publications. The magazine's ban on product advertising goes into effect with the same August issue, which is the first issue going to press following the announcement.

*Sunset's* garden editor Joseph F. Williamson said that research and checking with all responsible authorities convinces him that the new restrictions imposed by the California Department of Agriculture are a step in the right direction, but that more controls are needed.

*Sunset's* decision not to accept advertising precedes the January 1, 1970, ban ordered by the State of California directive on only two insecticides—DDT and DDD.

Three other states—Arizona, Wisconsin, and Michigan—have passed or proposed leg-

islation to control the use of DDT and related chemicals.

The *Sunset* article will also recommend that four other insecticides immediately be taken off the market for home gardening—aldrin, dieldrin, endrin, and toxaphene. They are also included in the ingredients not acceptable for *Sunset* advertising. Williamson explains that the major problem with these stems from what scientists call "nondegradability." Other kinds of insecticides "break down" or change into harmless substances within hours or days after application. These retain their chemical potency, wherever nature may take them, for years after application.

Williamson reports that manufacturers are actively cooperating in the drive to market substitute products that offer the benefits of insect control without the hazards of DDT and its related compounds. Some have voluntarily eliminated DDT products from their lines. Nevertheless, according to a *Sunset* survey of retail outlets, it still is currently contained in 35 products in the Western garden supply market.

Scientists report that certain forms of wildlife (California brown pelicans, peregrine falcons, bald eagles, and Dungeness crabs, to name a few) have taken enough DDT into their systems to make many adults no longer capable of reproducing, thus threatening their species with extinction.

Lane noted that not accepting certain categories of advertising is not new to *Sunset*. The publication, with a circulation of close to one million in Western America, has a long list of products that it does not accept in its advertising pages. "In the case of tobacco and hard liquor, we dropped advertising of such products 25 years ago," Lane said, "not because we set ourselves up as crusaders, but because we felt they didn't fit in the atmosphere of our family-oriented magazine. But in the case of insecticides, our readers expect us to be authorities; we can't very well accept advertising for products we would not endorse or recommend in our editorial pages."

In addition to publishing *Sunset* Magazine, the company is a major book publisher. Melvin B. Lane, publisher of *Sunset* Books, reports that revisions already are being made on all of the firm's garden books to conform with the new findings on insecticides. New printings are underway and will be completed by Fall. The company publishes nearly a half million garden books a year. Sales of its top seller, *The Western Garden Book*, have exceeded 1.3 million copies since first published.

**WELCOME TO THE SOUTHLAND**

**HON. JAMES R. MANN**

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, when Alaska was admitted to statehood in 1958, repercussions of the event did far more than shake up the pride of Texas. This simple act of Congress has made southerners of nearly all Americans—for now the geographic center of the United States is way up yonder in Castle Rock, S. Dak.

For the benefit of you former Yankees and to the few who remain north of the new Mason-Dixon line, I would like to insert in the RECORD an article published in the June 15 issue of *Parade* magazine, which contains some rather amusing sidelights on the result of the big shift to the South:

**DIXIE LINE**

Such Northern centers as New York City, Boston, Chicago and Detroit—believe it or not—are now located in the southern half of the United States. The Geological Survey has established officially that the geographic center of the United States is now situated just west of Castle Rock, S.D., at 44 degrees 58 minutes North Latitude and 103 degrees 46 minutes West Longitude. The addition of Alaska with its huge land mass as the 50th state has shifted the geographical center far north of its previous location near Lebanon, Kans. Thus, the new Mason-Dixon line would be drawn through Minneapolis-St. Paul and Wausau, Wis. Only northern Maine on the East Coast and the territory above Salem, Ore., on the West Coast remain in Yankee territory. Even such far northern outposts as Bar Harbor, Me.; Green Bay, Wis., and Boise, Idaho, now belong to the South.

**WOMEN AND DISCRIMINATION**

**HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, our colleagues may recall that I recently included in the RECORD the text of my letter to the President proposing means of strengthening the protection of women's rights and responsibilities, together with a series of articles by the distinguished Washington correspondent, Vera Glaser, documenting some of the disabilities women face and surveying the state of the issue of women's rights.

At this time, I am pleased to bring to our colleagues' attention a further chapter in the continuing fight for justice, this time an important article describing the existence of discrimination against Federal employees who happen to be women.

Entitled "Women on the March Again—Are They Being Discriminated Against in White-Collar Federal Jobs?", the article appears in the June issue of *Government Executive*. Author Samuel Stafford, associate editor of the magazine, has done a thorough job of research which I commend to our colleagues.

The article follows:

**WOMEN ON THE MARCH AGAIN—ARE THEY BEING DISCRIMINATED AGAINST IN WHITE COLLAR FEDERAL JOBS?**

**HIGHLIGHTS**

1—Many middle-level Federal women employees are decidedly unhappy about their prospects for advancement on the job, a Government Executive survey shows. In many instances, the women flatly charge male superiors with sex discrimination.

2—Presidents Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon have taken strong stands in favor of job equality for women. Yet the percentage of women in white-collar Federal professional, administrative or technical jobs remains small.

3—New women's rights legislation and White House Executive Orders during the past decade have, feminists say, set off a "Quiet Revolution." Main thrust of the militant women's groups has been in the private sector, but the job equality movement seems to be gaining strength in Government.

4—The women are getting help from Capitol Hill. Meanwhile, the Civil Service Com-

mission's relatively new Federal Women's Program is criticized by some as inadequate and praised by others as a firm step in the direction of women's job equality. Main problem: setting up hiring, promotion and grievance machinery that will insure that both supervisor and employee are treated fairly in job discrimination disputes involving women, minority group members and others.

It is hardly a secret that, for years, many highly competent American women have been discriminated against in the competition for middle- and upper-level jobs and promotions in private enterprise and Government by sometimes incompetent males with egg-shell-fragile egos.

If you don't believe it, ask any career woman who has reached or almost reached the white-collar job level in business, industry or the professions, and Federal, state or local governments.

Now, many influential women are saying, the time has come to strike back.

New feminist organizations are springing up to push for women's rights. Militants talk of the "Quiet Revolution"—an uprising they say could have as profound an effect on the future of the Republic as today's better publicized campus and ghetto rumblings.

The shock troops of the Quiet Revolution are members of what one militant woman Federal employee calls the "Feminine Underground," about which somewhat less is known than, for example, the number of FBI infiltrators in the Communist Party or the SDS membership rolls at Columbia University.

"There is a feminine underground, you know," a woman Government official recently told *Government Executive*. "It's not very large yet, but it's stronger than you might think. The Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 gave us the vote, but it has only been in the last 10 years that we began to get meaningful Federal legislation and Executive Orders on job equality. You could say the stage is set for the final push."

Those women who have made a career of fighting for women's rights say discrimination against women in hiring and promotion in the private sector still is a disgrace and that Federal Government job discrimination against females is a national scandal—especially in view of the Government's clear-cut duty under the law to fight sex bias wherever it finds it.

How do women in the middle and upper-middle Federal agency levels feel about their chances of advancement to what they consider their levels of competency?

*Government Executive* put this question to dozens of Federal women professionals, many who had formerly held state or local government jobs, and to women legislators and others who are knowledgeable about women's rights struggle.

Some were cautious about talking freely. But most were eager to discuss their own and others' occupational "horror stories" on the condition that they not be quoted by name.

The answer came back: A high percentage of Federal women professionals are frustrated, bitter and discouraged by their treatment from the male executive establishment. Some in the GS-11 to 13 levels have long since given up all hope of getting ahead and are merely putting in time until retirement.

One typical story:  
"I'm a GS-12 and, as it happens, the only professional in my field in my office. When a job came up requiring someone with my qualifications, I was asked to handle it. Everybody in the office knew I was doing a good job on an informal basis and thought I should get the promotion.

"But they brought in a man who was no better qualified than I was and gave it to him. I asked the personnel man why and he said that when both a man and a woman

apply for a certain job, the man will get it unless the woman is rated superior even though the man doesn't need a superior rating.

"Later, I found out that they hadn't even put a notation in my record that I had done that particular job, so I put the notation in myself.

"I told my boss I wanted to talk to somebody informally, you know, to find out what it was I lacked, the specific reason why I didn't get the job, and he said that wasn't possible, that the only thing I could do was to make a formal complaint upstairs.

"What kind of complaint could I make? How can you pin down something as nebulous as sex discrimination—or race discrimination, too, for that matter? But when this kind of thing happens to you over and over, you begin to wonder."

Another middle-level Federal professional said: "We had the misfortune to get a confirmed woman-hater in at the top, and he went out of his way to make life miserable for any woman who had the nerve to stand on her own two feet. It took him three years, but he drove every woman but one out the responsible jobs in the office."

A woman who managed to make it to the rarefied air of the GS-15 level said: "It was tough going, believe me. You have to be a superwoman. You have to be twice as good as any man.

"I was doing a professional job out in the field and I was the only woman in the project. Every now and then, I would have a sticky problem and I'd want corroboration from somebody else about the ideas I had come up with.

"One secondary supervisor was very touchy about the male-female thing. Every time I would start my story, he would jump to a conclusion and give me the answer. He'd just cut me off. He didn't do this with any of the men.

"I long since got over being emotional about it. Oh, that's not quite true. I still get excited about obvious injustices, but what can you do? You just have to ride along."

Frustration, resignation, defeat. There is a depressing sameness about the stories. In some cases, they are alike in every respect, but the names of the participants and the agency.

Most of the women grit their teeth and "ride along." A few fight back—and pay the penalty for bucking the male dominated system.

One such is Armene Bostanian, a small, spirited woman who was fired from her GS-13 job in the Labor Department in 1967 after she had the effrontery to seek upper-echelon, "male only" jobs in the Office of Labor-Management and Welfare-Pension Reports.

Miss Bostanian, a labor law administration adviser, was fired "to promote the efficiency of the service" after a distinguished career of 27 years during which she consistently received excellent and superior ratings. When she was discharged, she held the highest women's civil service level job in her bureau.

She graduated cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Washington as an economics major with post-graduate work in government administration and fiscal policies, and later studied law at the University of Chicago.

Miss Bostanian began her Government career in the lowest grade and rose to posts as industrial relations analyst, labor economist and labor market analyst to become a labor management relations examiner for the Northwestern states.

She won praise from both labor and industry for her ability and fairness in settling a variety of representation and unfair labor disputes under the Wagner and Taft-Hartley Acts. She also served as jurisdiction and coverage expert in administering the 1959 Landrum-Griffin Act. She continued to compile a superior record when she was trans-

ferred to Labor Department headquarters in Washington in 1959.

Her troubles began after she reached the GS-13 level when a top Labor Department official told her all jobs in her bureau above that level had a "men only" tag on them. There are those who say that then-Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz concurred in this edict. But a Labor official who is knowledgeable about the case recently told *Government Executive*: "I really don't think Willard was fully aware of what was going on down there until it was too late. I think if he had known, he wouldn't have let it happen."

When Miss Bostanian applied for a posted GS-14 vacancy, for which she was certified as qualified, she got the "men only" treatment. She continued to apply for other GS-14 jobs for which she was qualified. By her own account, she was harassed by superiors. Among other things, she said, she was given assignments under restrictions designed to make them impossible to fulfill. And finally she was fired, and her salary cut off.

In September 1967, a Civil Service Commission hearing officer reversed this action, calling the "inefficiency" charges against her unfounded, and ordered her reinstated with back pay.

Instead of following this order, however, the Labor Department appealed, and the Civil Service Commission appeals board on February 2, 1968, upheld the department.

By this time, Miss Bostanian's plight had drawn attention on Capitol Hill.

Sen. Warren G. Magnuson (D-Wash.) and other legislators carefully investigated the case and concluded that Miss Bostanian had been a victim of prejudice, apparently because she is a woman.

On December 18, 1967, Magnuson, who labeled the dismissal "shocking," wrote then-Civil Service Commission chairman John Macy pointing out Miss Bostanian's excellent record in labor relations and calling attention to her bulging file of commendations, which included a letter from a Northwest telephone company lawyer who said she was a "genius in labor relations work."

"As we approach 1968," Sen. Magnuson wrote, "I am indeed concerned about the credibility gap. Is it possible for a woman of proven competence to serve in an executive-type responsibility in duties evidently pre-empted by men? I believe the President's continuing interest in placing women in positions of responsibility requires affirmative action."

Macy's first response seemed favorable, and he said he was "impressed with Miss Bostanian's apparent expertise in labor relations."

A few weeks later, however, Macy said he had learned that the Labor Department had taken an "adverse action" against Miss Bostanian and that he could not consider her for an appointment until this was adjudicated. And the following February, the Commission reversed its examiner's findings and ruled for the department.

Also going to bat for Miss Bostanian were Representatives Thomas Pelly (R-Wash.), Julia B. Hansen (D-Wash.) and Robert J. Corbett (R-Pa.).

Hansen in a letter asked President Johnson to intervene, adding: "I do this in the name of justice and equality for women and particularly in view of the recent Presidential Order on equal opportunity for women in the Government service."

Last October, Macy wrote Magnuson to say the CSC had found no grounds for reopening the case.

Federal officials, Miss Bostanian said, were "completely non-responsive" to specific points in queries from legislators.

She continues to fight for full reinstatement with back pay, but sometimes gets discouraged. Meanwhile, Civil Service Commis-

sion chairman Robert E. Hampton has indicated he might review the case, but seemingly shifted the burden of proof to her by asking her to submit any new evidence she has to indicate that the CSC Appeals Board erred.

The irony is that Miss Bostanian was done in by the bureaucracy during a Democratic Administration, which had made much political hay out of its appointments of women to showcase administrative jobs.

Lyndon Johnson called the under-utilization of American women "the most tragic and senseless waste of this century" and was fond of saying he had appointed 21 women to executive jobs not previously held by women on Presidential boards and commissions dealing with major national issues.

The consensus of women professionals contacted by *Government Executive* was that LBJ's record regarding women was a "plus," but that it was hardly an all-out attack on a serious problem.

"Some of us who have been around a while know when an appointment's for real or only a phoney—a token appointment like some Negro appointments . . . an Aunt Tom.

"In fact, many women get those top token appointments because they are safe . . . because they're not militants, and from a standpoint of fighting for women's rights, they may be more spineless than any man."

Over the years, White House showcase token appointments have seldom done much to help the cause of middle-level women professionals.

A Civil Service Commission survey published last year shows that the relative status of women in upper-level administrative Federal jobs has changed little in recent years and that, while a third of all Government white-collar workers are women, only two percent of them held key managerial positions.

The comprehensive survey, recently updated, shows that women are concentrated in lower grade levels and office positions and that, although the numbers of women in professional positions has increased, the proportion of women among all Federal professional employees has dropped slightly.

Other surveys have shown that no more than a third of middle-level women Federal employees expected to reach the GS-15 level, while two-thirds of the men expected to reach that level.

At the time the CSC survey was taken, there were 19 women and 1,021 men in Grade 15 in the Treasury Department. The Secretary of Defense and Joint Chiefs listed three women out of a total of 414 at the GS-15 level, and no women above GS-15. Army had eight women out of a total of 1,956 in GS-15. Figures for other services generally were comparable, with percentages for women employees usually below four percent of total men and women employees above the GS-13 level.

Health, Education and Welfare, State, Labor and the District of Columbia Government are among the better agencies and units from the women's viewpoints.

The White House offices, Budget Bureau, Treasury, General Accounting Office, Government Printing Office, Housing and Urban Development, Commerce, Agriculture, Post Office, Justice, Interior and other agencies do not show up as well, statistically (in Commerce, for example, women comprised eight percent or fewer of total employees in each level above GS-12; in Justice, women white-collar employees did not rate above 10 percent in grades above GS-9; in the Post Office Department, there was only one woman out of 317 at the GS-15 level; and in Agriculture, there were only 14 women out of a total of 902 at the GS-15 level).

The CSC survey shows that for all agencies covered worldwide, excluding foreign nationals, and employees of the CIA, the National Security Agency and the Federal Re-

serve Board of Governors, there were 10,035 men and 179 women in Grade 16 or above and 20 women and 1,365 men in Grade 18 or above.

The Civil Service Commission itself curiously has done little better than many other agencies in finding room for women at the top or upper-middle levels. At the time the survey was taken, only six women were GS-14s out of 153 employees at that level, and only two women out of a total of 98 employees were GS-15s. Fewer than four percent of the total at the GS-16 level were women. And at that time, no women were listed at the GS-18 level or above in the Commission.

The percentages have changed somewhat in the slightly more than 18 months since the CSC survey was taken. But the changes have not been dramatic. Between Grades 12 and 14, particularly, women comprise only a handful of the total. And between Grades 15 and 18, the number of women compared to the total is negligible.

The CSC report does not include a breakdown by race or education or experience level (a persistent gripe of feminists is that women often are better educated than men holding similar jobs).

A veteran woman professional said: "The Civil Service Commission itself, which should be leading the way, has fewer women in top jobs than it did 20 years ago. At one time, it had two women regional directors and a woman deputy in San Francisco. Not anymore."

Among other complaints by white-collar women:

"The Civil Service Commission is management-oriented. You really need a complaint apparatus that is completely independent of either the Executive Branch or Congress."

"Many women in the Federal establishment—the legislative and judicial branches, for example—aren't covered by Civil Service provisions."

"The Civil Service Commission has been indifferent to sex discrimination until relatively recently, just as it was about racial discrimination until that became a political hot potato."

"It's not enough to merely stop present discrimination. The Government has to see to it that qualified women are actively recruited, trained and promoted to good jobs that open up now. In other words, the Government cannot be neutral and issue wishy-washy guidelines and hope to persuade agency officials to change their ways. The White House must take the lead in finding and upgrading qualified women. I don't see that being done now." (Similar complaints often have been heard from spokesmen for Negro groups.)

It is true that, until recent years, the Federal establishment has shown little interest in pushing equality for women.

The present stirring in distaff ranks—both in Government and industry—arises largely (to a degree as it has with Negroes) from a series of significant legislative actions and White House Orders.

Women, however, still lack such a far-reaching legal weapon as Negroes won when the Supreme Court handed down its *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision banning school segregation in the states.

In 1961, President Kennedy by Executive Order established a commission on the Status of Women, and an Interdepartmental Committee and a Citizens Advisory Council on the Status of Women were set up to facilitate carrying out of Commission recommendations.

And in 1962, the right of Federal appointing officers (most of whom were and are men) under the law to specify sex preferences in filling job openings was repealed.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 enunciated a national policy of equal employment opportunity without discrimina-

tion because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin.

Executive Order 11246 of September 1965 carried forward the program of equal employment opportunity in Government and employment by Federal contractors and subcontractors regardless of race, creed, color or national origin—omitting both sex and religion.

The omission of sex, presumably because its inclusion would open a can of worms regarding Federal contract compliance, incensed many women Government professionals, including then-Assistant Secretary of Labor Esther Peterson.

In October 1967, Lyndon Johnson, who had made such brave statements about women's rights, saw fit to amend his 1965 Executive Order to include both sex and religious discrimination. "The pressure on him," said one woman in-the-know, "was terrific." But in succeeding months, the Government showed little inclination to take the lead in ferreting out sex discrimination cases, and women were reluctant to make formal complaints.

The Civil Service Commission in 1967 and 1968 published new instructions to agencies calling for them to draw up formal anti-sex-bias action plans, designate a Federal Women's Program Coordinator in each agency and make periodic progress reports to the commission.

Under Executive Order 11246, the CSC was to "supervise and provide leadership and guidance" in the conduct of equal employment opportunity programs of agencies and to review such programs periodically. According to CSC guidelines, "each agency head exercises personal leadership in the development and implementation of a positive and continuing program. . . ."

In other words, the Civil Service Commission's role has been that of a guide and gadfly, rather than policeman. Such a role doesn't satisfy some of the more militant ladies.

"If the head of an agency or his top assistants want to disregard the Commission's guidelines," one said, "they know they can get away with it. The guidelines have no teeth in them."

Few women have formally complained about job discrimination to the Commission, a CSC spokesman said. Asked about this one women's rights advocate commented: "Women don't complain because they know nothing will be done about their case, and they'll just wind up in trouble."

Some of the women's program coordinators, it is said, do an excellent job of looking after women's interests in their agencies, while other coordinators are ineffectual. Curiously, a few men coordinators were given better marks than some of the women coordinators. The main criticism here was that standards for appointing program coordinators should be tightened.

The CSC's answer to critics is that its relatively new Federal Women's Program is working, if progress is slow because of problems inherited from the past—such as a shortage of well-qualified women to fill available upper-level jobs.

Officials point out that CSC and other agencies recruit at women's colleges and conduct many job training programs and seminars.

They say that appointments of women from the Federal Civil Service entrance examination rose from 18 to 35 percent between 1963 and 1967, and that women fill 29 percent of Federal jobs in personnel management, 22 percent in mathematics and statistics and 20 percent in computer specialist categories.

Among examples the CSC gives of women's job "breakthroughs:"

A State Department woman specialist on European affairs was named vice chairman of the Policy Planning Council; a woman was

named an Assistant Secretary of State; a woman was appointed to head a major program at the National Center for Radiological Health. Among many other "firsts" were appointments of the first woman customs inspector at Washington's Dulles Airport and the first woman tugboat captain in the history of the Army Corps of Engineers (she is not named "Annie").

The CSC will put a new discrimination appeals system into effect July 1, which officials say will add greatly to the "due process" available to Federal employees complaining of discrimination because of race, color, national origin, religion or sex.

The system will provide for independent investigation of the facts in discrimination cases and appeals hearings conducted by trained examiners from outside the agencies involved in the complaints. Whether women will avail themselves of the new system remains to be seen.

A Civil Service Commission spokesman said: "We're working in a positive way to change attitudes and practices on all levels. We're working with personnel officers, agency executives and employees. We consider the complaint system as a relatively minor part of the entire problem—only a last resort. We can't help many women because they don't complain. Complaints are like the tip of an iceberg. We want to deal with the iceberg itself."

In keeping with the times, distaff militancy is on the rise and President Nixon, who on several occasions has promised women a better break, has been put on notice that women are getting tired of the "second-class citizen" label.

Rep. Martha Griffiths (D-Mich.), one of the most dedicated and effective leaders in the fight for equal opportunity for women, has pushed for stronger legislation on the issue, and has spoken out forthrightly many times on the subject ("We might as well be in a ghetto," she said).

But Nixon has been getting strong anti-sex-bias vibrations from nearly all points of the political, economic and social compass.

Last month, the militant National Organization of Women (NOW), headed by author-feminist Betty Friedman, picketed the White House. Some of the pickets were "chained together" and wearing aprons.

In February, Rep. Florence Dwyer (R-N.J.) wrote Nixon proposing establishment of an independent commission committed to strengthening women's rights and the formation of an office of Women's Rights and Responsibilities within the Executive Office, and the establishment of other distaff-oriented units.

Asked what action had been taken on the letter two months later, Dr. Arthur Burns, counselor to the President, replied: "I have had other things to do."

Vera Glaser, Bureau Chief of the North American Newspaper Alliance, caught President Nixon off guard at a press conference when she pointed out that at that time he had made about 200 high-level appointments and that only three of them were women, then added: "Could you tell us, sir, whether we can expect a more equitable recognition of women's abilities, or are we going to remain a lost sex?"

Nixon gave her a light reply, provoking laughter from press corps males, then apparently recognizing he had made a political fub, said he had not known that only three top jobs had gone to women and would see that "we correct the balance promptly."

The three women named to top posts are Mrs. Patricia R. Hitt, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; Mrs. Rita Hauser, U.S. representative on the Human Rights Commission of the UN Economic and Social Council; and Mrs. Elizabeth Duncan

Koontz, director of the Women's Division of the Labor Department.

Other top Nixon appointees include Mrs. Dorothy A. Elston, U.S. Treasurer; Mrs. C. Wayland Brooks, director of the Mint; and Mrs. Virginia H. Knauer, White House consumer affairs aide.

As of mid-April, some 830 Presidential and "Schedule C" posts had been filled, only 11 of them by women. Nixon Administration recruiters say that women nominees have been in short supply.

Meanwhile, the Federal "Feminine Underground" makes its own estimate of the situation. Among other reports making the rounds:

That a veteran woman professional in Government has been reassigned to new duties because her name was linked to Federally Employed Woman (FEW), a relatively new women's rights organization which is less militant, but no more popular with the male establishment than the National Organization of Women.

That Nixon's women appointees thus far include token appointments which are little more than window dressing for the Administration.

That a top Administration talent scout has repeatedly submitted names of qualified women nominees to the White House, but that the names somehow got "lost."

That in trying to convey a youthful image to the public, the Administration has bypassed some experienced women in favor of less experienced young men.

And finally, that four close Nixon aides (Urban Affairs Advisor Daniel Moynihan seemed decidedly unpopular with the feminists) hold views inimical to the best interests of Federal women professionals.

Mrs. Nixon, at a White House coffee for chairmen of state and city commissions on the status of women, said: "All the women I know who want to get up, go out there and pitch," and do well. She added: "I don't think there is any discrimination. I have not seen it."

Many women concede that there is much truth in points often raised in rebuttal by men executives—that most women are primarily interested in home and family and only secondarily concerned with jobs; that women are less stable job prospects because they may quit at any time to get married and take time off when they get pregnant; that women tend to be more emotional than men; and that many women, as well as men, prefer to work for men.

But few women agree with the frequent male charge that women do not make good administrators, and point out numerous examples to disprove this theory.

The question remains: Why have women not asserted themselves more in the past, and why (considering that they make up 51 percent of the U.S. population) have they been ineffective until only recently in organizing as a political force?

"Women have been brainwashed, particularly since Freud came along, into accepting the role of wife and mother as the only one that meant anything," one feminist said "the idea that a woman could find fulfillment in both a job and family was always laughed off."

Another woman professional said: "I think any woman who has anything on the ball doesn't want to get involved in a big feminist dispute. People will think you're neurotic. It's easier to take it."

Others put forth the view that "it's not smart for a woman to talk about sex discrimination because it makes a man feel guilty and a man doesn't want to feel guilty" and that "many men get their only sense of identity from their jobs, and that when a woman—especially a single woman whose major interest in life is her job—tries to get

ahead, the men feel threatened and strike back."

Helen M. Hacker, in a sociological paper, indicated that women may have many characteristics of a minority group, and added: "Constant reiteration of one's inferiority must often lead to its acceptance as fact."

Whatever the situation in the past, there can be little doubt that women are on the move, and that the impact of the Quiet Revolution in both Government and industry will be considerable in coming years. The women, who in past years have been as hard to unify as Arab League nations, are becoming more organized. They are prepared for a long struggle. And it is not unlikely that some male egos may be bruised along the way.

"A HIGH PERCENTAGE OF MEN FEEL THAT WOMEN DON'T BELONG HERE . . ."

A woman who described herself as "a scientist in a man's field" once wrote former Sen. Maurine Neuberger, chairman of the Citizens' Advisory Council on Women, to say she had been hired by a "large organization" at a starting salary lower than that normally offered a man with similar education and experience. At that time, she said, her boss promised her advancement opportunities, and later he said he was pleased with her work and was recommending her for promotion.

When the promotion was denied, her supervisor told her, the writer said, that "in his opinion, the real reason is that I am a woman . . . He indicated that a high percentage of men in this group feel that women do not belong here at all . . ."

The "large organization" she worked for, she said, is "an agency of the United States Government."

After an "extremely distasteful and unpleasant experience," the woman was promoted by superiors who were aware that she had written the Citizens' Advisory Council. She thanked Mrs. Neuberger for her advice and support, and Mrs. Neuberger replied: "I am very pleased that you have received a promotion. It is entirely possible that your insistence will not affect your future adversely; on the contrary, it may be that a woman showing spirit and determination may favorably affect the situation for all women in your organization . . ."

In an unrelated case, a woman professional accepted an assignment at another Federal site during a program "phasedown" on the strength of specific agency promises.

After arriving at her new location, she was informed by an official: "Mrs. -----, you do not have a job here."

The woman said the transfer had cost her a lot of money, and the official said this was her "own stupidity" in agreeing to volunteer for the new job assignment.

The official told her, the woman said, that the position had originally been graded GS-11 and had been changed to GS-9, and that he had a man in mind for the job who was a GS-11, "a man intelligent enough not to volunteer for transfer," whom he intended to put in the job. He offered her a substitute position.

The woman became so upset at the unexpected hostile reception that she "collapsed and had to be attended by members of my family."

Her case was resolved after much difficulty, and she was reassigned.

A final postscript from her report:

"Mr. ----- had informed me the organization would be moving, but that I would not be moving with it. When moving day came, all furniture, equipment and personnel were moved into the next building, except the desk and chair I had used. I was not deterred and kept asking for my desk. After three hours, my desk and chair were brought to the new location . . ."

DEDICATED CREW MANS TOWER  
AT BUFFALO AIRPORT

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, a dedicated crew of 41 controllers is on duty manning the control tower at the Greater Buffalo International Airport.

The volume at Buffalo does not compare with some of our larger metropolitan airports, of course, but these men nevertheless are called upon to handle some 525 flights a day.

This is very exacting work, imposing an exceptionally high degree of responsibility, involving thousands of lives every day. Training for the job requires 22 months, including an intensive 10-week basic course at the Federal Aviation Administration Academy at Oklahoma City, Okla.

Francis J. O'Connell, financial writer for the Buffalo, N.Y., Courier-Express, has provided an excellent word-picture of Buffalo tower activity in the following article which was published on June 26:

FORTY-ONE BUFFALO AIRPORT CONTROLLERS  
HANDLE ABOUT 525 FLIGHTS DAILY  
(By Francis J. O'Connell)

"Pilot to control tower."

For the 41-man crew handling tower and radar operations at Greater Buffalo International Airport, this familiar call is heard about 525 times a day as commercial and private plane movements, plus occasional military flights, seek permission to land or take off from the airport.

The crew manning the control tower, all specialists in this type of professional work, has been increased in number by 11 over the last 18 months to handle the spiraling traffic.

William A. McLean, the Federal Aviation Administration's chief of tower operations, said the rapidly increasing plane traffic has become so great that his staff on any given peak morning hour is capable of handling a total of 62 arriving and departing planes.

Asked whether the FAA records show detailed times of each arrival or departure during peak hours, McLean said no.

"We are not required to keep that type of information," he said, "but it can be said that during one of the real peak hours, there is a plane movement every 30 to 60 seconds, with the one minute interval usually predominating.

The control tower and radar operation has a complement of 33 controllers on duty, 5 watch supervisors and 3 crew chiefs.

"The tower over which the FAA has complete charge," McLean said, "works 24 hours daily, 7 days a week, and we handle an hourly average of 37 planes daily during peak and let-down hours in mid-afternoon or late evening.

"The tower not only handles Buffalo Airport, but also Niagara Falls International Airport, Dunkirk and Buffalo Air Park."

He emphasized that of the 525 daily flights averaged through May, 250 were regularly scheduled flights to heavy congested centers such as New York, Chicago, Washington and Los Angeles.

He describes peak hours as starting at 7 a.m., reaching full potential between 8 and 9 a.m. and slowing down gradually between 10:30 a.m. and noon. The rush usually resumes at 3 p.m., gains momentum through

6 p.m. and reaches its evening peak from 7 to 9 p.m.

Airlines report that while some consideration is being given to altering some flight times to congested areas, the demands of the public are so great that it is difficult to make any schedule changes. Business and professional persons constitute a large portion of the morning peak hours, with many scheduling returns for early evening.

The extent of traffic can be noted by the fact that 207,852 travelers were handled in and outbound during May. Total tower operations reached 14,587.

There are a number of operations concerned with the tower atop the airport where safety is the concern of all.

Initially, the ground control handles all planes situated on the ground. The local controller staff is responsible for handling the active runways such as the main north-east-southwest and the shorter, alternate runway.

Actual positions of all traffic controlled by the tower comes under the flight data operator who gets all information from the Cleveland, Ohio, center, with respect to instrument departures. The clearance delivery position must issue clearance to pilot prior to leaving any of the airport gates.

When the pilot's departure time has arrived, the ground control is asked for instructions and the plane is cleared to the taxiway. It is then up to the local controller to clear him to the runway, subject to traffic at the destination point. Congestion might exist in New York or Chicago, for example, and delay could ensue.

"Our operation at Buffalo Airport is perfectly normal, with no delays or cancellations unless there is major congestion at some of the bigger metropolitan airports. Traffic is moved to and from Buffalo as quickly as there is assurance of proper clearance," McLean said.

To emphasize this point, McLean pointed out that FAA records in 1968 show a total of 163,666 plane movements handled by his staff.

The movements were far greater in the larger metropolitan areas and account for occasional congestion that often delays flights at smaller airports. Chicago, for example, handled 690,810 plane movements; John F. Kennedy International, 465,120, and La Guardia, 357,382. The latter two are in New York and all have control tower personnel ranging from 90 persons upward.

Both McLean and Richard F. Rebadow, general manager of airports for the Niagara Frontier Port Authority, have high praise for the FAA crews at the airport. They are pictured by both executives as "dedicated and easy to work with, entirely professional and a tremendous asset to Port Authority plans for future expansion of the airport."

Who qualifies as a controller whose job it is to safeguard the lives of thousands?

It takes approximately 22 months of training for the graduate or the "man in the street" who can pass a Civil Service examination, regardless of his education, and go on to training programs.

At the Buffalo Airport tower, for example, the facility is rated one grade higher than smaller airports and when bids are sent out for controllers, the qualified personnel from smaller cities transfer to the larger airport and become indoctrinated to the area.

To keep a list of personnel available, any person can take the civil service test for controller. If he qualifies, the FAA lists the name and as new people are needed for controller, he is summoned. They are sent to a nearby FAA facility such as at Buffalo Airport and undergo extensive interviewing.

If they are still found to be qualified, they are sent to the FAA Academy at Oklahoma

City for 10 weeks. On graduation, they return to Buffalo for on-the-job-training. This is the over-all program that consumes 22 months.

THE BUDGET BUREAU AND THE  
PENTAGON

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, as the imbalance between our spending on weapons acquisition and military hardware and our long-starved domestic sector has become more acute, more and more Members are coming to recognize the importance of controlling the spending of the Pentagon.

Ostensibly, the spending of all agencies of the Federal Government is controlled by the Bureau of the Budget—BOB—while BOB without question exercises great control over domestic spending, it does not exercise the same degree of control over the Pentagon. As a consequence, the demands of the military for new weapons systems are not being balanced against the pressing domestic needs of our society.

In an article entitled "Can the Budget Bureau Put the Lid on Pentagon Spending," which appeared in the July issue of the Washingtonian magazine, Barbara Newman has outlined the difficulties faced by the Bureau of the Budget in controlling Pentagon spending. She gives particular attention to a topic which should be of paramount importance to Congress; namely, the question of who will control the resources which will become available once the Vietnam war has finally been terminated, and how they will be utilized.

I commend this article to my colleagues and urge that the problems it discusses be given careful study.

The article follows:

CAN THE BUDGET BUREAU PUT THE LID ON  
PENTAGON SPENDING?

(By Barbara Newman)

Robert P. Mayo is the typical quiet, competent, Nixon-style civil servant. For twenty years, he toiled away at the Treasury Department, specializing in debt management. In 1961, he became vice president of a Chicago bank—the one headed by David M. Kennedy, now Secretary of the Treasury. Mayo now directs the Bureau of the Budget (BOB).

Melvin R. Laird is acid-tongued and supremely confident. In eight terms as a Congressman from Wisconsin, he rose to the top ranks of House Republican leadership through the force of his keen intellect and Machiavellian personality. Laird now heads the Department of Defense (DOD).

The two men, caught up by growing public sentiment that military spending is too high, are on a collision course.

Poor Bob Mayo.

The first round came when Mayo, in an effort to cut the 1969-70 Pentagon budget, gave Laird a list of suggested spending reductions. Laird ignored Mayo. Out of an \$80 billion Pentagon budget, Laird chopped \$600 million, by reducing the number of B-52 bombing runs in Vietnam from 1,800 to 1,600 a month. Laird, the politician, knew that

key Congressmen would oppose "selling out our boys in Vietnam" in order to comply with a Budget Bureau request for a defense spending cut.

Mayo was out on a limb. Laird had cut his budget as requested. Congress didn't like it. President Nixon maintained a tight-lipped silence. Mayo lost round one.

There is no question that the Bureau of the Budget, which exercises such potent control over domestic spending, has not been able to get a handle on defense spending. Of the \$6 billion trimmed from the \$199 billion Johnson budget for 1969-70, \$5 billion came from domestic spending. This, despite the fact that Vietnam, urban unrest, and weapons system cost overruns have increased both public and Congressional demand for a review and reordering of our national priorities.

When the new Nixon team appeared before Senator William Proxmire's Joint Economic Committee, Mayo was candid. He said he wanted "a more separate, highly competent, highly skeptical look at the defense budget."

Proxmire (D-Wisconsin) and Congressman William Moorhead (D-Pennsylvania) are both certain that the Budget Bureau does not exercise strong enough control over defense spending. They both think they have a hot issue—that 1969 is the year to probe Pentagon spending.

This is also the year to look at the Bureau of the Budget. An influential group of House members, led by Deputy Majority Leader John Moss of California, has introduced a resolution asking that a Select Committee be created to investigate Budget Bureau operations. Included in the group are six committee chairmen: Wilbur Mills, Ways and Means; Mendel Rivers, Armed Services; Chet Hollifield, Joint Atomic Energy; Thomas Morgan, Foreign Affairs; Wayne Aspinall, Interior; and Samuel Friedel, House Administration. House Majority Leader Carl Albert of Oklahoma says the BOB investigation "is long overdue."

The Bureau of the Budget was set up in 1921 in an effort to coordinate and rationalize Government programs. It started out in the Treasury Department, and in 1939 moved to the White House to become a direct arm of the President. The Budget Bureau director is not a Cabinet officer; he is a Presidential appointee, and he does not require Senate confirmation.

The Budget Bureau has stayed small. It has a staff of 500, of whom 325 are professional staff. The BOB annual budget is only \$10 million. It runs no programs itself. It stays out of politics. Only five positions were affected by the Johnson-Nixon transition—the BOB director and four assistant directors. Of the five, only two—Mayo and Richard Nathan, assistant BOB director for human resources—have a distinctly Republican coloration. Dwight Ink, now assistant BOB director in charge of executive department reorganization, is a career civil servant who worked at the Department of Housing and Urban Development under President Johnson. Deputy director is Phillip S. Hughes. Maurice Mann is assistant director for economic affairs. James Schlesinger is assistant director with responsibilities in the national security area.

Despite its size and the quiet way in which it operates, the power of the Budget Bureau is formidable. All budget requests from Federal agencies must be cleared by the Budget Bureau. All legislation proposed by agencies is scanned by the Budget Bureau to make sure it conforms with the President's programs.

The Budget Bureau also conducts efficiency studies of agency operations. It was told by President Johnson to coordinate the conversion by all agencies to the Pro-

gram-Planning-Budgeting System. Known as PPB, this system was developed by Robert McNamara for the Defense Department. It is an attempt to rationalize the budget process by outlining all options and costing each out.

The power of the Budget Bureau is cited by this statement of a former White House aide: "Without the bureau, the President would be operating in the dark, going by guess and by God . . . The bureau tells the President the choices available to him, the pros and cons in each case, its own recommendations. How much more influence can you have?"

The Budget Bureau is now housed in two buildings. Director Mayo and half of his staff are in the Executive Office Building just west of the White House. The rest of the staff is in Federal Office Building Number 7, the red brick building near the northeast corner of Seventeenth and Pennsylvania.

As a result of a 1967 reorganization, the Budget Bureau is now divided into six divisions: Human Resources, headed by Richard Nathan; Natural Resources, headed by Carl H. Schwartz, Jr.; National Security Programs, headed by Ellis H. Veatch; International Programs, headed by James W. Clark; General Government Management, headed by William Pfeiffer; and Economics, Science, and Technology, headed by John D. Young.

These six divisions are the BOB linkage to all Government departments and agencies. Most of the staff members of the six divisions are budget examiners. They review all budget requests, and exert more influence per position than any other people in Government.

In addition to the six divisions, the BOB has four other offices: Budget Review, which puts the budget together after getting all the pieces from the six divisions; Executive Management, which oversees interagency, Federal-state, and Federal-local programs; Statistical Standards, which helps devise Government statistical measurements; and Legislative Reference, which coordinates legislation proposed by departments and agencies.

Of the BOB's 325 professional staff members, 177 are budget examiners in the six divisions. The remaining 148 are supervisory personnel or staffers in the four other offices. The average professional grade is GS-14 (annual salary of \$18,500 to \$24,000). Over half the professional staff has master's degrees. Thirty-two are women. Nine are black. Most are generalists rather than accountants.

Nathan and Schlesinger are two of the more interesting additions to the staff. A Harvard Ph.D. and former associate at the Brookings Institution, Nathan headed the welfare and intergovernmental relations task forces for candidate Nixon. He is both an assistant director and chief of the Human Resources Division; he has been told to tighten up social programs. Schlesinger is Mayo's ace in the hole in his poker game with Melvin Laird. A summa cum laude Harvard graduate, Schlesinger has a Ph.D. in economics and was Director of Strategic Services for the Rand Corporation, an influential think tank operation that does a lot of work for the Government. Schlesinger knows how the Pentagon operates; Mayo wants him to tighten up defense spending.

Schlesinger's operating arm at the Budget Bureau is the National Security Programs Division, which works out of plush carpeted offices on the tenth floor of Federal Office Building Number 7. Division Director Ellis Veatch is considered competent, but not tough or innovative. Schlesinger is clearly the man who will have to rock the boat.

The division, with a staff of twenty-six budget examiners and six supervisory personnel, keeps an eye on \$80 billion a year in defense spending. The division, according

to a former examiner, has had a heavy staff turnover. He talked of "winds of discontent" brought about by the division's ineffectiveness. Another Budget Bureau official said he thought National Security Programs Division examiners "are more in bed with the people they work with than the other BOB examiners."

The Defense Department is treated differently. All other agencies and departments are subject to independent BOB review. The Defense Department, however, designates an official of its comptroller's office to work with each BOB examiner. This joint review was put into effect in 1950, as an expediency during the Korean War, and it has never been lifted. Top BOB officials say it is necessary because of the size and complexity of the defense budget. BOB Deputy Director Phillip S. Hughes says the Defense Department exerts more "muscle" and "power" than other departments, making for a different "climate" in the review of defense spending requests.

During the fall, which is budget season, BOB examiners move from their downtown offices to the Pentagon, where they share an office with their Defense Department counterpart. One examiner says the relationship is not one of equals; it is one of *primus inter pares*, and the Defense examiners are *primus*. He says if a BOB examiner requests information and his Defense counterpart doesn't want to produce it, the matter is closed. "The Budget Bureau doesn't back up its examiners in requests for information," he says. Another examiner says if the BOB examiner cannot get the information he needs, the examiner is at fault, not the joint review policy. "The Pentagon budget process is highly individual. How effective one is depends on how resourceful he is and how much information he can amass to trade off with his Pentagon counterparts." Another examiner put it this way: "Your position doesn't give you a thing. You have to scratch like hell."

The hearings produced evidence that the Defense Department knew that Lockheed's bid on the first fifty-eight C5A planes was low, and that Lockheed might lose heavily on the first run. The losses were to be recouped on the second run of fifty-seven planes. Colonel Kenneth N. Beckman, the Air Force C5A project director, said it was felt that disclosure of the huge C5A losses "might put Lockheed's position in the common (financial) market in jeopardy."

Pentagon sources say the Budget Bureau knew the C5A was over its contract ceiling by early 1967. Yet in March 1968, Air Force Assistant Secretary Alexander Flax told the House Appropriations Committee: "We believe C5A is within the range of target and ceiling at the moment."

The BOB examiner who knew about the C5A overrun in early 1967 was Richard A. Stubbing. His knowledge had zero impact. But in January of this year, Nossiter wrote a story about "The Stubbing Paper."

It turned out that Stubbing, a BOB examiner since 1962, had written the paper in 1968 while at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School. The paper exposed information on enormous cost overruns and faulty operation of many aircraft and missile electronic systems. The paper contended that the highest profits often went to the most inefficient firms. BOB press officer Joseph Laitin ruled Stubbing inaccessible to the press. He derided the paper as a "school-boy thesis" and said Stubbing was "very far down on the totem pole" and "not qualified to talk to the press." A BOB source says he is certain Stubbing gave Nossiter the paper because he was so frustrated at BOB's ineffectiveness.

Both Proxmire and Moorhead think the Budget Bureau needs more examiners looking at defense spending, though Moorhead sardonically says, "For the job it does in Defense, the bureau is overstaffed."

The National Security Programs Division has twenty-six examiners. Ten work on general purpose forces, which include spending for all conventional armed forces, considered the most difficult expenditures to control. Four work on strategic forces, such as the Safeguard ABM and Minuteman. Two work on intelligence and communications, three on research and development, three on training, medical, and other general personnel activities, one on guard and reserve forces, one on supply and maintenance, one on airlift and sealift, and one on administration and associated activities.

The case is made that not only does the BOB not have enough examiners working on the defense budget, but that the BOB examiners work with the wrong people. Charles Schultze, a hard-nosed pragmatist who was Budget Bureau director from June 1965 to February 1968, says the BOB "tends to get involved too far down the spigot." BOB examiners work with the comptroller's office at the Pentagon. They should work with the Defense Department's systems analysis people. Says Schultze, "BOB should be involved in the formulation of the basic strategic contingencies on which the budget is built."

This lack of outside involvement in strategic decisions allows the Defense Department to justify weapons systems by what the BOB calls "shifting sands" of rationalization. Although the Defense Department insists that it has a "zero base" budget that starts from scratch each year, Schultze contends that once a weapons system gets the green light, it is not evaluated in subsequent years. Schultze points to the plan to convert thirty-one Polaris submarines to carry 496 Poseidon multiple warhead missiles at a cost of \$2.5 billion. The Poseidon was conceived as an answer to the Soviet "Tallinn" anti-missile system, which turned out to be an aircraft defense system rather than anti-missile system. When the threat on which the Poseidon was based turned out to be non-existent, the military developed other reasons for it. Secretary of Defense Laird now says Poseidon is needed as a deterrent against the Soviet SS-9 missile.

The timing of the Federal budget process puts the Budget Bureau at another disadvantage in controlling defense spending. All agencies and departments must have their budgets to BOB by September 15, except for the Defense Department. In December, the defense budget is sent to the President and the Budget Bureau at the same time. Thus the Budget Bureau must petition the President for changes in the defense budget instead of working them out with the Pentagon.

Because the Budget Bureau is an arm of the President, its effectiveness in controlling Government spending in general, and defense spending in particular, depends to a large extent on the attitude of the White House.

Under President Eisenhower, Budget Bureau directors were numbers men—Joseph Dodge, Roland Hughes, Percival Brundage, and Maurice Stans were more interested in bookkeeping than in drawing up options for the President. They were more interested in how many cars an agency had than in evaluating its programs. This narrow budget approach is referred to as "the green eyeshade approach" by BOB staffers.

Presidents Kennedy and Johnson changed all that. Their BOB directors were economists—David Bell, Kermit Gordon, Charles Schultze, and Charles Zwick were interested in evaluating programs and setting up options so that the President could choose between alternatives.

President Eisenhower had kept a relatively tight lid on defense spending. But President Kennedy, on taking office, decided to build up our conventional forces capability and he took the lid off. Ironically, a major influence on Kennedy was a book, *Nuclear Arms and Foreign Policy*, by Henry Kissinger, then a Harvard professor and now President Nixon's adviser on national security. Kissinger argued that the Dulles emphasis on massive nuclear retaliation should be replaced by a more flexible conventional force response. Thus, the military budget which was \$40 billion in 1959 had doubled eight years later.

Under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, the Budget Bureau influence on defense spending was diminished by the forceful personality of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. In a 1965 statement before the House Armed Services Committee, McNamara made the point this way: "The Bureau of the Budget has absolutely no authority to determine in any way the budget of the Defense Department . . . I can't remember a single instance in which the Bureau of the Budget and I differed on a recommendation in which the President accepted the Bureau of the Budget view."

This inability of the Budget Bureau to exert any influence on defense spending has motivated Congress to probe both defense spending and BOB operations. Defense Secretary Laird says he will cooperate with a General Accounting Office (GAO) study of defense procurement. Many Congressmen are not optimistic about the GAO study, however, because GAO is an agent of Congress and thus subject to pro-Pentagon Congressional pressure.

Again, take the C5A as an example. It is being built in Lockheed's Marietta, Georgia plant. One of the most powerful men in the United States Senate is Senator Richard Russell (D-Georgia), until this year chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. He now is head of the Senate Appropriations Committee. On the House side, Congressman Mendel Rivers (D-South Carolina), the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, has so many military installations in his home city of Charleston, that the situation, once considered faintly amusing, is now viewed on Capitol Hill as a crude absurdity.

Congressional leadership thus would appear to have too much to lose if the full power of the GAO was let loose on the Pentagon. There are indications, however, that public reaction to examples of Pentagon carelessness is being felt on the Hill. In May, Congressman George Mahon (D-Texas), the hawkish chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, tangled publicly with Rivers over military spending after the accidental \$25 million sinking of a nuclear submarine under construction in California.

Budget Bureau officials still hope they will get increasingly more effective control over the Pentagon. More budget examiners with background in systems analysis and defense procurement would be needed. The amount of guts and leadership shown by such Budget Bureau officials as Director Mayo and Assistant Director Schlesinger will be important.

But the critical ingredient is Presidential leadership. The Budget Bureau must have strong White House backing if it is going to stand up to the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs. As former BOB Director Schultze points out, "Nobody wants the Joint Chiefs to be able to say that you refused to do things needed for the country on budgetary grounds. . . . Most Presidents are unwilling to take on the Joint Chiefs on budgetary grounds."

President Nixon's performance thus far indicates that he will be much tougher on social welfare than on Pentagon spending.

Furthermore, there are indications that President Nixon is pushing the Budget

Bureau back toward the role it played under President Eisenhower. The Budget Bureau's Resource Planning Staff, set up in 1967 by Director Schultze in an effort to more effectively set up options and priorities for the President, has been quietly disbanded. According to BOB officials, its functions are being taken over by Presidential Counselor Arthur Burns at the White House, and Burns is known as a man who tends to keep his hands off military spending. Control of defense spending thus would appear to rest in the hands of President Nixon and Secretary of Defense Laird.

So Bob Mayo may have lost more than round one. He may have already lost the battle for Budget Bureau control of the peace dividend that will come from the end of the Vietnam war.

## NATIONAL FLAG DAY

### HON. NICK GALIFIANAKIS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. GALIFIANAKIS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues the efforts of a North Carolina television station to generate and promote an awareness of the traditions and high ideals symbolized in our American flag. Prompted by the expression of public desire for a more patriotic display of our flag, channel 8 in High Point, N.C., has made available to all teachers, students, civic leaders, ministers, and interested citizens, American flags, at cost. The station has also compiled accompanying information regarding the history of the flag and of National Flag Day, and the significant dates and proper way to display this the greatest symbol of American democracy. In addition, staff members and personalities of channel 8 have donated their time and talents for commentaries on the air and for all duties involved in the actual sale and mailing of flags.

Public response from North Carolina and surrounding States has overwhelmingly indicated the acceptance and appreciation of such efforts. Mr. Speaker, channel 8 is to be commended on its high degree of public-spiritedness and, hopefully, will serve as an example to the rest of the communications media in this country.

I include the following letters:

WGHP-TV EIGHT,

High Point, N.C., June 16, 1969.

HON. NICK GALIFIANAKIS,  
U.S. House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GALIFIANAKIS: Four weeks prior to National Flag Day, June 14, 1969, WGHP-Television began a project that we feel certain will be of great interest to you. In order to stimulate interest and to make our community again aware of the traditions and high ideals for which the Flag of the United States is a visible symbol, WGHP-Television began on May 19, 1969, to dedicate its time and efforts to encouraging the observance of National Flag Day. Through July 4, 1969, we will make available to all citizens who would display the emblem of our Union, at cost, a fine quality American Flag. This will be a non-profit campaign in the community interest.

In conjunction with this campaign the television station has taken a definite stand on the desperate need for a personal display of love of country, and each member of our staff and all "air" personalities have offered their time and energies "gratis" for commentaries on the air and for all the duties surrounding the actual sale of Flags and mailings. We have also compiled information regarding the history of National Flag Day, the speech proclaiming June 14 National Flag Day by President Woodrow Wilson in 1916, the proper way to display our Flag and the most significant dates on which we display the Flag. This has been sent, with a reprint concerning the history of the Flag from *Reader's Digest*, to all area teachers, professors, student leaders, civic leaders and ministers in a sincere hope that they will use the information for lectures, discussion groups, and/or sermons, as the case may be. In addition, announcements on our airways have been dedicated to news features, commentaries and public service messages aimed at encouraging patriotic interest in displaying the American Flag.

After having been on the air with this for just two weeks, we have received a tremendous response, not only in actual Flag orders from across the State and from South Carolina and Virginia, but in genuine concern from our citizens for more patriotic display of our Flag. We have been especially pleased with the enthusiasm and interest that we have received from the non-profit community service organizations in our area. As a result of this, WGHP-Television will be working "hand-in-hand" with the Salvation Army, Boy Scouts of America, Girl Scouts of America, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., public libraries and many other interested citizens.

WGHP-Television is very proud to be a voice in the communities that we serve as a broadcasting facility, and we constantly strive to ascertain the needs and desires of our fellow citizens. Through our continual contacts with community leaders, it has become openly apparent in recent weeks that a need for awareness and rededication to the ideals for which our Union stands is sought by each person with whom we talked. Our current campaign is a direct result of this local expression of concern. It is an endeavor that we as a television station have undertaken because we strongly believe that patriotism and the expression of that personal feeling by displaying the emblem of our country is an action of which we need to remind each other frequently. We believe that the display of the American Flag is the best way to begin. We have faith in this Union and your leadership. Amid all of our other problems, we sincerely hope that this will bring encouragement to you and your colleagues.

Sincerely yours,

PHILIP J. LOMBARDO,  
General Manager.

**A STATEMENT OF POSITION BY WGHP TELEVISION, PRESENTED BY PHILIP J. LOMBARDO, GENERAL MANAGER**

It should be apparent to WGHP-TV viewers, through our daily schedule of news and entertainment programs, that station management stay abreast of the needs and desires of our community . . . and contributes, in every feasible way toward fulfilling these needs.

It should also be apparent, through its programming, that station management strives to contribute measurably to community efforts of betterment.

Therefore, it is only in matters of extreme importance that the voice of management is heard on the air.

Such is the case now.

We feel that the time has come for a renewed dedication of love of country.

These days, there are perhaps a number of definitions for the word *Patriotism*, for it,

like religious faith, it is a very personal expression. The essence, though, of any definition is simply love of country.

We feel that the word patriotism should be heard more often . . . that the feeling should be expressed more often; and we know of no better way to begin, than to show, and be proud of, our symbol of national unity . . . The American flag. Such action demonstrates that we, as citizens, appreciate the many privileges that come with being an American citizen. With this in mind, channel eight is embarking on an energetic campaign on encouraging people to "Fly it, it's yours." We will make available during the coming weeks, the history of the flag, the history of national flag day, President Woodrow Wilson's 1916 speech proclaiming June 14 as national flag day, the most significant dates on which the flag is flown, and instructions on the proper way to display the American flag . . . to all teachers, student leaders, college professors, and ministers in our area. This is being done in hopes that they will find an opportunity to use the information in a class lecture or project, or a sermon, as the case may be.

Channel eight will also be encouraging individual expressions of patriotism by making available, without profit, American flags. All of our on-the-air personalities will be actively participating by broadcasting reminders of the importance of the flag. They will also be appearing at area shopping centers to demonstrate in a personal way, that channel eight is sincere in this effort, and we hope that you will display your patriotism by displaying an American flag.

"Fly it . . . it's yours."

**STATEMENT BY HON. DAVID N. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON MANPOWER AND CIVIL SERVICE, COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE, RELEASING HOUSE REPORT NO. 91-323, "EXAMPLES OF IMPROVED MANPOWER MANAGEMENT IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, JULY-DECEMBER 1968"**

**HON. DAVID N. HENDERSON**

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, the departments and agencies of the executive branch of the Government have reported to the Manpower and Civil Service Subcommittee savings in excess of \$50 million for the last 6 months of 1968 through improved uses of personnel and equipment. Also, during the same period over 14,500 vacant civil service positions were abolished. With the average annual Federal salary around \$8,000, this in itself represents a substantial savings.

This report contains many interesting examples of improved work techniques and overall better management. A few are summarized as follows:

The Farmers Home Administration, Department of Agriculture, using work measurement criteria, now employs part-time clerks in lieu of full-time clerks in some 100 county offices across the Nation. This has resulted in a savings for fiscal year 1968 of over \$175,000.

The Patent Office, Department of Commerce, by resorting to a microfilm search system on old patents, instead of the old hard-back files, has eliminated

17 man-years with an annual savings of \$164,000.

An employee of the Army Air Defense Command developed a target ranging radar simulator to test Nike-Hercules fire units. Army officials estimate over \$1 million will be saved through use of this simulator.

The Military Sea Transportation Service, Department of Navy, has found a way to seal off parts of loaded ammunition ships to do "hot-work" without completely unloading. On one ship alone labor costs of \$410,000 were saved.

The Missile Early Warning Station, Clear, Alaska, Department of Air Force, has gone from a contract operation on fire protection to in-house at an annual savings of \$400,000.

The subcommittee semiannually issues a report showing examples of improved management, as reported by the departments and agencies of the executive branch. We believe these reports accelerate improved techniques for getting the work done throughout the departments and agencies as well as stimulate Government workers to try to find more efficient and economical ways to do the job.

**FREEDOM WITH RESPONSIBILITY**

**HON. JOHN E. HUNT**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, on May 22, 1969, with the resolve of dedicated public servants and in recognition that the preservation of the institutions of our free and democratic society are threatened by those who flagrantly abuse the freedoms guaranteed them by the Constitution, the mayor and council of the borough of Pitman, N.J., adopted a resolution, "Freedom With Responsibility." With the approach of Independence Day, July 4, 1969, "Freedom with Responsibility—A Resolution for America" is most appropriately a theme to which we must pledge ourselves and dedicate our energies to keep America the bastion of freedom for which it was destined.

I commend the mayor and council for their responsible action in promulgating this resolution and take pride in recognizing the borough of Pitman as my hometown. Just a word about the author of the text, Mr. Andrew D. Gendron. He was my executive officer in the Army unit to which I was assigned after World War II, a true patriot and one who loyally served his country as a soldier. As a public servant, Andy has carried on in the best tradition of good citizenship.

As I believe this resolution has a very timely and pertinent message for all concerned Americans, I include the text in its entirety at this point in my remarks:

**RESOLUTION ON FREEDOM WITH RESPONSIBILITY—A RESOLUTION FOR AMERICA**

Be it resolved, that the Mayor and Council of the Borough of Pitman, New Jersey, do wholeheartedly support the recent statement by President Richard M. Nixon calling on school officials to: ". . . muster the backbone," to resist student revolutionaries, when he

said on April 29, 1969, "We want Freedom and Independence, but there can be no compromise with lawlessness and no surrender to force, if free education is going to survive in the United States of America."

Be it also made known that the Mayor and Council of the Borough of Pitman do unanimously and unalterably, decry the submissive and irresponsible attitude that has been displayed by some educators and administrative leaders of educational institutions in selling out the basic freedoms of the majority for the disgraceful demands of the dissenting, and sometime anarchistically motivated minority.

That the Mayor and Council of the Borough of Pitman are opposed to the irresponsible use of Freedom to incite riots and provoke destruction of people and property, as we adamantly oppose those individuals and groups who hide behind Freedom's cloak to infringe upon the rights and welfare of others.

That the Mayor and Council of the Borough of Pitman deplore the subversive attitude that has been launched against the Reserve Officer Training Programs, in our Universities across the country, by those who are either misinformed, misguided, or whose major objective is to sabotage our defenses.

This excellent program should be continued on a voluntary basis and protected, by all levels of government, against subversive forces. Our academic administrators should stand up for the "right" to have voluntary Reserve Officer Training Corps Units, and we all should continue to respect these Reserve organizations, as we have in the past, for the outstanding service they render the people of these United States and the world.

That the Mayor and Council of the Borough of Pitman further look with disdain on those whose cowardice or contempt for America prompts them to burn their draft cards. Words cannot adequately express our contempt for these barnacles on our society who are content to let others run the risk in protecting our, and their, Freedoms.

We, the Mayor and Council of the Borough of Pitman, want it publicly known that we believe that people are free to dissent, providing they accept the responsibility of Freedom and show their dissent in a peaceful manner that does not infringe upon the rights of others.

That, We, the Mayor and Council of the Borough of Pitman, believe in everyone's right to equal opportunity, but with this right, we also have the responsibility of Freedom to respect other's rights in seeking or retaining this privilege.

That, We, the Mayor and Council of the Borough of Pitman, believe in free speech, but free speech carries with it the serious responsibility of using it intelligently and constructively, with knowledge and wisdom. Its purpose should never be to malign or destroy the very heritage that makes free speech possible.

That, the Mayor and Council of the Borough of Pitman, believe in all the "Freedoms" our forefathers were so astute as to give us, but we adamantly oppose those individuals and organizations who ignore the responsibility that goes with the privilege of Freedom; and, we will fight with all of our resources, those whose sole purpose is to twist and distort the very Freedoms that make it possible for them to pursue their vicious campaign to destroy America.

Be it further resolved, that the Mayor and Council of the Borough of Pitman, believe it is time we taught the "responsibility" of Freedom to our children . . . at home, in our schools, in our places of worship . . . and by our words and example. Only in this way can we hope to attain universal "Freedom with Responsibility" and perpetuate the respect people throughout the world have for our Country as a symbol of hope and as the Land of the Free.

That the Mayor and Council of the Borough of Pitman urge that Law and Order once again, be given its rightful authority to uphold the rights of all our people, and that those sworn to uphold it not be unjustly criticized when they properly carry out the duties to which they have been entrusted.

Be it also resolved, that We, the Mayor and Council of the Borough of Pitman, will make this Resolution known to the President of the United States, as well as his Cabinet, and leaders of National, State and Local Governments. We ask that these esteemed representatives of the people re-examine their position in these matters of "Freedom with Responsibility" and take a firm, positive position against all forms of subversive action by destructive dissidents and militant groups who abuse the Freedom that comes with Independence; and

Be it further resolved, that the Mayor and Council of the Borough of Pitman, pledge themselves to act without hesitation, and within the meaning of the Constitution of the United States, to put an immediate end to any terrorizing, violence, intimidation, anarchy or outright lawlessness that may invade our town or jeopardize our Freedom.

We, the Mayor and Council of the Borough of Pitman further pledge to protect the rights of all citizens at all times, to insist on "Freedom with Responsibility" by all people and to dedicate ourselves to the preservation of responsible government. We will live, we will act, and we will fight, to keep America the bastion of Freedom for which it was destined.

Mayor:

ROBERT M. SHOEMAKER,  
*Mayor.*

Attest:

EARL S. CURRY,  
*Borough Clerk.*

By the Council:

ANDREW D. GENDRON,  
THEODORE C. JONES, Jr.,  
JOSEPH G. MITTON, Jr.,  
W. EARLE THOMPSON,  
C. NEVILLE WRIGHT,  
CLINTON M. KANDLE III  
*Members of the Council.*

#### FOURTH OF JULY CHILDREN'S BLOCK PARADES

### HON. ROBERT V. DENNEY

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, when I complete this statement, I will have proudly fulfilled the basic function of a legislator—to voice my constituency. Today I am introducing a joint resolution originating from an idea of a Lincolnite, Mrs. Hazel Wolfe.

As the Fourth of July approaches, Senator HRUSKA and myself feel that this resolution concerning children's block parades is extremely appropriate. Our proposal would authorize the President to issue an annual Fourth of July proclamation calling upon the Nation's children to celebrate the holiday with block parades.

Mrs. Wolfe's reasoning is very clear:

Most of our celebrations are beautiful adult programs. But, what are the children doing? The grownups today know what our country means. They have experienced several wars and a depression. But to the children, the Fourth means little, and it is these young citizens we must educate.

All that is necessary for the success of this program is a neighborhood with children, some streamers for their bikes, hats for their heads, and flags for their hands.

Our children do not understand the meaning of the Liberty Bell. Our children do not realize the significance of the 13 stars.

Why not make an effort to reverse this trend? You have here before you a simple yet effective step to instill greater patriotism in our children—maybe some mothers and fathers will even join the fun.

#### DON'T BLAST THEM ALL

### HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, during the past year, our campuses have been rocked by violence and disorder. There has been a tendency, in some quarters, to blame this unrest upon all of our young people, when, in actuality, only about 2 percent of the students are involved.

The Madison Western Guard, in our Minnesota Sixth Congressional District, recently printed an editorial on this subject which I commend to my colleagues for their reading, as follows:

#### DON'T BLAST THEM ALL

There is, unfortunately, a growing tendency to blast young people of high school and college age because of the violent and often sickening antics of a minority. That minority seemingly constitutes too large a number of young people. But, as we have noted frequently they are actually a small percentage of the total high school and college population.

It is a minority, of course which cannot be ignored for several reasons, among them that it is so destructively disruptive, that there is growing evidence that it is led by extremist left-wingers who know exactly what they are doing and that because of this type of leadership it exerts an undue influence on idealistic youngsters who are as yet incapable of distinguishing between good and bad causes and between lawful and unlawful means of promoting them.

Let us not forget, in our concern and even disgust over the lawless minority, that there still exists the majority. That this majority goes about its business of getting an education, obeying the laws and generally trying to become good citizens of a free republic. This sort of behavior and activity does not make the kinds of headlines and TV pictures that the minority manages to get, which perhaps is why we tend to blame all youngsters for the antics of the few.

Now, however, at least some of our news media are beginning to notice that there is another side to what might be called the youth story. The tremendously successful effort, for instance, of a high school student in Miami, Florida to organize what he called a Decency Rally, did get fairly good news coverage. The rally's theme was "Down With Obscenity" and attracted no less than 30,000 people, mostly young, to the Orange Bowl in Miami. Now the movement is spreading and the originator of the idea has been asked to help other cities organize similar rallies against the flood of filth under which they are being inundated.

Then there is the inspiring and patriotic "Up With People" movement which has be-

come worldwide and meets with approval and applause where ever it appears. There are any number of other such examples which show that, bad as the stance of young America sometimes is made to look, American youth as a whole should not by any means be written off as lost.

True, our young people are different than the middle aged and older. Probably the most striking difference is their outlook on life. Most of them have been brought up with their wants and needs taken care of by parents who remember all too well the difficult years of depression and have tried to give their children everything they themselves did not have. Because the need to make money has not seemed to be the all important factor in their lives they have devoted themselves to other things. Some, of course, to destructive purposes and mischief making but the majority to higher education and in service to others.

The service careers seem to be the most appealing to the young people of today. They have a deeper awareness of the needs of those around them and want to do what they can to help. Sometimes, of course, they go at this the wrong way showing the lack of judgment of youth and inexperience but the good they do far outweighs the bad. It is very important that we not disregard what the so called young radicals are saying either because they usually have a point even if they bring it to our attention in offensive ways. We, the older generations, need to listen. They have a point in that we have been too busy with making a living usually through necessity, which they do not realize, but it has blinded many to the needs of the poor and the less fortunate in other ways.

After attending graduations in the area I'm sure most of us have felt much pride in the many fine young people from our high schools. The motto of the senior class at Madison "It matters not what we are thought to be, but what we are" should make us all think and stop running down the young people. Let's listen to them, see all the good things they do and overlook their short skirts and long hair and the foolishness of the minority. Most of them are wonderful people and certainly knowing many of them personally makes the future of our country look very promising to me. The outstanding address given by Madison's student speaker should make us all proud and give us much food for thought. I have great faith in our young people and in the future because of them.—M. B.

**ABM AND STEP UP IN VIETNAM WAR FAVORED BY FLORIDA CONSTITUENTS**

**HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, 75 percent of those responding to a poll in the Third Congressional District of Florida which I represent, are in favor of the ABM system, and 72 percent said they favored "a step up in Vietnam war for a quicker settlement."

My office received over 16,000 returns in the questionnaire sent to residents of Jacksonville, Fla., the State's largest municipality which is located in north-east Florida. This was 10 percent of those polled.

The poll also showed that 52 percent were against 18-year-olds voting; 49

percent favored drafting needed men at high school graduation with no college deferments; 55 percent were for prohibiting cigarette advertising, and 59 percent were against a U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam.

The results of the poll follow:

[In percent]

Do you favor:	
18-year-olds voting:	
Yes .....	45
No .....	52
No answer .....	3
Draft needed men at high school graduation with no college deferments:	
Yes .....	49
No .....	47
No answer .....	4
Prohibiting cigarette advertising:	
Yes .....	55
No .....	42
No answer .....	3
A defensive missile system to protect our offensive weapons:	
Yes .....	75
No .....	19
No answer .....	6
A step up in Vietnam war for quicker settlement:	
Yes .....	72
No .....	21
No answer .....	7
U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam:	
Yes .....	32
No .....	59
No answer .....	9

**INDEPENDENCE DAY OF BURUNDI**

**HON. ADAM C. POWELL**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, we take this opportunity to send warm felicitations to President, Col. Michel Micombero of Burundi and Burundi's Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Terence Nsanze, on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of Burundi's independence:

On behalf of the American people, I would like to help celebrate on this July 1, 1969, the seventh anniversary of Burundi's independence. Located in the heart of Africa, Burundi is bounded in the north by her former partner in trusteeship, Rwanda; on the west by the Congo; on the east by Tanzania; and one the south by Tanganyika. Being 2 degrees south of the equator, Burundi enjoys a tropical climate the year around.

From independence in July of 1962 to November 28, 1966, the Burundian Government was a constitutional monarchy with effective power split between the Mwami—the King—and the royal court on the one hand and the elected politicians of the National Assembly on the other. On the later date, Capt. Michel Micombero, then Secretary of State for Defense, deposed Mwami Ntare V and proclaimed Burundi a Republic with himself as President. Executive and legislative power was centered in a 13-man National Council of the Revolution.

Burundi is plagued by the many problems common to other developing countries, and it is hoped that the United

States will be able to help her solve many of the problems. Today about 90 percent of Burundi's coffee export goes to the United States and account for about 80 percent of her export earnings, which totaled about \$14.7 million in 1966.

On this, her anniversary, the people of the United States wish the 3 million people of Burundi well and hope that we can continue to maintain friendly relations with each other.

**GRAPE BOYCOTT IS HARD TO SWALLOW**

**HON. JAMES B. UTT**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include a column by William F. Buckley, Jr., on the grape boycott. It is hilarious:

We have a softness for Ethel Kennedy, and therefore we weep. Imagine coming out of political retirement (incidentally, how fine it would be if she remained in political retirement and continued to inspire us all as a mother and a woman) in order to not eat grapes at a big social party in Southampton hosted by Ann Ford Uzielli, Charlotte Ford Niarchos, the Carter Burdens, the George Plimptons, the James Nivenses and, as the press puts it, "maybe Anthony Quinn."

That is what she is up to. Herewith, respectfully submitted, a few observations for Mrs. Kennedy, general and particular.

1. The ban-the-grapes movement centering upon the efforts of Cesar Chavez to unionize the grape-pickers in California is, to say the least, incompletely informed. The grape boycotters are contending that the pickers live in inhuman conditions and that all of this is the result of a few grape-growing monopolists who take ruthless advantage of the misery of immigrant Mexican farmhands, whose liberation is the cause of Cesar Chavez.

In fact, the situation is not as depicted. Two prominent Canadian liberals who figured in the Toronto grape boycott a while ago have just come back from a tour of Delano—the center of the struggle—to report that the squalid living conditions Chavez speaks about are largely fictitious, that the workers oppose a union because they fear that it would limit their working hours and therefore their earning power; and that there are reasons to suspect that the high pressure being put on the area is rather imperialistic than compassionate: that what the AFL-CIO desires is a foot-in-the-door to ease its way into the national scene as bargaining agent for all farm workers, which position would put its hands on \$84 million per month.

2. Ninety percent of the pickers are not migrants but permanent residents. Wages? The average farm-worker wage in California is, according to the Department of Agriculture, the highest in the nation at \$1.69. The average wage of the grapepickers is over \$2 per hour. Far from being owned by large corporations, all but two of Delano's 70 ranches are family-owned and operated.

3. If the grape boycott is finally successful, what will happen is very simply this, the grapegrowers will convert their vineyards into winegrapes, which do not need the human care that the other grapes need. That will result in the loss of thousands of jobs.

4. And now at a more general level. If we are in the mood to boycott people who displease us, it would appear that one ought to shop around a little more resourcefully.

Does Mrs. Kennedy know that the beautiful people regularly eat Polish hams? These are produced by a state in which living conditions are materially poor, and in which there is a total lack of political freedom.

Isn't it possible that the clan will gather at Southampton in automobiles that use Liberian rubber? Liberian rubber. Have you ever been to Liberia and seen the working conditions there? Might they, at that party at Southampton, offer tea. Tea from Ceylon? Nepal? Where the tea growers earn maybe 10, 15 cents an hour?

It gets chilly in Southampton at night, so the girls may wear their sables, tracked down by slave labor in the frozen wastes of Russia. It will in any case be a dressy affair, so the ladies will wear their diamonds. Mined in South and Southwest Africa, by black men earning a pittance, working under inhuman conditions.

Then, after the speeches, they will toast Chavez—with champagne, distilled from grapes picked in the champagne country in France by grapepickers who earn less than one half what they earn around Delano.

5. On the other hand, if we were to boycott sables, diamonds, tea and champagne, how will the beautiful people survive? They can't eat Ethel Kennedy. I mean, politics isn't everything.

6. So that the moral, dear Ethel, is never, ever, ever, ever to join any committee, not even a committee to clean the streets, if its members are the Ford girls, George Plimpton, Carter Burden and the James Nivens. They are my brothers and sisters and I love them, but politically, well, you may as well ask Zsa Zsa Gabor to rewrite the Constitution.

#### NATIONAL DAY OF BURUNDI

### HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, Burundi is a small nation of central Africa which is now celebrating its seventh year as an independent country. Burundi lies along the shores of Lake Tanganyika and there is a monument to the source of the Nile within its borders. Burundi is essentially an agricultural nation. Its leading export is coffee, most of which is sold to the United States. Diplomatic ties with the United States are maintained, and our relations grow steadily closer. Seeking ways and means to achieve an increasingly developed society, Burundi is making progress in the economic sphere and is strengthening cooperation and friendship with neighboring states.

#### NATIONAL DAY OF RWANDA

On July 1, the small central African country of Rwanda celebrates its seventh year of independence. Rwanda is a pastoral and farming land of rolling hills which extend to the volcanic peaks of its northern border. Under its young leader, President Gregoire Kayibanda, it has enjoyed remarkable stability as it moves forward on the road toward development. Rwanda has been a constant force for moderation both in its regional groupings and in international forums. It has been a warm friend of the United States.

#### SOMALI REPUBLIC: INDEPENDENCE DAY STATEMENT

It gives me great pleasure to extend to the President, to the Government, and

to the people of the Somali Republic my warm congratulations on the occasion of the ninth anniversary of their country's independence. In March of this year we were delighted to see the Somali people again demonstrate their ability to transfer political power by orderly and democratic means when for the second time in the young nation's history as an independent entity they elected 123 deputies to their National Assembly. On June 19 Prime Minister Mohamed Ibrahim Egal was confirmed for a second term as Prime Minister by the National Assembly.

Over the past 2 years, during which Somali has followed policies initiated by President Abdirashid Ali Shermarke and Prime Minister Egal, it has made important progress in improving relations with its neighbors, Ethiopia and Kenya, and has considerably improved the prospects for regional trade and economic development. The success of these countries in working together gives hope to other nations vexed by similar problems inherited from their colonial past. They have demonstrated that by patient effort and good will they can help to make this world a safer and better place to live in.

It is thus with a realization that Somalis and Americans are dedicated to the same fundamental ideals that we extend to President Shermarke and Prime Minister Egal our heartfelt best wishes on this anniversary of Somali's independence.

#### MARINES DONATE TO THE CIVIC ACTION FUND FOR VIETNAM

### HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, with the nature of the times, we very frequently are quick to criticize our servicemen, and too slow to praise them when praise is due. Recently, an incident was brought to my attention, one which I feel should be included in the RECORD to remind us that the men who serve in our armed services represent some of America's most important ideals—compassion and a belief in the worth of man.

At the quarterly Marine Corps Reserve Officers Association dinner not too long ago, Brig. Gen. Charles F. Widdecke, Director of the Marine Corps Reserve was presented with a check for \$1,400 by Lt. Col. James A. Crawford, commander of Truck Co. H. & S. Battalion, 4th Force Service Regiment. The check to be used in assisting the civilian population of Vietnam, represents a contribution to the Civic Action Fund for Vietnam, which currently stands at nearly \$750,000.

Mr. Speaker, I think all of us can learn a lesson from this significant gesture. I strongly feel that it is long overdue for the Government to take the lead and concentrate efforts on civic rather than military action in Vietnam.

#### ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE CLARENCE PALMBY POINTS OUT DEFECTS IN INTERNATIONAL GRAINS ARRANGEMENT

### HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, when the United States joined the International Grains Arrangement, the purpose of the arrangement was to strengthen and stabilize prices of wheat moving in commercial export trade within a specified range. However, at the present, it appears that the United States is having difficulty pricing its wheat for export competitively. This situation partially arises because of some export countries pricing their wheat below the minimum set by the IGA, doing so either by disregarding the price levels of the arrangement or claiming the ability to do so under certain technicalities that exist within it.

My concern, representing a State which produces one-sixth of the Nation's wheat, is that because whether of lack of cooperation between member countries or structural difficulties in the arrangement itself, the United States should not allow our wheat exporters to lose markets where we have been selling wheat for years.

The timeliness of this issue is represented in an address by Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Clarence D. Palmbly, at the Norfolk Chamber of Commerce Farm-City Luncheon in Norfolk, Va., June 20, 1969.

I might also add, the address provides exceptional insight into the problems the European Economic Community present to U.S. international trade. Only a week before this address was given, Secretary Hardin and Secretary Palmbly returned from Europe.

Because its information will be of value to Members, I insert the address at this point in the RECORD:

ADDRESS BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE CLARENCE D. PALMBLY

I am delighted to be with you at this Farm City luncheon in Norfolk.

Nowhere in America is the mutual interest of farm and city more evident than in this port center—shipping point of grains, tobacco and other farm products grown throughout the East, the Midwest, and the South.

Norfolk is one of the most forward-looking ports in America. I congratulate you for this—the Port Authority, the International Terminal, the State Department of Agriculture, and the many other groups and individuals who are playing key roles in the future of the Hampton Roads complex.

The work you have done with shipping containers—and the merchandising you are doing in Europe—are particularly well known to me.

My topic this afternoon is "U.S. Agriculture in a Changing World."

No one is more sensitive to change than a farmer. Every day his world changes. Every day he makes an adjustment to meet that change.

His day's work is governed by the variables of season, moisture, soil and crop conditions. His livelihood is linked to markets that may rise and fall from day to day—even hour to hour. And his success as a manager is tied to his ability to size up trends from year to year.

Thus the farmer lives in a changing world—and he always has. But there's a difference today. And the difference is in the speed with which basic changes are taking place—not only in farming but in markets, transportation, and the whole pattern of agricultural-business relationships.

Those of us who are living now are seeing whole centuries of change telescoped into decades of time. We are caught up in a world of ferment where the most remote happening may impinge on the daily business of farming in America.

This afternoon I want to talk about agriculture's world problems in quite a literal sense. It is only a week since Secretary Hardin and I returned from Europe—it was my third trip overseas since the middle of April. And the changing world, as it affects our agriculture, is much on my mind.

As you look around the world in 1969, you see a good many things that are encouraging. There is a general growth in economies. This means that living standards are rising. There is a growing taste for quality and variety in foods and other goods—wants that can be satisfied through trade with other countries.

The European economy is growing at a rate of over 2 percent a year. Japan is moving at the phenomenal rate of 12½ percent. The lesser developed countries are expanding their economies at an average of about 3 percent—which is surprising and quite significant for the future. So there is much to be encouraged about.

Unfortunately, there is another side to the coin, and it is much less bright. There is a disappointing growth of protectionism in many of the world's markets—tariffs, import levies, quotas, and other artificial barriers. This is most destructive to world trade, and it is a serious concern to anyone interested in American agriculture and the historic position of this country in world trade.

Even without these artificial restrictions, competition would be tough enough in the world. Many other countries have been coming on strong as producers of feed grains, wheat, oilseeds, cotton, tobacco, poultry, and other commodities. And they are tough competitors.

These countries are sharing in the general scientific advance that is taking place in agriculture. Crop yields are rising—not only in the advanced countries but also in the developing areas. New strains of wheat and rice are having an impact—along with irrigation, fertilizers, pesticides, and machinery. Storage and transportation are being improved.

These world trends—along with some problems of our own making—add up to disappointment as far as U.S. exports are concerned. Earlier, it was estimated U.S. farm exports in 1968-69 would reach \$6 billion. Prospects have now been lowered to \$5.8 billion. Some of the blame, of course, must go to a long and frustrating dock strike on the East Gulf and in Gulf ports.

With that thumbnail sketch of the international trade scene, let me go on to the key question: What is the United States doing about this? The answers are several.

The United States carries on a vigorous job of market development through cooperative programs involving the Department of Agriculture and commodity groups. Two such associations are Great Plains Wheat and Western Wheat Associates.

These groups carry on extensive programs of consumer education in customer countries, product promotion, technical assistance, and market intelligence.

Technical assistance to other countries has included the dispatch of U.S. consultants in baking, milling, nutrition, cereal chemistry, and product promotion, to customer countries—especially in the Far East. Trade teams from those countries have been brought to America as well—to see first hand the methods used here.

A great deal of sales work has been carried on to convince millers of the advantages of using U.S. wheat. Our people have also worked hard to assure dependable quality and condition in U.S. exports—in order to advance a "good image" for American wheat.

Promotion is, of course, only a part of the answer. Good salesmanship will not sell a product if it is not competitive in price, quality, and suitability. We are, therefore, moving toward market building policies in our own farm programs—policies that encourage use, both here and abroad.

If the price support programs are to deal effectively with farm income, they must enable our farmers to maintain their markets in the face of foreign and synthetic competition. In other words, prices must be supported at realistic levels that permit a commodity to move to its natural end, which is consumption.

How is this done?

An example is soybeans. The growth of soybean production in this country has historically followed a pricing policy that permitted soybeans to compete here and abroad. In other words, we build markets.

Three years ago, however, the price support level was set too high. This may not have been apparent, then. But we know now what the effect was. Instead of taking maximum advantage of an expanding market situation for soybeans, we priced ourselves out of it. We handed a gratuitous advantage to the soybean farmer's competitors—both here and abroad.

Fishmeal imports have cut into soybean meal demand in this country to the point where they replaced approximately 750 thousand tons of soybean meal equivalent last year (the meal from 30 million bushels of beans). Another competitor is the synthetic-urea—which also replaced 750 thousand tons of soybean meal equivalent in beef cattle rations and another large tonnage in dairy cattle rations.

This year, we had to decide whether to continue the strangulation of our soybean markets or to assume a price relationship that will permit growth. The decision was to lower the soybean price support just enough to bring it into a realistic relationship with market prices—and to encourage growth in demand. The longer-term welfare of soybean farmers was the determining factor.

About 85 percent of the 1968 crop of soybeans is being utilized during the 12-month period commencing September 1, 1968. We expect over 97 percent of the 1969 crop to be utilized next marketing year. And if we assume no change in price support next year, over 100 percent of the 1970 crop should disappear in the subsequent 12-month period. The soybean experience illustrates how, through unwise price fixing, future income is placed in producers' hand prior to the time of utilization of a commodity and thereby mortgaging what should be tomorrow's income.

So we are making headway—both in foreign market promotion and in domestic policies that encourage market expansion. Unfortunately neither of these efforts gets at the most serious and difficult trade problem that we have—the one that is least within our control.

The truth is that many of the world's countries are pursuing unrealistic pricing policies that these policies are harmful to world trade. They are hurting U.S. exports, but they are also damaging to the long-term welfare of farmers and consumers within their own countries as well.

Obviously, protectionism—whether in the form of tariffs, quotas, or some other artificial barrier—works directly to reduce and discourage the sale of U.S. commodities in customer countries. But protected high prices within those countries also reduce consumer demand, and thus limit the total utilization or consumption of the products involved.

At the same time, these artificially high prices may stimulate excess production in other countries—production which can find no natural home. These excess supplies are being pushed into world trade, by means of large subsidies, and the American farmer must compete in a market where bargain basement prices prevail.

The most disruptive such influence in the world today is the European Economic Community. Its pricing policies—unrelated as they are to prices in other trading countries—are a bitter disappointment to anyone interested in a stable world market based on liberal trade.

The EEC's policies are harmful to trade. They are costly to the people of the EEC countries themselves. Our economists have estimated the total cost of agricultural support under the Common Agricultural Policy at more than \$14 billion.

Direct budget expenditures for farm support are in the neighborhood of \$7.7 billion. Indirect costs of the policy, in higher food costs to EEC consumers, are estimated at about \$6.4 billion.

Thus the Common Agricultural Policy is costing the people of those countries an estimated \$14.1 billion. This is 4 percent of the Community's Gross National Product, and a high price to pay for policies that are essentially destructive to trade and to a sound agriculture within those countries.

I feel constrained to say that the CAP, as being developed is a protectionist policy. It is contrary to policies being followed in the United States, which has tried to maintain a liberal stance with respect to trade. I can only add that if these policy trends continue in Europe, then the European Community and the United States are headed for an economic collision.

Despite the seriousness of these trends, I cannot foresee a reversal any time soon. And I say this with the deepest regret. In fact, I fear that these unsound trading policies may be extended to an enlarged European Community.

Some leaders in the Community envision a larger Community in the not too distant future—one that includes the original "six" plus the United Kingdom, Ireland, Denmark, Norway, and probably Spain and Portugal. Full membership for Greece would also be a part of this larger Europe.

These leaders also foresee that an enlarged Europe would foster an agricultural policy similar to the present one. This would mean high fixed prices that have no relationship to prices in the rest of the world. There would probably, however, be some recognition of specialization within the larger Community.

European agriculturalists appear eager to welcome the United Kingdom and other countries into the Community. British leaders have their application on file, and it's taken for granted in agricultural circles that there will be negotiations leading perhaps to full membership for that Nation.

Unfortunately, there seems to be a lack of any feeling that agricultural prices should be competitive. I can detect no desire to make use of the principle of comparative advantage—so that trading countries get maximum benefit from their trade. Nor can I detect even simple good business judgment in some of the EEC actions.

Not long ago, for example, the European Economic Community sold 1.7 million bushels of French feed wheat to Taiwan for 99 cents a bushel. This price, for grain laid

down in Taiwan, is about \$17.00 a ton below the landed price of corn. To accomplish this, the EEC paid an export subsidy much larger than the price of the grain itself at French ports.

This sale directly undercuts U.S. and Thailand corn in a market that we had cultivated and developed. It represents unfair trade and irresponsible pricing. Beyond that, it is a direct contradiction of the spirit of the International Grains Arrangement—which has been in effect less than a year.

French milling wheat also has recently been sold to Taiwan at a price at least \$12.00 per ton below the price quoted in Taiwan for comparable soft wheat from our West Coast.

I want to say a few words about the International Grains Arrangement, which the U.S. entered as a result of the Kennedy Round negotiations two years ago. The Arrangement succeeded the old International Wheat Agreement. Its purpose, widely heralded, was to strengthen and stabilize prices in world wheat trade.

At the time these discussions were begun in late 1966, we were in a period of world fear about potential wheat shortages. I'm sure you will recall this—in 1965 and 1966. World supplies were low. Prices were working upward.

We can now see that, as a result of the climate at the time, the scale of prices written into the Grains Arrangement was set too high. By the time the Arrangement took effect a year later, these prices were already unrealistic. By that time—July 1, 1968—a rather drastic shift in world supplies was taking place.

The world harvested a near-record crop in 1967—and another very good crop in 1968. It appears now that 1969 will cap off a series of three big production years for world wheat—with the exception of one or two countries. But the point is that by the time the Grains Arrangement became effective a year ago, world prices had already worked down to levels slightly below those specified in the Arrangement. The result was that there was very little flexibility from the beginning; very little could be done to adjust prices under the Grains Arrangement.

Today, we are living in a world of wheat surplus that is weighing heavily on price. The result is that there is hardly any wheat being traded in the world at the agreed-upon price levels. The United States has taken a beating in world markets. The EEC sale to Taiwan, that I mentioned a moment ago, is an example.

We have talked repeatedly with other exporters in an effort to make the Arrangement work. But it is increasingly apparent that the Arrangement itself has some basic faults—particularly with respect to United States participation.

Looking back, I think it is fair to say that the International Grains Arrangement reflects to some extent the haste and the pressures that U.S. representatives were under at the time of negotiations two years ago. Among those pressures was the fact that the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 was to expire on July 1 that year. That Act, enabling the President to reduce tariffs by 50 percent, was the authority under which the U.S. was negotiating.

The sad fact is that U.S. agriculture did not benefit from negotiations held under the authority of the 1962 act (Kennedy Round). The European import levies on several major agricultural commodities were larger at the conclusion of the Round than were five years earlier.

What are the major defects in the I.G.A. as far as the U.S. is concerned?

1. To begin with, the fact most prices were built around the Gulf of Mexico as a basing point has forced the U.S. into a rigid pricing position. U.S. representatives were placed in a fixed posture relative to other exporters.

Prices to other exporters are based on transportation differentials which are widely variable and subject to abuse.

2. Also, the Arrangement set a fixed schedule of minimum prices for 14 major wheats, which has resulted in a rigidity in pricing. This has worked against the United States because our country supplies several classes and finds itself with little or no flexibility to adjust prices between these wheats.

3. An overriding reason for difficulty with the Grains Arrangement is the fact that the world wheat trade now includes a number of exporting countries which have not historically been engaged in the export of wheat.

This is in contrast to the days of the International Wheat Agreement, when the U.S. and Canada were so dominant as exporters that they could enforce pricing stability. These two countries were both able and willing to hold large stocks and to discipline the volume of wheat being exported. This is no longer true.

One example: During the past 12 months, the Soviet Union has sold over 10 million bushels of wheat to the United Kingdom. The Soviet Union is not a signatory to the International Grains Arrangement because she is not a member of the parent treaty, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, although membership is open to the Soviets should they choose to join. At any rate the Soviet wheat was priced at a figure that was highly attractive to the British and the result was a direct loss of sales by the U.S. and Canada.

Under these conditions, there is an obvious disadvantage to member countries that are trying to live within the Grains Arrangement.

In recent days, we have been reevaluating our situation with respect to wheat. It is apparent now that, even with the reduced allotment that has been in effect for 1969, we will have a large U.S. crop and a buildup in carryover. It seems likely that we will need to seek a reduction in next year's wheat crop. We expect, in the very near future, to make an announcement of the wheat allotment for 1970.

We have also been reevaluating our performance under the International Grains Arrangement. Next week in London there will be a meeting of the International Wheat Council—which is the key governing body. We will, of course, be represented there.

We have really two large problems:

(1) How do we meet French competition in Taiwan?

(2) How can we be more competitive with some of our hard wheats in Europe and South America?

Both of these questions will require decisive action.

We have many trade problems. We must continue a dialogue with the European Economic Community. We must attempt in these conversations to isolate and identify areas that can be negotiated.

These conversations and dialogue should continue not only bilaterally, but also within international organizations such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and later, we hope, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The international organization of GATT, if it is to fulfill a continuing role, must be helpful in identifying areas in which to negotiate. By these means, we hope a degree of harmony can be brought to the agricultural trade that is so important to the world economy and to the American farmer.

The world of American agriculture is a changing world.

A man who has been farming for 35 years can remember when 30 million people and 17 million houses lived on almost 7 million farms. Today a third that many people live on fewer than half that many farms. Yet they feed a Nation that has grown by 75 mil-

lion people, and they ship three times the volume of farm exports, as compared with 35 years ago.

The place of agriculture in the American economy is not diminished—it has grown. The problems are great, true. But the success of the American system of farm producers and farm-related business is far greater.

This luncheon is in recognition of the responsibility that each of us has—in farming, in business, in government—to the continuing strength of this productive system. Whatever the problems, this American agriculture will continue to be a major stabilizing force in the world. That's U.S. agriculture in a changing world.

## PARTLY CLOUDY

### HON. SPEEDY O. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I want to share with the House a series of events in my district which amply illustrate the present administration's ludicrous dedication to false economy.

One of my French-speaking constituents wrote to me—only partly in jest—that *Il y a des nuages* would best describe the faces of the people of central Louisiana early last month during a storm which cost nearly a million dollars in a single parish, not including crop damage. That phrase means roughly, partly cloudy, and it is the only warning my constituents received before the storm struck, packing 83-mile-per-hour winds.

Why were the people not warned of the storm?

Because the Nixon administration weeks earlier—on March 22, 1969—closed the local weather bureau station in the name of economy. Sixteen days later the people of the area, defenseless in the face of the elements, suffered losses which would have operated the Alexandria, La., two-man weather station for years.

When I first learned that the administration planned to close the Alexandria weather station—one of 13 such facilities to be closed across the Nation—I protested to the President. That was on February 7, 1969. Eighteen days later, the President's assistant finally answered my letter. I gathered from the way he evaded the question that the President intended to do nothing about the problem.

The next month I joined with Louisiana's two distinguished U.S. Senators in protesting to the President, to the Environmental Science Services Administration, and to the Federal Aviation Administration.

Everyone from the President on down kept reminding us of Public Law 90-364, which in effect imposed fiscal reforms on the Executive, which the Executive has never had the stomach to impose on itself. But throughout this correspondence there was a new interpretation: Public Law 90-364, it seems, is a convenient cover for incompetence.

I wonder why it is that bureaucrats immediately put the ax to the small,

hard working, and obviously inexpensive outposts of the Government when they are called on to economize. It never seems to occur to them that they might cut away the agency's fat without chopping off its little toe.

At any rate, the Alexandria, La., weather station was closed on March 22, 1969. On March 26, I received a long and verbose letter from Mr. John W. Townsend, Jr., Deputy Administrator, Environmental Science Services Administration, explaining that alternate arrangements for weather services to the area would be quite adequate, prompt, and efficient.

Two weeks later the Weather Bureau had the opportunity to provide proof of Mr. Townsend's assertions. Early on the morning of May 7, 1969, the weather forecasters in cities a hundred and more miles away forecast severe weather conditions for the Alexandria, La., area, and the proper warnings were issued. By midmorning the forecasters saw no further sign of troublesome weather, and the warnings were withdrawn. The Weather Bureau said the skies would be partly cloudy the rest of the day. At 10:45 a.m. the worst thunderstorm in its history hit the city and a wide area.

Immediately upon learning of the storm I wired the Environmental Science Services Administration for an explanation, asking that service be restored to the Alexandria, La., area. Mr. John W. Townsend, Jr., wrote me another of his long letters, admitting in effect that the weather bureau could not provide adequate service to the Alexandria, La., area after all.

Public Law 90-364, Mr. John W. Townsend, Jr., and his fellow bureaucrats still stand in the way of any reliable weather service to the Alexandria, La., area. This area—and I assume the dozen other places which have been deprived of reliable weather reporting because of the administration's inability to economize without a certain amount of planned destruction—is in Mr. Townsend's words, "of lower priority."

After struggling through this series of events and letters and contradictions, I think I can make a successful argument for the belief that this Nation's troubles are caused by bad faith, mostly on the part of administrators and executives who for political reasons consciously misinterpret the laws of the land.

Although the weather station in central Louisiana is a small matter—let us remember that Government is in fact an accumulation of small matters—the ironic phrase, partly cloudy will live to mock the Nixon administration long after its fake economy measures have been forgotten.

JOE McCAFFREY—CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF THE AIR

### HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, there is little that can be added to the acco-

lades paid Joseph McCaffrey, newscaster and commentator for WMAL television and radio. Joe is celebrating his 25th year in the news media and I know that the respect with which he is regarded is the product of all these years of honest reporting of the facts with integrity and professionalism to which all newsmen aspire. He has justly earned the title, "The Most Listened To Man in Washington," because of his interesting and factual presentation of the news in Washington and particularly on Capitol Hill.

His listeners are legion and I understand his favorite pastime is talking to the horses on his farm in Culpeper, Va. Even they appreciate their master's voice.

He has been a friend for many years and I will continue to value his friendship in the years ahead. He has my congratulations on his achievements and sincere best wishes for success in the future.

#### FORTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL PORTSMOUTH, OHIO, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BANQUET HONORING HOSPITALS

### HON. WILLIAM H. HARSHA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, on June 19 I had the opportunity to attend the 48th annual chamber of commerce meeting at Portsmouth, Ohio.

Those of us in attendance were privileged to hear a very accomplished and outstanding speaker, Mr. J. Ed McConnell, president of Blue Cross and Blue Shield for the State of Kentucky.

Particularly in view of today's troubled world, Mr. McConnell's remarks concerning citizen responsibility were of significant importance. I, therefore, include his remarks and commend them to my colleagues:

#### FORTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL PORTSMOUTH CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BANQUET HONORING HOSPITALS

(Speech of J. Ed McConnell)

I appreciate very much this opportunity to participate, along with a Chamber of Commerce, in recognizing the hospitals of a community and the service they render. Right this moment, the hospitals in this community are rendering all of us in this room and community, plus those who are passing through, a service for which they do not receive one red cent.—They are here, if we need them.

You know our American hospitals are suffering from a lot of success, and in spite of assimilating many new methods of treatment, great discoveries, the development and installation of much new and complex equipment, plus responding to the demand for more health care with new programs and services, there have been, and are, many strains on hospitals and the hospital system. Weaknesses have been discovered and magnified and management criticized. A recent secretary of HEW made an unfortunate statement regarding hospital management just peeking into the 20th century, which was incorrect, and it hurt. Costs have skyrocketed and, from the public's point of view, the major problem of the hospital has been the difficulty in controlling rising costs. Hospitals are subject to a higher level of ex-

pectations than other institutions, and are now subject to a scrutiny of a nation of "experts". Almost any organization can be forgiven lapses in excellence other than hospitals. The quality of the hospital product, compared with the quality of other products the American public purchases, is good, as is the quality of management compared with that of business, industry, education and government. The level of management of most hospitals in Kentucky, for example, is on a par with, or better than, the management of any government office, any school system or business in the community.

I am sure this is true in Ohio, also—and all over the country. There is a terrible lack of understanding of hospital problems, costs and operation. Meetings like this are healthy, and they help promote understanding. There is a real danger with the advent of Medicare, and the federal government directly involved with standards, concerns about productivity, utilization review, and the drying up of voluntary gifts, that hospitals may lose their freedom to innovate, which would be unfortunate.

We have more and better medical knowledge today than ever before. The surgical knowledge and procedures being performed were just the dreams and fancies of a few years ago.

Heart valve implants, for example, are routine procedures now in many hospitals. This required 10-15 people in surgery, intricate equipment, and a fairly new innovation is on the hospital scene now called intensive and coronary care.

A few years ago, when a patient had a coronary occlusion, he received a private room, a few drugs, a lot of hard work by doctors and nurses and a lot of prayers. If these worked, the patient recovered. Now, in addition, the patient is placed in a coronary care unit where he receives full monitoring. It is a routine procedure to start stopped hearts. People who are literally dead are buzzed, and the heart is started again. This happened three times in one Louisville hospital the week-before-last. The patients have gone home, not to the cemetery.

A short twenty years ago, the hospitals averaged one employee per bed. Today, it is two and one-half employees per bed. This is money, and people costs keep going up, but providers of care have to have people to provide service. Hospitals cannot automate like industry. While they have mechanized many procedures, they have not been able to come up with the automatic bed pan or decision-maker necessary in providing human services, and the hospitals have to compete in the employee market, and the salaries are rising, and they are still playing catch-up with industry.

Staying healthy costs money, but the next time you see a hospital bill, compare it on an hourly basis with other services you buy. One of the best buys that can be made in your community today is a day of necessary hospital care. A modern hospital is a complex business—one of the most complex in our very complex changing society. Interpreting it in the months and years ahead won't be easy. It's time to speak out in support of the finest system of health care in the world—one that's in jeopardy, and I'm pleased to have this opportunity to do so.

Now for just a few words about a Chamber of Commerce which is the voice of the business and professional community, an organization of business and professional men and women who have invested time and money to try to solve mutual community and business problems to try to advance the development and growth of an area; people working together in common cause, pooling activities and reserves. In my opinion, any business or professional man who is not a member of his Chamber of Commerce is not carrying his part of the community load, and our voluntary system is the loser, as is he. A Chamber of Commerce is sort of like a

community doctor whose job it is to study the patient (area), the strengths, or lack of it, and to pursue ways to maintain healthy development and prescribe ways and means of maintaining healthy development. Every community and city each year now faces major problems growing out of a changing world and our country's transition from a predominantly rural community to an urban one. The speed of this change is a problem, and whether you or I like it or not, change comes with progress. Any community in America that today is ignoring the problems of downtown decay, zoning, traffic, housing, pollution, areawide planning for health facilities, the problems of the disadvantaged and the elderly, ignorance, education, is contributing to additional federal controls to additional loss of freedom. Deep changes are stirring in this country. The private sector, business, industry and professional groups had better become just as aware of this as is our federal government, our intellectual community and many students.

In his book, "Freedom Begins at the Market Place", Erwin D. Canham says: "Voluntary action is the best possible weapon with which to fight statism and prevent the submergence of the individual. It is our nation's greatest tool in showing the rest of the world the way to solve problems without throwing ourselves slavishly in the arms of government. Few people elsewhere in the world have any idea how far and how fruitfully voluntary organizations have gone in the United States. Our entire system is radiated and irrigated by a vast network of private voluntary organizations and communications. Vital ideas and concepts flow back and forth in these channels." Your organization is a vital one of these, as well as your hospital system.

The practice of people banding together voluntarily to solve problems, as you have done, is traditional in this country. There seems to be no question that our way of life is being challenged daily. Never before have we been so critical, but a lot more is right with America than is wrong.

Our government, at every level, was designed as the means of doing only those things which the individual or a lower level could not effectively do for itself. Free people can and must manage their individual and collective destinies. Free choice, voluntarism, individualism, cannot and must not be discussed or dismissed as meaningless slogans. The great strength of America comes from freedom, and from the vitality, ingenuity, leadership, community service of individual citizens, in organizations like yours, not from the size and power of government. If we expect to maintain our personal freedom, we must put forth, voluntarily, the effort required. One does not inherit a instinct for liberty. We have a responsibility, you and I, to help work, build and create a legacy of freedom. Let us not neglect it.

#### ADAMS' SON WINS HONORS AT HARVARD

### HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in these days, when the Nation is confronted with the desires of students to make themselves heard in the world, one is sometimes inclined to overlook the great academic achievements made by the students of our country.

I happen to know of one in particular, Mr. William James Adams, who is the

son of a valued friend of mine, who has just graduated from Harvard College and was awarded one of the two Allyn A. Young Prizes of \$400 which were given, in recognition of his outstanding thesis in economics.

He also received the oldest scholastic award, the prized "Detur" of Harvard.

His father is at present acting president of Michigan State University and I thought I would bring this fact of achievement to the attention of the House.

I include a newspaper clipping from Michigan State University in relation to William James Adams:

#### ADAMS' SON WINS HONORS AT HARVARD

William James Adams of 928 Lantern Hill Drive, East Lansing, has received two of the top prizes for senior students at Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.

Adams was awarded one of the two Allyn A. Young Prizes for \$400. They were given in recognition of outstanding thesis in economics.

The nation's oldest scholastic award, the prized "Detur" of Harvard, also was awarded Adams. A book award, it honors distinguished application to studies.

Earlier this year, Adams received the John H. Williams Prize for the best overall record in economics, his major. He holds a John Harvard Scholarship and a Harvard College Scholarship.

He is the son of Michigan State University acting president Dr. Walter Adams and Mrs. Adams.

#### SPEECH OF BEN S. GILMER AT UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA COMMENCEMENT

### HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, with the many graduations at this time of year come the commencement speeches with messages from men in positions of responsibility to the youth of our Nation. I was particularly impressed with the very timely speech given by Mr. Ben Gilmer, president of American Telephone & Telegraph, at the University of Georgia commencement exercises on June 7. His remarks are very much to the point in view of what has been happening on our campuses. Our young people need to hear this kind of plain talk, they need this kind of challenge. I am pleased to have this opportunity of sharing Mr. Gilmer's address with my colleagues. It follows:

#### SPEECH OF BEN S. GILMER AT UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA COMMENCEMENT

This I know is a day to which all of you have pointed your efforts and energies for a long time. I congratulate you and am honored to be with you on this great day in your lives.

So many long honored customs of college life have been challenged of late I would not have been surprised to see the abolition of the commencement speaker become one of them. Fortunately for me this did not turn out to be the case, and I am happy to join with you in the enjoyment of this day.

Most commencement speakers, I suspect, are under no illusions as to how long their words will be remembered—and I am no exception. Who, for example, spoke at my own

graduation and what he said have long since slipped from memory.

At the same time there is a certain solemnity about these occasions that moves one to look long and earnestly within himself for that one portion of wisdom with which life may have endowed him that might have some meaning to the new generation to whom his own will shortly pass the torch.

In recent years that search has become a particularly trying one, for they have been years in which some members of your generation have been loudly asserting that they trust no one over 30, such protestants at the same time giving very little indication as to why anyone over 30 should trust them.

With each succeeding graduating class, it would appear, the generation gap grows wider and the wider it grows the greater the risk that the commencement speaker will fall in.

Nonetheless I suspect that nearly every commencement speaker—up until this year at any rate—has secretly harbored the hope that somehow he might find the words that will convey to his younger audience that he—perhaps in some measure understands the aims of youth, that, he shares them with undiminished ardor in spite of the passing years.

This rapport once established, his audience will, he hopes, hear his words with open minds—and perhaps even heed some of them.

Thus most commencement comment on youth to youth falls into a predictable pattern: applaud youth's aims, deplore its methods.

You will forgive me, I trust, if this year—I abandon the pattern. To my mind rapport between the generations will be better served by candor than by strained efforts at ingratiation. At the risk, then, of being characterized as a quaint survivor from a bygone era, I am going to tell you precisely what I think.

Briefly, I am not with it. What has been happening on many of our campuses over the past few months—or rather what the newspapers have chosen to tell us about what has been happening on our campuses I find deplorable.

And what aims are served by vandalism and violence I readily confess I do not understand. If the impulse to these actions springs, as I have heard it alleged, from youthful idealism, it is misplaced idealism and certain to defeat the very aims it professes to serve.

Not freedom but a new authoritarianism is surely the most likely consequence of such excesses. Nor is it very likely that expanded participation in decision-making will be extended to those who by their actions demonstrate they do not know how to handle the responsibilities they already have.

Let me say at the outset that I would have preferred to talk with you today about almost any other topic than the current campus turmoil. Avoidance however, would serve no useful purpose and indeed would be interpreted as joining with those who seem to believe that if something is ignored it will cease to exist.

Among my colleagues in the business world, utter consternation seems to be the most common reaction to the recently highly publicized events on some of our nation's most distinguished campuses.

It is an altogether understandable reaction but not to my mind a very helpful one. For these events can no longer be dismissed as isolated phenomena. Nor can we take comfort in the thought that they are "un-American," the product of an alien conspiracy.

And while it is true that the actual perpetrators of the violent acts we have been reading about probably constitute but a small

fraction of the current campus generation, we simply cannot take lightly the fact that the politics of violence has moved from the streets to a site we had assumed was reserved for calm inquiry and rational discourse.

The consequences of these events for the colleges involved may be tragic or hopeful, depending on their response. But my concern runs beyond the prospects of particular institutions and goes to the implications of these events to the future course of American society.

Down through the years Americans for the most part have been willing to resolve their differences—and accept the consequences within a commonly accepted framework of order and due process.

On our campuses as in our cities, violence signals the breakdown of this tradition. But what is more disturbing is the realization that the recent disorders may be but surface symptoms of a more widespread infection.

This infection shows itself in what appears to be an increasing disposition to escape the responsibilities of citizenship and the risks of participation either by seeking refuge in private comforts or at the other extreme, by an equally irresponsible disposition to translate the most agonizingly complex problems into simple confrontations between "them" and "us."

I addressed myself to this development on a like occasion a year ago and what was said then can be repeated now with no less conviction: To my mind this resort to unreason—in whatever guise it appears—is the most dangerous trend of our time.

It jeopardized what has been and remains our country's greatest strength—and that is the capacity to govern ourselves.

This resort to unreason shows itself, too, in what seems to be an increasing preoccupation with power, power exercised not through the conventional political process but by obstructing the normal operations of society.

Power thus exercised can dramatize dissent and discontent, but it can also undermine the orderly processes on which the dissenters themselves will depend once their discontent is assuaged. The continued use of this kind of power can only lead to the progressive degeneration of the political process in this country, to the death of freedom. This is, as well, the most likely consequence to our nation's goals and—more particularly—to the quickened aspirations of youth.

Those goals cannot be achieved or those hopes realized in an angry society, divided by contention and embittered by frustration.

Only a coherent society, uniting all its elements in a context of commonly accepted political process, can gather its resources and marshal its energies on the scale the future will require.

It is time, then, that men and women of reason and conscience everywhere made it plain that this society cannot countenance and will not reward the willful exercise of power to obstruct its legitimate processes.

But clearly it is not enough to decry violence unless at the same time we are ready to take account of the causes that inspire it.

Clearly we must ask ourselves, what is wrong with youth or what is wrong with us and the world we have made that has produced so deep an estrangement between so many of our young people and the major institutions of American life.

I raise the question not out of concern for the current crop of campus saboteurs but for the far larger number of their contemporaries who may take as dim a view of violence as I do but whose anger, albeit contained, is anger all the same.

You will tell me, I suppose, that there is sufficient evidence of injustice in the world to warrant anger and that the occasions for youth's estrangement are not really that hard to find:

A sad and apparently interminable war and its tragic costs in lives and resources . . . .

The evidence in the midst of affluence that millions of our fellow citizens have not shared in America's expanding opportunity . . . .

The fact that so many of the people in our greatest cities live ugly lives . . . .

The apparent hypocrisy of a society dedicated to no higher aim than a continuous expansion of personal consumption.

But we have experienced these occasions before. Indeed it is hard to recall a time when we have been without them or their counterparts.

So, without the slightest implication of doubt about the depth and sincerity of the convictions of young people on the issues I have recited, let me say that it seems to me the explanation lies elsewhere.

There are in my observation as many different interpretations of youth's mood as there are interpreters and I claim no special insight in this regard. There does, however, seem to me to be two interrelated elements in the current mood that are unique to these times.

The first is a feeling, apparently widely shared in your generation, that the prospect ahead is a sadly empty one, that the expected course of your lives offers very little worthy of high purpose and very little promise of opportunities for a sense of real accomplishment.

And the second is a sense of frustration in the face of institutions so large, so complex, so apparently impersonal that they afford little prospect that what one man does will make very much difference.

Were these impressions valid, this ceremony, normally the most hopeful on occasions, would be a sad one indeed. Nor will they be made otherwise by any simple assertion to the contrary by me, however deeply I might feel it.

Nonetheless I shall risk it. Your own discontents dramatize the fact that there is much unfinished business in our society that is worthy of the best that is in you.

Who, if not you, is going to see to it that our onrushing technology is shaped to humane ends.

Who, if not you, is going to bring order and civility—and, yes, greatness—back to our great cities.

Who, if not you, is going to rationalize our outmoded structure of local government so that it meets the needs of the final third of the twentieth century.

Who, if not you, is going to assure the adequacy of public services, health, education, transportation, waste disposal—for a population that by the century's end will number 360 million.

Who, if not you, will see to it that we have an education system in this country that denies to no one the ability to grow to the limit of his personal capacity.

Who, if not you, will see to it that our institutions—our colleges and corporations, our churches and city halls—do not become ends in themselves, that they develop a continuing capacity for renewal in the face of changing needs.

I raise these questions in order to suggest that I profoundly believe—and that is that there are new worlds to conquer and that those new worlds do not lie in the outer reaches of space but close at hand.

But the conquest of these new worlds, I must quickly add, cannot be achieved by slogans. They will not yield to marches and manifestos or to simple fervor unsupported by competence. They will yield only to the patient exercise of our rational faculties.

Those who think otherwise are not the revolutionaries they proclaim themselves to be. Rather are they—in the opinion of an M.I.T. professor whose name I cannot pronounce but whose views I share—counter-revolutionaries—a romantic remnant, histor-

ically obsolescent, unequipped to change the world, equipped only to demand that it be changed.

Today's world, stubbornly complex as it is and growing more so, will exact a hard discipline from those who seriously hope to have a hand in changing it. In short, it will take competence.

What satisfactions will derive from accepting the challenge of acquiring that competence will not include the satisfactions of self-dramatization.

Those of you who do accept that challenge will be in fact the true revolutionaries—with a better warrant to that term than those of your contemporaries who have appropriated it for themselves.

Today our society faces a serious shortage of true revolutionaries—men and women with the competence and patience to face complexity unafraid. Those we have are without exception over-burdened. In an age of increasing leisure, their work week grows longer and their lights burn later than those of their colleagues. Such vacations as they manage are, as often as not, interrupted by some emergent crisis.

No sector of society has a monopoly on their talents. You will find them in the Federal Government and in municipal agencies and you will, I am glad to say, find them in business.

You will not read their names in headlines—they look much the same as you and me—but it is to them we owe the fact that things work as well as they do. On them our hopes depend that things are going to work better. They are the "new adventurers."

What manner of men are they? First of all, they know their business but never deceive themselves that they know all they need to know.

They are not "mere technicians." They know that in this world of ours there are no simple answers any more, that any plan or program, however plausible in the abstract, must meet the test of human needs and that those needs are varied, more often than not competing and must somehow be resolved in an outcome that, while it may be best for all, may be fully satisfactory to none.

And they know, too, that the consequence of attempting too much, like the consequence of doing too little, is failure. Finding what is right is an arduous process of matching needs with resources, of rigorously assigning priorities that distinguished between what must be done, what can be done and what had best be put off until tomorrow. In short, they know that social ends depend on economic means.

Finally, I think I should say that the men and women I have been talking about are not very different from you and me.

They are not new breed of men, a specially constituted elite somehow genetically equipped to manipulate the mysterious control system of our complex society.

What most distinguishes them from the rest of men is their confidence that change can be managed—can be because must be and their belief that what one man does about it can in fact make a great deal of difference.

They are for the most part modest men. Somehow, though, wherever they are—in a business, a government agency, a town hall—they seem to generate about themselves an atmosphere of excitement. They do so because—if only by the smallest increments—where they are things are moving.

I invite you to join the "new adventurers." Compared to the number of people who are simply along for the ride, the number of people who really keep things moving in this world is small indeed. We need more.

I would like to conclude with a few words about those institutions which together compromise what you may call the estab-

ishment. I suppose the telephone company is one of them.

If my own experience is any guide, there is as much diversity within the establishment, if there is such a thing, as there is any place anyone might want to look.

Forces for change, not all of it good, contend with forces for stability, not all of it bad, in a state of continuing dynamic tension.

Is there room in the establishment—in my own business, for example—for adventure? If I say, yes there is, I must also remind myself that we have a continuing obligation to ask ourselves, is there room enough? We must and we do because our future depends in the final analysis on an asset that appears nowhere on our balance sheet, the innovative capacity of our people, their ability to sense and respond to society's new demands, their ability not merely to react to change but to lead it.

Finally, it appears to me that it is time for a general de-escalation of the rhetoric we apply to the current problems of our society. Surely no nation on earth has experienced so many "revolutions" and so many "crises" as we have over the past few years. Yet somehow we have survived.

Looked at in perspective, not every change is a "revolution" and not every problem a "crisis." I suggest that the application of a more moderate terminology to current problems would contribute to our confidence that they can—with the patient application of good sense and good will—be managed and managed effectively.

At the same time if we could rid ourselves of some of the stereotypes that dominate so much of our thinking these days—the disposition of people like me to address people like you as "youth" and of you perhaps to think of me as "business"—if we could come to see each other, not as generalized classifications of humanity but as individuals, each with his own talents, each with his own hopes, and both with so much in common, we would be taking a long step toward strengthening in our country that sense of community that has been its greatest asset and that, should we lose it, would be its greatest loss.

Thank you very much. My very best wishes to all of you.

ETHEL PERCY ANDRUS MEMORIAL  
GERONTOLOGY CENTER

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, plans are underway to construct in the near future the Ethel Percy Andrus Memorial Gerontology Center at the University of Southern California, an institution that will devote its attention to the problems of our growing body of senior citizens. Some 30 Members of the House and 12 Senators have introduced resolutions calling for support for this institution. I wish to join them in emphasizing the importance of the project and the promise it holds for the future welfare of elderly Americans.

No more suitable memorial could be erected for Ethel Percy Andrus, nor is any American more deserving of this recognition. Ethel Percy Andrus was one of those remarkable people who make all of us proud to be Americans. Other distinguished citizens of our Nation have pioneered in health, in education, in sci-

ence and technology and their names are known to us all as great trailbreakers of their times. Ethel Percy Andrus pioneered in making life meaningful for those millions of Americans who have reached the age of retirement and face the very serious adjustment from a career or a job or a busy household to that of relative ease.

Dr. Andrus thought that the retirement years should be useful and creative years. She came to this decision when she found herself in retirement, after a busy and distinguished career as a high school principal in Los Angeles. She was unwilling to vegetate, to retire to boredom and frustration. She began a new career and it was this second career that brought her the fame and recognition of which we speak today.

Retirement must have come as something of a shock for Ethel Percy Andrus when she found that her monthly pension, after 41 years of teaching and school administration, was a mere \$60. Dr. Andrus had made provisions for supplementing that sum, but she wondered how other retired schoolteachers managed to get along. That was the spark that prompted her to organize in 1947 the National Retired Teachers Association, aimed "at putting dignity back into the life of the penniless former teacher."

In 1958, the teachers' association having become a nationwide success, Dr. Andrus broadened her work by establishing the American Association of Retired Persons. That year the two organizations launched a highly successful health insurance program for the aging, a program which Dr. Andrus had worked diligently to prepare for several years.

Typical of other activities of the associations is the magazine, *Modern Maturity*, for which Dr. Andrus won several editorial awards. It is filled with reminiscence and with challenges for the future, news of AARP- and NRTA-sponsored travel tours, hobbies, and beautiful photography.

Another successful innovation was the Institute of Lifetime Learning where members may study a wide range of subjects from feature writing through business management to ceramics and oil painting.

Others call it old age. Dr. Andrus called it "dynamic maturity," and in that phrase she captured all the meaning of her programs. Millions of older Americans remember her with affection for the new richness, fulfillment, and achievement she brought into their lives.

I was privileged to be associated with Dr. Andrus as she fought for legislative innovations for older Americans. The proposed memorial gerontology center will carry on her great work. I am pleased to be associated with those who seek to advance the project.

Other details of the life and achievements of this remarkable American woman are discussed in the following October 1968 article from *Changing Times*:

THEY'RE RETIRED—BUT LEADING LIVELY LIVES—THE KEY: NEW EXPERIENCES, NOT RERUNS OF OLD ONES

The million or so men and women who belong to the American Association of Retired Persons represent a refreshing paradox: Their

attitude toward their autumn years is basically youthful.

Not that they strive to recapture a well-lost immaturity. But they do reject checker-playing, chair-rocking retirement in favor of retirement that is a way of living rather than a way of aging.

They call what they aim for "dynamic maturity"—a retirement life filled with such new experiences as low-cost trips throughout the world; new learning in such areas as art, language or music; new social contacts via local chapters and hospitality houses; and devices for reinforcing their financial security.

These benefits have been available for the past ten years to anyone age 55 or over—retired or not—willing to plunk down the \$2 a year AARP membership fee to, as its founder, the late Dr. Ethel Percy Andrus, put it, "get their lives moving again."

PENSION POOR TEACHERS

Back in the 1940's, a few months before her sixtieth birthday, Dr. Andrus retired as principal of a California high school to discover that retired teachers had little to live on (\$50 or \$60 a month) and little to look forward to. Her battle for better teachers' pensions led to formation in 1947 of the National Retired Teachers Association, AARP's still robust sister organization.

As this group grew, Dr. Andrus met more and more members whose financial resources had been wiped out by a serious illness or accident. In those days health and accident policies were either unavailable to people over 65 or too costly for most pensioners, and many found their policies canceled when they retired. Dr. Andrus argued with dozens of insurance companies that budget-priced, noncancelable group health insurance for retired teachers 65 and over was financially feasible.

She finally persuaded one progressive company to try it. The retired teachers proved excellent risks, and the plan was so successful that nonteachers clamored for it. This led Dr. Andrus to set up AARP in 1958 as a national organization for retired nonteachers to make them eligible for group health insurance.

Today the health insurance plan, now arranged to dovetail with medicare, is available to those 65 and over (age 62 for women and social security recipients). It has no upper age limit and accepts the member's present physical condition, although a new policyholder with a pre-existing illness isn't covered for that illness for six months.

Several types of life insurance are offered, too. Some of the policies include health restrictions, but they afford many members life insurance coverage that is unobtainable elsewhere. The association also helped develop an auto insurance policy that won't be denied an older driver because of his age alone (the policy is not yet available in all states).

Complaints about the high cost of drugs led AARP to establish its own pharmacy in 1959 to fill prescriptions by mail at prices below customary retail charges. Today, over 50 registered pharmacists in dispensaries in Florida, California and the District of Columbia fill over 5,000 orders a day for medicines, vitamins and medical supplies, sent to members postage paid and without any service charges.

"There's a prescription I get filled weekly that would cost me \$14 in the local drug-store," says one member. "I get it from the AARP pharmacy for \$8. And believe me I can use that six bucks a week savings."

The travel program also began at the request of members. It is group travel, geared to the pocketbooks and pace of older travelers. The first trip, a 1958 European tour, drew 183 members. This year 6,000 members expect to tour Europe, South America, the South Pacific, Mexico, Hawaii and other

parts of the U.S. On the new "Baltic Circle Tour" members will spend 31 days touring Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Russia at a cost of \$1,545 for everything—air and land transportation, accommodations, three meals a day, entertainment and sightseeing with local guides.

#### LIFETIME LEARNERS

The zest that leads thousands of elderly AARP members to travel as far away as Russia leads thousands more to seek self-improvement at a time in life when many others are throwing in the sponge.

"Older people are our greatest reserve of talent and wisdom," Dr. Andrus often said. "Continuing education will insure their position in the mainstream of life." Before her death in 1967 she saw her philosophy flower into the AARP's Institute of Lifetime Learning, schools where the elderly can study everything from finger painting to practical psychology. The institutes, in Washington, D.C., and Long Beach, Cal., serve as prototypes for local continuing education programs.

The association also offers a driver-improvement program—co-sponsored by the National Safety Council—and when members complete the course, they receive a 10% discount on their AARP auto insurance. There are other special services as well:

Consultations, including advice on retirement housing anywhere in the U.S. and suggestions for finding a retirement job or even starting a second career.

A bimonthly magazine, *Modern Maturity*, and other publications full of helpful, entertaining and inspirational articles specifically for those 55 and up.

A Hospitality House in St. Petersburg, Fla., which has low-cost accommodations for traveling members, and hospitality lounges in Long Beach and the District of Columbia, which provide local and visiting members entertainment, refreshments and a place to relax.

A nursing home in Ojai, Cal., where members get special geriatric restorative and rehabilitation treatment.

A legislative council, which promotes the interests of older persons—such as improved social security and medicare benefits—in Washington.

From one dedicated woman's lonely crusade to a million members in a single decade is quite an accomplishment. The appeal of AARP's "dynamic maturity" is still spreading, with more than 500 active local chapters across the U.S., with its services extending to overseas and with 5,000 to 7,000 new members joining every week.

#### AHEPA AND YOUTH EDUCATION

### HON. JOHN BRADEMAs

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. BRADEMAs. Mr. Speaker, the Ahepa Educational Foundation, the officers and members of the Order of Ahepa, and the supreme president of the order, Gus Cherevas, have all launched a new and interesting program which promises unusual educational and cultural opportunities to a number of young Americans.

This summer 100 members of the Sons of Pericles and Maids of Athena, both Ahepa auxiliary organizations, will spend 8 weeks at Anatolia College in Greece as recipients of the Ahepa-Anatolia College summer scholarship program.

I want to congratulate the Order of Ahepa and all those associated with this program on this imaginative venture.

Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point in the RECORD an editorial by Nicholas Zannetos, executive editor of the Ahepan describing this program:

#### AHEPA AND YOUTH EDUCATION

From its very inception, the Order of Ahepa put special emphasis on Education. The letter "E" was placed in the middle of the word AHEPA by design, to indicate the importance held for the educational aspects of the Fraternity.

Mindful of its obligation to foster and encourage the education of our Youth, Ahepa proceeded to organize its Junior Auxiliaries, the Sons of Pericles and Maids of Athena, searching for plans to keep them within bounds and under the influence of Hellenism; to inculcate upon them due respect and reverence for their heritage; to awaken in them a fair appreciation for the Hellenic language, culture and traditions.

It was in this spirit that the Anatolia Scholarship Program was presented to the New York Convention last summer by Supreme President Gus Cherevas. After an overwhelming endorsement by all the Ahepa Auxiliaries, the program was approved by the Ahepa Educational Foundation.

After an extensive presentation of the program throughout the Ahepa Domain by our energetic Supreme President Gus Cherevas, it was received with enthusiasm by our youth through the length and breadth of the land, with applications pouring into Headquarters from 22 districts. Faced with the problem of oversubscription of the program, with the knowledge that Anatolia College could accommodate ONLY 100 persons, Supreme President Cherevas made arrangement with officials of the Greek Government to accommodate an additional 200 Sons and Maids in cultural programs of 5-week duration in the vicinity of Athens, Greece.

This means that a total of 300 Sons and Maids, under the banner of Ahepa, will be involved in a cultural exchange program in the land of their fathers, the land of the rich Hellenic Heritage they have been preached about through their young lives. They will study Literature, Arts and Crafts, in the very same land where the originators of these masterly forms of expression lived and taught. Homer's epic poetry, the historical writings of Herodotus, the orations of Demosthenes, the philosophic concepts of Plato, the plays of Sophocles will have an overwhelming impression on their young souls, when taught on the same grounds the great masters walked. The great Hellenic Heritage, which until now were empty words to them, will have a full meaning now in the inspiring environment of the Cradle of Civilization.

And when the time comes for them to return to the United States enriched and invigorated with their inspirational experience, they will become the great missionaries of the objectives of Ahepa, spreading the gospel of the rich Hellenic Heritage to thousands.

#### TAX-EXEMPT MUNICIPAL BONDS

### HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, we may be nearing a vote on the question of keeping or eliminating the tax-exempt status on municipal bonds. Before that issue reaches the floor, I think all Members

should have an opportunity to give careful analysis because I am convinced the taxpayers in our cities will be the ones who would suffer.

Last year in Texas, a record \$950 million in bonds was issued in cities, towns, and rural communities. Of this amount, the cities issued \$302 million in bonds; schools and junior colleges issued \$275 million; counties and road districts, \$47 million; special districts like water, river, and hospital districts, \$137 million; and State agencies and State colleges, \$190 million.

Investors who bought these bonds do not have to pay income taxes on the interest which the bonds will bear. Therefore, obviously, they were willing to buy these bonds at a much lower rate of interest than would otherwise be the case. Without these investors, many of the badly needed projects would not have been possible—especially in a tight money market.

There is a primrose path being lined with innuendoes that municipal bonds furnish a tax shelter for the extremely wealthy people in this country—people who do not pay a cent in Federal taxes. Such people do exist, but in far fewer numbers than we would be led to believe.

I would submit to my colleagues a frank explanation of "who buys municipal bonds" and "who benefits." The article was written for the June issue of *Texas Town & City* by W. E. Tinsley, executive director, Municipal Advisory Council of Texas. Mr. Tinsley is considered to be one of the State's leading experts in municipal bond markets. His article is as follows:

#### WHO REALLY BENEFITS FROM TAX EXEMPTION OF INTEREST ON MUNICIPAL BONDS?

(By W. E. Tinsley)

A surprising number of people across the land are completely unaware of the fact that the owner of a bond issued by a state or unit of local government is not required to pay income taxes on the interest which the bond earns. At least that has been the situation; the number of such people grows smaller every day. One can hardly pick up a newspaper these days or listen to a newscast without there being brought to his attention some story of the gross inequities in our system of federal income taxes under which bloated plutocrats realize incomes running into the millions but pay no income taxes whatever. More often than not, it is mentioned that the tax dodge or loophole employed by these parasites of society is that of the municipal bond, the interest income from which is tax exempt.

The average American is an easy mark for this sort of propaganda. He has an inherent sense of fairness, he is generally unhappy with the amount withheld from his pay check, and he has the uneasy suspicion that he is not getting his money's worth of government for the taxes he pays. He is outraged by the image which has been created of the owner of municipal bonds, this fat cat lying on the warm sands of Miami Beach with a martini in one hand and a buxom blonde in the other, and paying no income taxes. There ought to be a law against it! Everyone ought to be forced to pay some income taxes!

Here we see one of the most cleverly contrived images (of a character who does not exist, incidentally) which has been foisted on the American public in many a day. What are the facts? When and how did such a system ever come into being in the first place? Why doesn't Congress put a stop to it?

The exemption of interest income on municipal bonds is as old as the federal income tax law. Eminent legal authorities maintain that its principle is solidly founded in the United States Constitution under those provisions which establish reciprocity between the states and the central government under our federal system. But this is not a legal dissertation; the purpose of this discussion is to examine some of the practicalities of the matter and to determine just who the real beneficiary is of this arrangement which exempts municipal bond interest from federal income taxes.

#### WHO REALLY BENEFITS?

Our thesis is this: the real beneficiary is not the holder of the municipal bond—the investor who loaned the money to the state or local governmental unit to finance some public facility—but the real beneficiary is any one of the 200 million Americans who may at any time during the routine of his day-to-day existence—

Draw a glass of water to quench his thirst, open the faucets of his shower, wash the family automobile or sprinkle his lawn;

Flush a toilet, open the drain in the lavatory of his bathroom, or drop table scraps into the disposal unit of his kitchen sink;

Pay a premium on a fire insurance policy covering his home or place of business which is protected by the fire plug at the corner and the fire station in the neighborhood;

Drive his automobile on a paved street or county road, across a bridge which spans a stream, or halt it at the traffic light at a busy intersection;

Have a child enrolled in a public school or a state supported institution of higher learning.

Feel any satisfaction as a citizen of his community in the knowledge that the criminal is safely behind bars, the insane are being ministered to, and the indigent are housed;

Romp with his children in a public park or give them a swimming lesson in the park pool;

Take off or land as a passenger of any scheduled and licensed airline or ship, or receive merchandise sent by air;

Or, participate in any one of literally dozens of other activities or realize the benefits and conveniences of any of the countless publicly-owned facilities which are financed through the issuance and sale of bonds of the state and its local governmental units.

This is the real beneficiary of tax exemption of municipal bond interest. Why? Because it saves him billions of dollars a year in interest charges on money borrowed through the medium of municipal bonds to provide all of these conveniences, interest he pays for in the form of locally levied taxes or user charges.

#### INTEREST—RATES AND DOLLARS

There are about \$125 billion in state and local government bonds which are outstanding in this country today. A good guess as to the average rate of interest on all of these bonds would fall in the neighborhood of 4%. Now that produces a gross interest cost of about \$5 billion annually.

The difference between the rate of interest on tax free municipal bonds and taxable bonds, such as those of the U.S. Government and private corporations, usually amounts to about 40%. Or, to express it somewhat differently, under conditions of comparable security or certainty of repayment, investors are willing to lend money to states and local governmental units at an interest rate which is usually about 70% of that which they demand of private borrowers.

On the basis of these figures, we compute by simple arithmetic that the \$5 billion annual interest charge on tax-free municipal bonds becomes \$7 billion if the right of income tax exemption is ever lost by local government.

But this tells only part of the story as regards the true value of tax exempt bonds to the local governmental unit. Take the case of the school district that needs a \$1 million school building or the city that needs a \$1 million hospital expansion. Now, if this school district or this city can issue bonds at 5% (which is unlikely under bond market conditions existing at this writing), it is necessary to find only \$65,050 a year in the annual budget to finance the million dollar project. In other words, \$65,050 will amortize a million dollars over a 30-year term assuming that the bonds can be sold at a 5% interest rate.

Remove tax exemption of municipal bonds, though, and the 5% assumed rate immediately becomes about 7¼% and look how the picture changes: interest alone on a million dollar bond issue amounts to \$72,500, and if \$65,050 is the extent of leeway in the local budget, then the project must be forgotten or cut back to unworkable proportions.

This is the value of tax exemption of municipal bonds to states and local governments, and it is the local taxpayer who is the true beneficiary of the arrangement; not the investor who buys the bonds.

#### FICTITIOUS FAT CAT

But what about this fellow—this fat cat—this parasite who lives off the fat of the land, and who pays no income taxes? We are still more than a little wrought up about him. The mere thought of him outrages our sense of fairness. There has been more than one barn burned down just to get rid of the rats, but in this instance, perhaps we should first try to take a rat census. Just how many rats are there in this picture? Do we know? The answer is, yes.

We start with an examination of those who own all of these \$125 billion state and municipal bonds. Who is the recipient of this tax free interest income? Here are the latest figures available on the subject.

Percent owned of total outstanding	
Class of bondholder:	
Commercial banks	0.38
Individuals and personal trusts	.32
Insurance companies (life, casualty, etc.)	.17
Pension funds, sinking funds and all other	.13

Latest available U.S. Treasury data reflect the fact that there were 155 tax returns filed by individuals in the year 1967 with incomes over \$200,000 on which no income taxes were paid. Of these, there were 21 returns covering incomes over \$1,000,000, but there is no information as to the amount of these incomes which arose from municipal bond interest. Data gathered by the Michigan Survey Research Center<sup>1</sup> indicates that, of persons surveyed in income tax brackets of \$315,000 and more, 65% held some municipal bonds, but only 18% derived as much as 10% of their income from that source and only 6% derived as much as 25% from that source. So it begins to appear that there may not be so very many rats in the barn after all.

But what about these banks and insurance companies which evade income taxes at least on that portion of their income which arises from municipal bond ownership? Go ahead and tax them if you will; it really makes little difference to this type of investor; he merely places a new floor under the investment yield which is acceptable, and he switches to corporate bonds yielding 7½% or he demands municipals which yield that figure.

Who profits from all of this? It is hard to say. Some fast figure artists with the aid of

<sup>1</sup> *Income Distribution and The Federal Income Tax*, Michigan Governmental Studies No. 47, Institute of Public Administration, University of Michigan, 1966, Appendix A.

mirrors and formulae which no one can understand have come forth with the very positive assertion that in the tax exempt bond principle there is a loss to the U.S. Treasury in income taxes of 42% while the states and local government units which issue such bonds realize a benefit of only 25%, thus "proving" a loss to the public in general of 17%.

In the first place, the criteria and procedures which lead to this conclusion are highly questionable; but even if their absolute validity and accuracy could be established, the cold, stark fact remains that when local government loses its right to issue tax exempt bonds, it loses more than dollars. Take away tax exemption, and the entire system of local governmental capital financing in this country will have to be restructured, and the only immediate solution lies in a federal subsidy of some sort.

This, of course, is exactly what the opponents of tax exemption of municipal bonds know, and this is the way it has all been patiently planned. Centralism versus local self-government, this is the real issue in all this propaganda barrage to which the American public is being subjected.

Who is the real beneficiary of the exemption of municipal bond interest from federal income taxes? Every American citizen who pays local taxes or locally imposed user charges for a publicly owned facility. Every American citizen who prizes the right of local self-government and every American citizen who believes in efficiency in government as opposed to suffocation under a heap of red tape. This is the real beneficiary of tax exemption of municipal bonds.

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The historic right of cities and other local governmental units to issue bonds the interest on which is exempt from federal income taxes is threatened as never before by a number of proposals now being considered by Congress.

(There are two proposals which offer a federal subsidy in exchange for waiver by local government of this Constitutional right. The "Municipal Capital Market Expansion Act of 1969" (S. 398 by Proxmire) and the "Urban Development Bank Act of 1969" (S. 405 by Sparkman) each embody this basic principle. Neither of these proposals is acceptable to the National League of Cities nor to the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada. Serious as these may be, however, neither appears to present so dire a threat as proposals now being discussed in the House Ways and Means Committee as a part of the tax-reform package which is currently receiving the attention of that Committee.)

(The Treasury Department proposed something under the last Administration which it called a "minimum individual income tax" which would have included municipal bond interest income. President Nixon has recommended that current tax reform studies exclude municipal bond interest due to the Constitutional questions which become involved, but it appears that his recommendations are being wholly ignored. Instead, a so-called "limit on tax preferences" proposal, conceived by the Treasury to include municipal bond interest, appears to be receiving very earnest consideration by the House Ways and Means Committee in giving highest priority to its tax reform deliberations.)

(Our federal income tax laws are extremely complex, and it is safe to assume that not more than a small fraction of the voters across the country will ever understand the workings of the controversial investment credit and such things as accelerated depreciation over straight-line depreciation on buildings—items which are being much considered in tax reform proposals.)

(But there is one thing that the average voter can understand, and that is the testimony given by officials of the Treasury De-

partment concerning 154 individuals who in the year 1967 had adjusted gross incomes in excess of \$200,000 yet paid no federal income taxes. Unfortunately, the impression was allowed to form that this was accomplished to a large measure through the "tax loop-hole" of municipal bond ownership.

(It is obvious that there is a complete misunderstanding on the part of the general public as to who really benefits from the tax exempt status of municipal bond interest, and it appears that the same may be said of certain members of Congress. The accompanying discussion by Mr. Tinsley is, then, particularly timely.)

Obviously, Mr. Speaker, the cities, schools, special districts, and all agencies that issue bonds—all are extremely concerned over the financial chaos which would result if these bonds lose their tax exemption. These bonds provide the taxpaying citizens services at much lower rates than could be purchased on the open bond market.

It is not tax reform to remove the exemption—it is, in effect, raising taxes. All governmental agencies would have to sell at much higher interest rates.

Virtually all city governments in Texas have endorsed a resolution passed recently by the executive board of the Texas Municipal League. The resolution reads as follows:

**TEXAS MUNICIPAL LEAGUE—A RESOLUTION IN OPPOSITION TO ANY LIMITATION ON THE TAX EXEMPT STATUS OF INTEREST PAID ON MUNICIPAL BONDS**

Whereas, several plans have been proposed in the Congress of the United States which would limit the exempt status for income tax purposes of interest paid on bonds issued by municipalities; and

Whereas, any limitation on tax exemption of interest paid on municipal bonds will result in higher interest rates to be paid by municipal government; and

Whereas, the strength of the American system of government starts with a base of strong local governments, able to solve their own local problems; and

Whereas, any guaranty of a subsidy or rebate by the Federal government to municipal government to absorb the increased interest charges as a result of abolition of the tax exemption in exchange for the surrender of all or a part of such tax exemption will destroy the Constitutional separation of the powers and functions of the Federal government on the one hand and State and local government on the other, and will make local government subservient to the national government in a field which traditionally has belonged to local government; and

Whereas, any limitation on tax exemptions of interest paid on municipal bonds will limit the market for such bonds, handicap municipal government in securing funds for public improvements, and increase the cost of borrowing needed funds for public improvements, thereby increasing the burden on local taxpayers or users of public facilities; now therefore

Be it resolved by the Board of Directors of Texas Municipal League that it express its opposition to any plan by the Congress of the United States that would in any way limit the tax exempt status of interest paid on bonds issued by state or local government; and

Be it further resolved that a copy of this Resolution be forwarded to the United States Senators from Texas, and to each Member of Congress from Texas.

Passed and approved at Austin, Texas, this the 6th day of June, 1969.

ERIK JOHNSON,  
President.

Attest:

S. J. MATTHEWS,  
Executive Director.

Mr. Speaker, this problem is not confined to cities alone, as I have mentioned previously. The Texas Association of School Administrators expressed their alarm in this manner:

Recent news releases and other reports indicate that consideration is being given in Washington to the removal of the Federal income tax exempt status of interest from municipal bonds. I am sure you realize, if such were the case, interest rates would rise and school districts would be severely penalized in obtaining funds for building construction. Any increase in interest rates on school bonds will further increase the heavy burden now being borne by the local taxpayers.

The letter was sent by R. E. Harris, executive director, Texas Association of School Administrators.

In light of this evidence, Mr. Speaker, is removing the tax exemption actually tax reform? I realize there is a strong movement for tax reform, and that municipal bonds may be reviewed as are all other forms of taxation. I do feel, however, that we should be careful not to weaken or eliminate the encouragement to purchase municipal bonds. Whatever is done in this area should be approached with caution, prudence, and common-sense.

**COCKEYSVILLE CITIZENS TO IMPROVE THEIR COMMUNITY**

**HON. CLARENCE D. LONG**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, in my district, Cockeysville is growing rapidly because of the expansion of the neighboring Greater Baltimore Industrial Park and, like all rapidly expanding communities, it is suffering growing pains. Recently the local chamber of commerce developed a plan, endorsed by local merchants and industrial leaders, to organize all persons living, working, or doing business in Cockeysville to assist in improving the Cockeysville community. This plan provides an example for every community in the Nation. I would like to share the following fine proposal for community action with my colleagues:

**NEW APPROACH TO SOLVING COMMUNITY PROBLEMS ANNOUNCED BY COCKEYSVILLE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE**

An ambitious plan to organize all persons who live, work, or do business in Cockeysville to help improve their community was announced today by the Cockeysville Chamber of Commerce.

President Howard Shanklin said, "Cockeysville is changing so rapidly, it is growing so fast, that unless we do something now our community will be destroyed by problems its citizens either ignored or created."

Cockeysville is typical of many little communities throughout the state and nation which are suddenly finding themselves part of the urban sprawl being caused by the population explosion and the exodus of businesses and residents from the central cities.

Located about 14 miles north of Baltimore, Cockeysville is usually thought of as a small strip of buildings along York Road which carries the roadway beneath the Penn Central tracks to Harrisburg. But, that is not all there is to Cockeysville.

Beginning with the move to Cockeysville by the A.A.I. Corporation in 1954, the area has grown rapidly. The Greater Baltimore Industrial Park, between York Road and the Baltimore-Harrisburg expressway opened in 1962, and now includes 40 business residents with 7,000 employees who work in attractive, landscaped facilities. The first of four ten-story office buildings is now occupied and the second is under construction. A 400-room luxury inn will open in the Fall.

"Our area is growing so rapidly," Mr. Shanklin explained, "That some thought must be given to what type of community Cockeysville should be. Fortunately, Cockeysville is not yet fully developed so there is still time to act to guarantee that the area provides for all the needs of its citizens. But we must act quickly! That is why the Cockeysville Chamber of Commerce is taking the lead and calling upon all organized groups in the area to work with us to form a new community-wide effort to preserve Cockeysville's historic past and to plan its exciting future.

"A great deal of thought has gone into this move," Mr. Shanklin explained. "For the past few years, committees from our Chamber of Commerce have worked on many civil improvement projects." He said, "We have tried to preserve the Oregon Ridge-Ivy Hill conservation area, to improve the dangerous traffic congestion along York Road, to eliminate the hazardous flooding of Western Run Creek and we hope to include Cockeysville in the metropolitan mass transit plan. About six months ago, we realized all these community problems were interrelated and we formed a committee, under vice president Robert Carey, to investigate the question of how best to improve Cockeysville.

"This committee has met regularly and has contacted leading citizens, industrial leaders and representatives of government. Everyone agreed something needs to be done. Each offered to help.

"We are now convinced that what is really needed is a plan to unite all of the active, concerned citizens of Cockeysville in a community-wide effort to examine all of our community's problems and to solve them.

"We are not proposing to raise large sums of money to hire private consultants to study our community's needs. We are not proposing that we seek government financing of efforts to improve our community. But, we are suggesting that there are many talented, dedicated people living and working in Cockeysville and that each of them can help improve their community."

The Chamber of Commerce proposal uses the "systems analysis" technique of modern management which has successfully solved a variety of problems, from launching men into space to planning whole new communities like Columbia, Maryland. The basic idea utilized in this technique is to examine all parts of a project and to evaluate the impact a change in one part of the project may have on all other parts of it and whether the changes contribute to accomplishment of the ultimate objective. In this case, the objective is improving Cockeysville.

The Chamber proposal assumes that all community problems are interrelated and are not separate and distinct problems which may be readily solved. The proposal assumes

that each facet of community life, such as transportation, housing, schools, and industrial development are interrelated. For example, this technique explains that a new office building will create more jobs for people who will need homes in which to live, transportation systems over which to travel, schools in which to educate their children and so on.

The Chamber proposal also assumes that the nature of a community's problems is always changing. President Shanklin asked, "Who could have known in 1939 what Cocks-ville would be like in 1969? And who really knows today what Cocks-ville may be like in 1999? Community planning is a never-ending problem. If we were able to solve each community problem we now know of, others would rise to confront us. But, if we create an organization dedicated to helping our community solve its problems, whatever they may be, we may be assured that Cocks-ville will be a better community tomorrow than it is today."

To organize this effort, the Chamber president asks that the leader of each service club, women's club, garden club, church group, social organization, neighborhood improvement association, scout troop, PTA and any other group or individual who may be interested to telephone Mr. Robert P. Carey at the Western Electric Company office in Cocks-ville as soon as possible.

"To get this community-wide effort rolling," Mr. Shanklin added, "Our Chamber of Commerce is now planning a large meeting to invite the leaders of all community group to attend and learn of the latest plans for developments in Cocks-ville and to discuss our proposal for improving the community. This meeting will be held within two months and details will be announced when they are available."

The area included in the Chamber of Commerce proposal is bounded on the south by Padonia Road, on the east by the Loch Raven Reservoir system, on the west by Falls Road and on the north by Shawan Road.

The Cocks-ville Chamber of Commerce has 42 members who employ about 20,000 people. The Chamber is affiliated with the Timonium and Greater Towson Chambers of Commerce.

#### SALUTE TO REGENT A. MATT WERNER

#### HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, recently Mr. A. Matt Werner, of Sheboygan, retired from the board of regents of the University of Wisconsin after 30 consecutive years of service. Mr. Werner retired with the simple explanation that it was time for a younger man to take his place.

In 1939 Mr. Werner, then one of the distinguished leaders of the Democratic Party, was first appointed to the regents by a Republican Governor and has since been reappointed by Governors of both parties.

Mr. Speaker, rarely does the principle of citizen guidance of the great institutions of modern government receive such a strong endorsement as it does in the career of Matt Werner. Such is the case with Mr. Werner, longtime editor and now chairman of the board of the Sheboygan Press.

I am pleased to have the opportunity

to join in saluting Matt Werner's record of service and to include at this point the remarks of A. Matt Werner, "The Regent for 30 Years," and the resolution of commendation adopted by the board of regents:

#### THE REGENT FOR 30 CONSECUTIVE YEARS

(By A. Matt. Werner)

Mr. Gelatt, President Harrington and Members of the Board of Regents:

Under date of March 12, 1969, I wrote Governor Knowles, as follows:

"As you will recall, I advised you some time ago of my desire to terminate my services on the Board of Regents of The University of Wisconsin.

"This, then, is my formal resignation as a University Regent, effective upon your acceptance thereof, which I hope will be soon.

"This is not an easy action for me to take. No concerned Wisconsin citizen can find a more rewarding public service than that found on the Board of Regents. No finer associates can be found than the several outstanding University presidents, their co-workers in administration, and the many Regents with whom it has been my privilege to work. My experience as a Regent has convinced me that no more capable or more dedicated faculty can be found anywhere. It has been a joy to work with all of them in the service of a student body dominated by eager, idealistic, courageous young men and women. So I am grateful for the privilege which has been mine.

"But thirty years of service, starting in 1939, is a long time. So, while this resignation is tendered with more than a bit of regret, I am convinced it is a wise decision. The challenges facing the University are growing in number and in complexity. It is my belief that a younger Regent might well serve the University and the state more adequately.

"Respectfully,

"A. MATT. WERNER."

It might be prudent if my letter to the Governor were to constitute my official farewell to the Board of Regents, the administration and to the pleasant associations which have been mine these past thirty years. But, somehow, my message to the Governor does not and properly should not say all I would like to say on this occasion. So, with your permission, Mr. Chairman, I would like to address myself to you, to those around this table today and those who have sat around this table these past three decades.

The hundreds of Regent and committee meetings, the hundreds of trips, the thousands of telephone calls and letters, the diversity of opinion that has been presented, the occasional controversies that have erupted or merely simmered, the progress that has been made and even the occasional setbacks this board and institution have received—all these meld together today in pride and in confidence.

I repeat there is no finer service to the public in Wisconsin than membership on this Board of Regents and I am proud of the opportunity which has been mine. I am proud of my years of service, of my close association with the fine men and women who through the years have served the University as Regents. I am proud and Wisconsin should be proud of President Harrington, President Emeritus Fred, of Presidents Elvehjem and Dykstra, and all of the great men who preceded them in their difficult role. I am proud of their co-workers in administration—capable, outstanding, dedicated men and women. I am proud of the faculty, of the great scholars, the fine teachers and the eminent researchers who have joined together to make this institution great.

The outstanding Regents with whom I have served have given no thought to political allegiances; they have scorned personal recog-

nition and they have truly been team members seeking only to serve. University administrators have not always chosen easy ways or popular causes but they have, with remarkable fidelity and consistency, advanced the cause of youth and the progress of learning and service. Our governors, our legislators, and our citizens, with un-matched loyalty, vision and understanding, have supported this great institution throughout the years. I am truly proud to have been associated in a small way with this great enterprise.

And, as I said too long ago, I have confidence. I have confidence in our young people. University paths to tomorrow are not always easily discerned or universally understood. Each rising generation, even as yours and mine, has its problems, its challenges and its dilemmas. Higher education, if it is to be true to its trust, must serve the rising generation, even if all of the older generation does not always understand youth or the doubts and questions youth faces. Great institutions, such as this, choose paths and policies not always guaranteed to please all of the youth or fully satisfy their elders. The paths and policies will not be determined as rapidly as some would wish nor as dogmatically as others would prefer. But I have confidence that difficult days, such as we are now experiencing, will result in policies and procedures that will make for a stronger, more capable youth and for a better and more understanding tomorrow. I have that confidence, because I have confidence in the loyalty, the vision, the determination and the courage of all who now have or will in the future have any part in the direction of this great University and because I have confidence in the vast majority of the youth this University seeks to serve.

So, I leave you with pride in the processes which you and I and many others have shared together. I leave you with confidence that The University of Wisconsin in all of its tomorrows will always be one of the world's great universities.

#### RESOLUTION OF THE REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN ON THE RETIREMENT OF REGENT A. MATT. WERNER

Whereas A. Matt. Werner has served The University of Wisconsin as a member of the Board of Regents for an unparalleled thirty consecutive years under appointment from four Wisconsin governors and has been president and vice president of the Board for nearly half of that span of years;

Whereas his sound judgment and perceptive leadership have advanced this institution and its ideals in a manner which has enriched the state's tradition of citizen guidance of the University;

Whereas he has won the respect of scholars in the University community with his commitment to free inquiry, expressed in his 1955 address to graduates when he said, "I have no fear of the outcome of the current war of ideas and ideals which rages throughout the world; we will win, if we maintain our democratic freedom to give voice to our thoughts, and if we continue to provide the means for educating our youth";

Whereas he has been one of Wisconsin's outstanding newspaper publishers and one of its leading examples of service to community, state and nation during a long and fruitful career;

Whereas he has inspired deep affection among his fellow Regents and University officials who have been privileged to share his affable counsel;

Therefore be it resolved: That the Regents of the University of Wisconsin extend to A. Matt. Werner our grateful congratulations, our sincere best wishes for his future, and our common desire that he continue his informal counsel to members of the Board in the years of the future.

INSTALLATION OF BISHOP LEONARD  
IN PITTSBURGH DIOCESE

**HON. JAMES G. FULTON**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

INSTALLATION OF BISHOP LEONARD IN PITTSBURGH DIOCESE

(By Robert Schwartz)

Bishop Vincent M. Leonard will be installed formally as the ninth spiritual leader of Pittsburgh's Catholic Diocese at 11 a.m. Wednesday in St. Paul's Catholic Cathedral, Oakland.

One of the City's "own sons," the 61-year-old prelate will be led to the episcopal chair—symbol of his new responsibility and authority—by Archbishop Luigi Raimondi, the apostolic delegate to the U.S.

DIGNITARIES GUESTS

Bishop Leonard will be surrounded for the brief ceremony by local civic, religious and municipal leaders.

The guest list also will include a score of bishops and archbishops from Pennsylvania and other dignitaries from far and wide.

A quiet and reserved man, Bishop Leonard nonetheless is recognized by both associates within the six-county diocese and friends in the Catholic hierarchy as a capable and efficient administrator.

ORDAINED IN 1935

During the 34 years since he was ordained, June 16, 1935, by the late Bishop Hugh C. Boyle, the new bishop served the Catholic Diocese here in numerous posts where experience seemed to point the way to his new responsibility.

His position as a priest ranged from chaplain of Mercy Hospital and Woodville State Hospital to diocesan chancellor for 16 years and auxiliary bishop since April 21, 1964.

When he was elevated to bishop on June 6, he was serving as pastor of St. Phillip Catholic Church, Crafton, a post he held since 1967.

He now resides at a house on Warrick Terrace in Oakland, where his predecessor, John Cardinal Wright, lived for the last 10 years.

Bishop Leonard already has revised the coat of arms identifying himself and his office.

TWO SHIELDS DEPICTED

The new coat of arms contains the symbol of Pittsburgh Catholic Diocese in a shield on the left side. His own personal coat of arms is on a shield on the right.

His personal shield contains a white or silver heart on a blue background. The heart symbolizes charity and suggests the life of St. Vincent de Paul, the baptismal patron of the bishop and patron of all charitable societies.

Below the heart on the shield is an open book in silver and blazoned on a red background. The book denotes the office of chancellor of the diocese in which Bishop Leonard served.

Bishop Leonard's motto below the coat of arms, "That I may gain Christ," is from St. Paul's letter to the Philippians 3:8 and 9.

The ceremony at which Bishop Leonard officially succeeds Cardinal Wright, now assigned to the Roman Catholic curia in Vatican City, will be both simple and colorful.

BISHOPS LISTED

Bishops expected to attend include Archbishop Coleman Carroll, Miami, Fla., formerly of Pittsburgh; Auxiliary Bishop John B. McDowell of Pittsburgh; Bishop William G.

Connare of Greensboro, long-time friend and associate of Bishop Leonard; Bishop James J. Hogan of Altoona; Bishop Alfred M. Watson of Erie; Bishop Richard H. Ackerman of Covington, Ky.; Bishop John K. Mussio of Steubenville; Bishop Joseph H. Hodges of Wheeling; Auxiliary Bishop Gerald V. McDevitt of Philadelphia; Auxiliary Bishop William M. Cosgrove of Cleveland.

Also Coadjutor Bishop Joseph T. Daly of Harrisburg; Auxiliary Bishop Daniel A. Cronin of Boston; Bishop James W. Malone of Youngstown; Bishop Joseph McShea of Allentown; Bishop George L. Leech of Harrisburg; Auxiliary Bishop Charles B. McLaughlin of Buffalo; Bishop Clarence E. Elwell of Columbus; Bishop Cyril J. Vogel of Salina, Kans., and Bishop Walter W. Curtis of Bridgeport, Conn.

The actual installation ceremony covers little more than 20 minutes. But following it Bishop Leonard will be principal celebrant of a concelebrated mass. A luncheon will follow at Hotel Webster Hall.

Attending the installation will be more than 450 priests and monsignori, nearly 200 mothers superior and sisters, brothers and more than 500 laymen.

KOCISKO TO ATTEND

Archbishop Stephen J. Kocisko of the Byzantine Catholic Diocese of Munhall and Bishop Ambrose Seynshyn of Philadelphia will attend from the Eastern rite of the church.

Representatives of Protestant churches expected to be present include Bishop Robert B. Appleyard of Pittsburgh Episcopal Diocese; the Rev. Dr. William Ruschhaupt, administrative officer of Pittsburgh Presbytery; the Rev. W. Lee Hicks, executive director of the Council of Churches, and the Rev. Howard M. Ravenstahl, pastor of St. Matthew's Lutheran Church, Crafton.

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

**HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to attend the 50th anniversary meeting of the International Labor Organization which was held in Geneva, Switzerland, during the month of June. During the 2 weeks which I attended as an official representative of the U.S. Congress, I had the opportunity to observe first hand the efforts of our Government, business and labor representatives who were in attendance. I feel that the United States had excellent representation at all levels.

Mr. George L. P. Weaver, our Assistant Secretary of State, did a fine job in heading the American delegation. My only criticism would not be personal but a general one. I always feel that the United States is too much on the defensive at this meeting just as it is in our overall foreign policy. We should spend more of our time telling of our great system.

The ILO has grown to 121 states. As in other aspects of our foreign policy, there is the continual struggle between the Communist and the free world nations, between the industrialized powers and the emerging nations. The ILO debates represented a microcosm of the world

debates on every scale including the Arab-Israeli confrontation and the Asian and African bloc voting patterns. The Communists use this forum as they use every other forum to attack the United States.

Their criticisms were somewhat softened this year since the invasion of Czechoslovakia has put them more on the defensive and made them more vulnerable.

Inasmuch as this was the 50th anniversary meeting, many heads of state were in attendance as well as Labor ministers from many nations. Our own Secretary of Labor, George Shultz, attended. Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia spoke.

Probably the high point of the entire conference came on Tuesday, June 10 when his Holiness Pope Paul VI addressed the ILO delegates. The Pope gave a very warm and inspiring address which I insert in the RECORD at this point:

ADDRESS BY HIS HOLINESS POPE PAUL VI

(Interpretation from French)

Mr. President, Mr. Director-General, Gentlemen, it is an honour and a joy for Us to participate officially in this Assembly in the solemn hour at which the International Labour Organisation celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation. Why are We here? We do not belong to this international organism. We are extraneous to the specific questions which have here their offices of study and halls of discussion, and Our spiritual mission is not intended to intervene in matters outside its proper domain. If we are here, it is in order to respond to the invitation which you, Mr. Director-General, so kindly addressed to Us. And We are happy to thank you publicly, to tell you how highly We appreciate this very courteous gesture, how greatly We consider its importance, and how valuable its significance appears to Us.

Without any particular competence in the technical discussions of the defence and promotion of human labour, We are nevertheless no stranger to this great cause of labour, which constitutes your raison d'être and to which you dedicate your energies.

From its very first page the Bible, of which We are the messenger, shows us creation as the result of the work of the Creator,<sup>1</sup> handed over to the work of His creature, whose intelligent efforts must exploit it and perfect it, as it were, by humanising it in his service.<sup>2</sup> Hence, according to the divine idea, work is the normal activity of man,<sup>3</sup> and enjoying and rejoicing in its fruits is a gift of God,<sup>4</sup> since each is quite naturally rewarded according to his works.<sup>5</sup>

On all these pages of the Bible, labour appears as a fundamental datum of the human condition, to the extent that, when He became one of us,<sup>6</sup> the Son of God also and at the same time became a worker, and was naturally referred to in His entourage by the profession of his family: Jesus was known as "the son of the carpenter".<sup>7</sup> The labour of man thereby acquired the highest imaginable titles of nobility, and you have ensured their presence, in the place of honour at the headquarters of your Organisation, in that admirable fresco by Maurice Denis, dedicated to the dignity of work, in which Christ brings the Good News to the workers who surround Him, who are themselves also sons of God and brothers to each other.

Though it is not for Us to evoke the history of the birth and growth of your Organisation, yet We cannot pass over in silence, in this hospitable land, the work of pioneers such as

Footnotes at end of article.

Bishop Mermillod and the Union of Fribourg, the admirable example given by the Protestant industrialist Daniel le Grand, and the fruitful initiatives of the Catholic, Gaspard Decurtins, which was the first germ of an international conference on labour. And how could We forget, Gentlemen, that on the fortieth anniversary of Leo XIII's Encyclical on the condition of labour your first Director desired to render homage to "the tenacious workers for social justice, among them those who based themselves on the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*".<sup>9</sup> And the officials of the International Labour Office, when drawing up the balance in *The International Labour Organisation: The First Decade*, did not hesitate to recognise that the great movement which was originated in the Roman Catholic Church by the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* of 1891 has proved extremely fruitful".<sup>9</sup>

The sympathy of the Church towards your Organisation, and for the whole world of labour, was unceasingly manifested from then on, most particularly in Pius XI's Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*<sup>10</sup> in Pius XII's address to the Governing Body of the International Labour Office,<sup>11</sup> and in the Encyclical *Mater et Magistra* where John XXIII expressed his "heartfelt appreciation to the International Labour Organisation, which . . . has been making its effective and precious contribution to the establishment in the world of a socio-economic order marked by justice and humanity, and one in which the lawful demands of the workers are recognised and defended."<sup>12</sup> We Ourselves had the pleasure of promulgating, at the close of the Vatican Ecumenical Council, the Pastoral Constitution *Gaudium et Spes* prepared by the bishops of the whole world. In it, the Church reaffirms the value of "the monumental amount of individual and collective effort," and also the primacy of the labour of men over "the other elements of economic life, for the latter have only the nature of tools," together with the inalienable rights and the duties which such a principle requires.<sup>13</sup> Finally, Our Encyclical *Populorum Progressio* took pains to make all aware that "the social question has become world-wide," with resultant consequences for the integral and united development of peoples, that development which "is the new name for peace."<sup>14</sup>

In other words, We are an attentive observer of the work you accomplish here, and more than that, a fervent admirer of the activity you carry on, and also a collaborator who is happy to have been invited to celebrate with you the existence, functions, achievements and merits of this world institution, and to do so as a friend. Nor do We wish to omit on this solemn occasion the other international institutions of Geneva, starting with the Red Cross, since they are all well-deserving and laudable institutions to which We are glad to extend Our respectful greetings and Our fervent good wishes.

To Us, Who belong to an institution exposed to the wear of time for two thousand years, the fifty years untiringly dedicated to the International Labour Organisation are a source of fruitful mediation. Everyone knows that such long duration is a singular fact in the history of our century. The inevitable precariousness of human affairs, made even more evident and voracious by the acceleration of modern civilisation, has not shaken your institution; to its ideal We wish to render homage, namely, "universal and lasting peace, based on social justice"<sup>15</sup>. The ordeal of the disappearance of the League of Nations, to which it was organically bound, and the fact of the birth of the United Nations on another continent, far from taking away its *raison d'être*, provided it rather with the opportunity, by means of the well-

known Declaration of Philadelphia twenty-five years ago, to confirm and better define them, rooting them more deeply in the reality of society's progress. "All human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity"<sup>16</sup>.

We rejoice with all Our heart and together with you on the vitality of your fifty-year-old but still young institution, ever since its birth by the Peace Treaty of Versailles in 1919. Who can recount the work, the toll, the night watches so fruitful in courageous decisions and beneficial to all workers as well as for the life of mankind, performed by all those who with great merit dedicated their talent and activity to this work? Among all of these, We cannot omit to mention the first Director, Mr. Albert Thomas, and his present successor, Mr. David Morse. Nor can We pass over in silence that at their request, and almost from the very beginning, a priest has always been included among those who constituted, constructed, sustained and served this outstanding institution. We are grateful to all for the work they have accomplished, and We express the wish that it may happily continue its complex and difficult mission which is truly providential for the greater good of modern society.

Those better informed than We are can say how great is the sum of the activities of the International Labour Organisation during fifty years of existence, how imposing the results achieved by its 128 Conventions and its 132 Recommendations.

Yet how can one omit to emphasize the primordial and capitally important fact manifested by this impressive documentation? Here—and this is a decisive event in the history of civilisation—here the labour of man is considered as worthy of fundamental interest. It was not always thus, as is well known, during the already long history of mankind. One may recall the ancient concept of labour,<sup>17</sup> the disrepute it implied, the slavery it involved—that horrible plague of slavery which, unfortunately, must be recognised as not yet having entirely disappeared from the face of the earth. The modern concept, of which you are the heralds and defenders, is completely different. It is based on a fundamental principle which Christianity, on its part, has singularly illuminated, viz., in labour, it is man who comes first. Whether he be an artist or an artisan, contractor, peasant or worker, manual or intellectual, it is man who works, it is for man that he works. An end has been put to the priority of labour over the labourer, to the supremacy of technical and economic necessities over human needs. Never again will work be superior to the worker, never again will work be against the worker; but always work will be for the worker, work will be in the service of man, of all men and of all of man.

How can an observer avoid being impressed by seeing that this concept has been defined at the theoretically least favourable moment for the affirmation of the primacy of the human factor over the product of work, at the moment of the progressive introduction of the machine which multiplies inordinately the output of labour and tends to take its place?

In an abstract vision of things, the work now accomplished by the machine and its energies, which are no longer supplied by the arm of man but by the formidable forces of tamed nature should, in the judgement of the modern world, so predominate as to eliminate concern for the labourer, who will often be freed from the extenuating and humiliating weight of a physical effort out of all proportion to his limited output. But this has not occurred. At the very moment of the triumph of technology and its

gigantic effects on economic production, it is man who draws upon himself the concentrated attention of the philosopher, the sociologist and the politician. For in the final analysis there are no true riches but the riches of man. Now it is evident to all that the introduction of technique into the process of human activities would be to the detriment of man, if man did not always remain its master, and dominate its evolution. If "one must recognise in all justice the irreplaceable contribution made by the organisation of labour and by the progress of industry to what development has accomplished",<sup>18</sup> still you recognise better than anyone else the evil results of what has been called the fragmentation of labour in contemporary industrial society.<sup>19</sup> Instead of helping man become more of a man it dehumanises him; instead of expanding him, it stifles him under a cloak of heavy boredom. Work thus becomes ambivalent, and its organisation may easily depersonalise the one who performs it, if he becomes its slave, addicates his intelligence and freedom, and even loses his dignity thereby.<sup>20</sup> Who does not see that work, which gives rise to marvellous fruits when it is truly creative, can also,<sup>21</sup> when caught up in the cycle of arbitrary will, injustice, rapacity and violence, become a real social scourge, as is attested by those labour camps, organised as institutions, which have been the shame of the civilised world.

Who can describe the sometimes terrible drama of the modern labourer, torn between his double destiny as a grandiose accomplisher, too often the prey of the intolerable sufferings of a miserable proletarian condition, in which the lack of food is allied with social degradation to create a state of real insecurity, both personal and family? You have understood this. It is labour as a human, prime and fundamental fact which constitutes the vital root of your Organisation and makes it into a magnificent tree, which extends its branches throughout the whole world because of its international character, a tree which is the honour of our times, with an ever fertile root which nourishes it in continual organic activity. It is that same root which forbids you to favour particular interests and places you in the service of the common good. It constitutes your special genius and its fecundity; that of intervening always and everywhere to supply remedies for labour conflicts, avert them if possible, give spontaneous aid to victims, work out new protection against new dangers, improve the conditions of workers while respecting the objective equilibrium of real economic possibilities, struggle against any form of segregation which gives birth to inferiority for whatsoever motive, whether slavery, caste, race, religion or class—in a word, to defend for all and against all, the freedom of all labourers, and secure lasting victory for the ideal of brotherhood among men, who are all equal in dignity.

Such is your vocation. Your action is based, not on an unavoidable and implacable struggle between those who supply work and those who execute it, nor on the partiality of those who defend interests and functions. On the contrary, it is a freely organised and socially disciplined and organic participation in the responsibilities and in the profits of work. It has a single aim: not money, not power, but the good of man. It is more than an economic concept, it is better than a political concept: it is a moral and human concept which inspires you, namely social justice, to be built up, day by day, freely and of common accord. Discovering ever more completely whatever the good of labourers requires, you make others aware of it little by little, and propose it to all as an ideal. More than this, you translate it into new rules of social conduct, which impose themselves as norms of law. Thus you ensure a

permanent passage from the ideal order of principles to the juridical order, that is, to positive law. In a word, you gradually refine and improve the moral conscience of mankind. This is an arduous and delicate task, indeed, but it is so lofty and so necessary, and calls on the collaboration of all true friends of man. How then could We not give it Our adherence and Our support?

Along your way, obstacles to be removed and difficulties to be surmounted will not be lacking. But you have foreseen this, and it is to confront them that you have recourse to an instrument and a method which could, of themselves, suffice as an *apologia* for your institution. Your original and organic instrument is to bring together the three forces at work in the human dynamics of modern labour: men of government, employers, and workers. And your method, now a typical example, is to harmonise these three forces, so that they do not oppose each other, but combine "in a courageous and fecund collaboration",<sup>22</sup> by means of constant dialogue, for the study and solution of ever renewed and unceasingly arising problems.

This excellent modern concept fully deserves to replace once and for all that concept which has unfortunately dominated our epoch, emphasising an efficiency sought through agitation which too often gave rise to new sufferings and ruins, thus risking the loss rather than the consolidation of the results obtained at the price of sometimes dramatic struggles. It must be solemnly proclaimed: labour conflicts cannot be remedied by artificially imposed conditions which fraudulently deprive the worker and the whole social community of their first and inalienable human prerogative, which is freedom. Nor can they be remedied by solutions which result solely from the free play—as it is called—of the determinism of economic factors. Such remedies may indeed have an appearance of justice, but they do not possess its human reality. It is only when the deepest reasons of these conflicts are understood, and the just claims they express are satisfied, that you can avert their dramatic explosion and avoid its ruinous consequences. Let us repeat, in the words of Albert Thomas: "The social factor must take precedence over the economic factor; it must regulate and guide it, in the highest cause of justice."<sup>23</sup> That is why the International Labour Organisation appears today, in that closed arena of the modern world in which interests and ideologies are dangerously opposed, like an open road towards a better future for mankind. Perhaps more than any other institution, you can contribute to this, quite simply, by being actively and inventively true to your ideal: universal peace through social justice.

It is for this reason that We have come here, to give you Our encouragement and Our agreement, to invite you also to persevere tenaciously in your mission of justice and peace, to assure you of Our humble but sincere fellowship. For it is the peace of the world which is at stake, and the future of mankind. This future can only be built up by peace among all the human families at work, between classes and peoples, a peace which rests upon an ever more perfect justice among all men.<sup>24</sup>

In this stormy hour of mankind's history, full of peril but also filled with hope, it is in large measure for you, to build justice and thus to ensure peace. No, Gentlemen, do not think that your task is ended; on the contrary, it daily becomes more urgent. How many and what terrible evils, how many deficiencies, abuses, injustices, sufferings, laments, still rise up from the world of labour! Allow Us in your presence to act as interpreter of all those who suffer unjustly, who are unworthily exploited, outrageously

scorned in body and soul, debased by a degrading work systematically willed, organised and imposed upon them. Hear this cry of sorrow which still rises up from suffering humanity!

Struggle, courageously and untiringly, against the abuses which are ever reborn, the injustices ever renewed; induce particular interests to submit to the wider vision of the common good; adapt older provisions to new needs, develop new provisions, urge nations to ratify them; and take the means to ensure their respect; for it must be repeated that "it would be vain to proclaim rights, if at the same time every means were not taken to ensure the duty of expecting them, respect by everyone, at all times and for all men."<sup>25</sup>

We assume to add this: It is against himself that you must defend man, for man is threatened with becoming only a part of himself, with being reduced, as has been said, to one dimension only.<sup>26</sup> At all costs he must be prevented from becoming only the mechanised servant of a blind machine which devours the best of himself, or of a State tempted to subject all energies to its service alone. It is man that you must protect, man carried away by the formidable forces which he unleashes and, as it were, swallowed up by the gigantic progress of his work, man swept along by the irresistible current of his inventions and, as it were, stunned by the growing contrast between the prodigious increase of the goods at his disposal, and their distribution, so easily made unjustly, between man and between peoples. The myth of Prometheus casts its disquieting shadow over the drama of our times, when the conscience of man is falling to raise itself up to the level of his activity, and to assume its serious responsibilities, faithful to the design of God's love for the world. Have we forgotten the lesson of the tragic story of the Tower of Babel, when the conquest of nature by men forgetful of God was accompanied by the disintegration of human society?<sup>27</sup>

Overcoming all the destructive forces of contestation and babelisation, it is the city of men which must be built up, a city of which the sole durable cement is fraternal love between races and peoples as well as between classes and generations. Through those conflicts which rend our era it is not so much a claim to have as a lawful desire to be which is ever more strongly affirmed.<sup>28</sup> For fifty years you have woven an ever closer fabric of juridical rules which protect the labour of men, women and youth, ensuring its proper remuneration. Now you must take steps to ensure the organic participation of all labourers, not only in the fruits of their labour, but also in the economic and social responsibilities upon which their future and the future of their children depend.<sup>29</sup>

You must also ensure the participation of all peoples in the building of the world, and take thought now for the less favoured, just as yesterday your first care was for the least favoured social categories. This means that your legislative work must continue boldly and strike out resolutely along new paths, to guarantee the mutual right of peoples to their integral development and enable in each instance "all peoples to become the artisans of their destiny."<sup>30</sup> This challenge is made to you today, at the dawn of the second Development Decade. It is for you to take it up. It is for you to take the decisions which will avert the disappointment of such great hopes, which will also disarm the temptations of destructive violence. You must express in rules of law that solidarity which is becoming ever more definite in the consciences of men. Just as, yesterday, you guaranteed by your legislation the protection and survival of the weak against the power of the strong—for, as Lacordaire said long ago, "Between the strong and the weak, it is freedom which oppresses and law which sets free"<sup>31</sup>—so now

and henceforth you must master the rights of strong peoples, and favour the development of weak peoples, by creating the conditions, not only theoretical but practical, of a real international law of labour, as between the peoples. Like each man, so too each people must be able by its work to develop itself, to grow in humanity, to pass from less humane conditions to more humane ones.<sup>32</sup> For this, appropriate conditions and means are necessary, and a common will, and your Conventions, freely worked out between governments, workers and employers could and should progressively provide the proper expression. Several specialised organizations are already at work to construct this great edifice. It is upon this path that you must advance.

In other words, even though technical arrangements are indispensable, yet they cannot bear fruit without an awareness of the universal common good which animates and inspires research and sustains efforts, without this ideal which urges all to rival each other in building a world of brotherhood. This world of tomorrow will have to be built up by the youth of today, but it is up to you to prepare them for this. Many of them receive insufficient training, and have no real possibility of learning a trade and finding work. Many, too, fulfill tasks which have no meaning for them, and the monotonous repetition of which may indeed secure profit for them, but cannot suffice to give them a reason for living, to satisfy their lawful aspiration to take their place as men in society. Who can ignore, in rich countries, their anxiety at the invasion of technocracy, their rejection of a society which has not succeeded in integrating them into itself; and, in poor countries their lament that, for lack of sufficient training and fitting means, they cannot make their generous contribution towards the tasks which confront them? In the present changing world, their protest resounds like a cry of suffering and an appeal for justice. Amid the crisis which shakes modern civilisation, the expectation of youth is anxious and impatient: let us strive to open up for them the paths of the future, and offer them useful tasks and prepare them for their performance. There is so much to be done in this domain. However, you are well aware of this, and We congratulate you on having included in the programme of your 53rd Session the study of special youth employment and training schemes for development purposes.<sup>33</sup>

A vast programme, Gentlemen, and worthy of arousing your enthusiasm and galvanising all your energy, in the service of that great cause which is yours—and also Ours—the cause of man. In this peaceful combat, the disciples of Christ intend to take part with all their heart. For, if it is important that all human forces work together for this promotion of man, then the spirit must be put in the place proper to it, in the first place, because the Spirit is Love. Is this not clear? This work of construction surpasses the strength of man alone. But, as the Christian knows, he is not alone with his brothers in this work of love, of justice and of peace, in which he sees the preparation and pledge of that eternal city which he awaits from the grace of God. Man is not left to himself in a lonely crowd. The city of men which he is building is that of a family of brothers, of children of the same Father, sustained in their efforts by a strength which animates and supports them, the force of the Spirit; a mysterious but real strength, not magic, nor totally unknown to our experience, both historical and personal, for it has expressed itself in human words. And its voice resounds more clearly than elsewhere in this house, which is open to the sufferings and cares of labourers, as well as to its achievements and its marvellous attainments; it is a voice whose ineffable echo unceasingly arouses, today as

Footnotes at end of article.

it did yesterday and ever will, the hope of men at work: "Come to me, all who labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest"; "Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be satisfied."<sup>24</sup>

## FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Gen., 2, 7.
- <sup>2</sup> Gen. 1, 29, *Populorum Progressio*, No. 22.
- <sup>3</sup> Ps. 104, 23; Eccl. 7, 15.
- <sup>4</sup> Eccl. 5, 18.
- <sup>5</sup> Ps. 62, 13 and 128, 2; Mt. 16, 27; I Cor. 15, 58; II Thess. 3, 10.
- <sup>6</sup> Jn. 1, 14.
- <sup>7</sup> Mt. 13, 55.
- <sup>8</sup> Quoted by A. Le Roy: *Catholicisme social et Organisation Internationale du Travail* (Paris, Spes, 1937), p. 16.
- <sup>9</sup> *The International Labour Organisation: The First Decade* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1931), p. 359.
- <sup>10</sup> *Quadragesimo Anno*, 15 May 1931, No. 24.
- <sup>11</sup> Address of Pius XII to the Governing Body of the ILO of 19 Nov. 1954.
- <sup>12</sup> *Mater et Magistra*, 15 May 1961, No. 103.
- <sup>13</sup> *Pastoral Constitution Gaudium et Spes*, 7 Dec. 1965, Nos. 34, 67 and 68.
- <sup>14</sup> *Populorum Progressio*, 26 Mar. 1967, Nos. 3 and 76.
- <sup>15</sup> Constitution of the International Labour Organisation, Preamble.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Annex, II (a).
- <sup>17</sup> See, for example, Cicero: *De Officiis* 1, 42.
- <sup>18</sup> *Populorum Progressio*, No. 26.
- <sup>19</sup> Cf. G. Friedmann: *Où va le travail humain* (Paris, Gallimard, 1950) and *idem, The Anatomy of Work, The Implications of Specialisation* (translated by W. Rawson) (London, Heinemann, 1961).
- <sup>20</sup> *Mater et Magistra*, No. 83; *Populorum Progressio*, No. 28.
- <sup>21</sup> Cf. Ex. 1, 8-14.
- <sup>22</sup> Address of Pius XII to the Governing Body of the ILO, 19 Nov. 1954.
- <sup>23</sup> *The International Labour Organisation: The First Decade*, op. cit. Preface, p. XII.
- <sup>24</sup> Cf. *Pacem in Terris; Populorum Progressio*, No. 76.
- <sup>25</sup> Message to the International Conference on Human Rights, Teheran, 15 Apr. 1968.
- <sup>26</sup> Cf. H. Marcuse: *One-Dimensional Man: Studies on the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (Boston, Beacon Press, 1964).
- <sup>27</sup> Gen. 11, 1-9.
- <sup>28</sup> *Populorum Progressio*, Nos. 1 and 8.
- <sup>29</sup> Cf. *Gaudium et Spes*, No. 68.
- <sup>30</sup> *Populorum Progressio*, No. 65.
- <sup>31</sup> 52nd Conférence de Notre-Dame, Lent, 1848, in *Oeuvres*, of Fr. Lacordaire (Paris, Pousielgue, 1872), Vol. IV, p. 494.
- <sup>32</sup> Cf. *Populorum Progressio*, Nos. 15 and 20.
- <sup>33</sup> ILO: *Special Youth Employment and Training Schemes for Development Purposes*, Report VIII (1), International Labour Conference, 53rd Session, Geneva, 1969 (Geneva, 1968).
- <sup>34</sup> Mt. 11, 28 and 5, 10.

OPERATING ENGINEERS CONDUCT  
OUTSTANDING JOB-TRAINING  
PROGRAM

HON. GUS YATRON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, I should like to commend today an exemplary job-training program conducted by Pennsylvania's International Union of Operating Engineers. The 6-month pro-

gram—Operation Ben Franklin—was conceived and initiated by my good friend Jim Longacre, executive director of the union's State council. Project Director Carl Nygard of IUOE Local 542 and his assistant, Harvey Underwood of Local 66, deserve further credit for making the project work.

Operation Ben Franklin trained 85 men, drawn largely from black communities throughout Pennsylvania, to operate the heavy equipment utilized by the construction industry. Presently well-qualified to run bulldozers, core drillers, graders and other heavy equipment, these 85 men were granted the opportunity to break the fetters that had bound them to economic vicissitudes. They took advantage of the opportunity and as a result have immeasurably broadened their life's perspectives.

I am attaching for publication in today's RECORD an article written by Jere Gabrielle for the New Era which further describes Operation Ben Franklin:

[From the New Era, June 4, 1969]

OPERATING ENGINEERS' TRAINEE PROJECT CITED  
(By Jere Gabrielle)

On Wednesday, May 28 we were assembled on the second floor of the administration building at the Resica Falls Boy Scout Reservation in the Pocono Mountains of Pennsylvania. It was the final briefing for the instructors on the project known as Operation Ben Franklin. The men were listening to the words of James Longacre, executive director of the Pennsylvania State Council, International Union of Operating Engineers.

"I want to thank all of you for a terrific, amazing job," said Jim. "You've overcome some very tough problems. You deserve 90 per cent of the credit for the accomplishments here. We've done something that has never been done before. We've blazed a trail through the whole construction industry and the building trades. I'll be glad to have you all back on board if you are needed again."

That speech pretty nearly sums up a project that Robert Bartlett, Pa. Secretary of Highways cited as "visible testimony that equal employment opportunity programs can indeed succeed and meet the goals of society."

I first met Jim Longacre in Reading, Pa., back in the middle of April when he unfolded to me the story of Operation Ben Franklin. He is a man with boundless energy, a keen judge of people, a deep desire to help his fellow man and, most of all, a man with the guts and durability to battle the intricacies of governmental bureaus and personnel in order to consummate a project in which he truly believes with every ounce of muscle in his body.

Operation Ben Franklin is the story of human beings who, given an opportunity, have lifted themselves from the depths of despair and deprivation . . . from patterns of life that offered no possible economic or social horizons . . . to future wage-earning, tax-paying, solvent citizens of the commonwealth.

Those who record the history of the labor movement in the field of human relations will certainly include Operation Ben Franklin as a landmark of progress in the scheme of the social order.

The operating engineers are the rugged guys who man the big equipment in the construction industry . . . the dozers, pans, backhoes, core-drillers, graders and the like. In 1968 both the union and the construction companies were losing contracts and jobs

because they could not supply sufficient numbers of journeymen to comply with the affirmative action and equal opportunity laws. There were no men and there was no training program. At this critical point Jim Longacre stepped into the breach.

He formulated a training program that guaranteed trained men to bolster the sagging personnel which, in turn, would benefit the union and the contractors and, at the same time, would conform to the equal employment opportunity problem facing the industry.

With the zeal of a man on a sacred mission he convinced State Secretary of Highways Robert G. Bartlett and Secretary of Community Affairs Joseph W. Barr of the feasibility of his plan. He was backed by Robert Walsh, IUOE Local 542 business manager and Ray Drew, his counterpart in Local 66 plus Howard Minckler, Executive Secretary, Eastern Pennsylvania Contractors Assn.

State and federal monies were allocated. Men were quickly assembled as instructors. Equipment was leased or purchased. All phases were "go" . . . and then Jim Longacre hit a snag. The locale chosen for the project was not approved. Time was running out.

A staunch American institution came to the rescue. Jack Stein, Director of Camping, Valley Forge Council, Boy Scouts of America saw the possibilities and arranged for the use of a 4,300 acre tract in the Pocono Mountains as the local for the project. Jim Longacre jumped at the chance. He was "in business" again.

In December 1968 the Resica Falls Boy Scout Reservation near Marshalls Creek, Pa., became a bustling training camp where men, selected on a statewide basis from the hard-core minorities of Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Erie, Reading and Harrisburg, began to assemble. They were largely from the black communities. The winter air was filled with the rumble and growl of the big Diesels and Operation Ben Franklin was under way. Jim Longacre's dream was now a reality.

Carl Nygard, Project Director and member of IUOE Local 542 over 20 years, an experienced, tough, yet compassionate handler of men, assembled a staff of efficient instructors. Harvey Underwood, Local 66, became his second in command. The staff included such men as Frank Woods, Reading, Pa., Local 542 and a top-flight grader operator. Others who had spent most of their lives jockeying the big equipment, gave up big paying jobs to come to Resica Falls as part of Jim Longacre's team.

James Jefferson, a former employe of the State Highway Department, was Office Manager and Administrator. Because he never hesitated to help the trainees with their domestic, economic and social problems he soon became a sort of "father-confessor."

As winter gave way to spring the trainees were well on their way to fitting into the particular niches for which they showed talent. Some had dropped out. Others were phased out for various reasons.

Learning to operate this big equipment is not a task for the timid or the weak. I rode in one of the big pans mounted on nine-foot wheels. It was a short ride. It was enough for me. I quickly developed a profound respect for the men who drive them.

Charles Merrill, who drove me around the project in a bouncing, bucking jeep, came to the program from Somerset, Pa. In five months he learned to operate a pan, a dozer and a front-end loader. He is married and the father of four children. What did he think of the program? "It's terrific," he said. "Any guy who doesn't cut the mustard is missing a golden opportunity."

The story is pretty much the same with all the trainees. The opportunity was there. They took it. They made it work. They read the slogan of Operation Ben Franklin, "The

man who masters a trade, creates an estate." They believed.

On Wednesday, May 21, the 85 trainees assembled at Fernwood Lodge for graduation exercises. Telegrams of congratulations came from Governor Raymond Shafer and Joseph W. Barr, James Longacre said, "This program will be watched throughout the labor movement and the nation. It is the finest example of a good training program in the country today."

Reece Hammond, IUOE Director of Research and Education, pointed out that radicals condemn society for not caring. "Let them come and see this," he stated, "because here the picture they paint of a repressive society is proved to be dead wrong."

By June 6 the 85 trainees who made Jim Longacre's dream come true will be working at construction jobs in various parts of the state. They will have journeyman ratings and get journeyman's wages.

What was accomplished at Resica Falls aside from the training? Jack Stejn of the Valley Forge Boy Scout Council will tell you that they built a 37-acre lake, 110-foot suspension bridge, fire roads, repaired existing roads, erected a 15,000-gallon water tank, built a rifle and archery range, a baseball field and a huge garbage pit, pole lines for electricity and moved 6,000 yards of land fill.

The total value of improvements to the Boy Scout camp is estimated at \$1.5 million.

The program included a General Education Development Course taught by two ex-Peace Corpsmen. GED diplomas were given to 22 of the men.

James Longacre now directs his attention to new horizons. A re-training program, a follow-up on each trainee and, hopefully, another phase of Operation Ben Franklin.

## THE CHANGING CITY

### HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the greatest challenge to the United States in the seventies will be fought in our decaying cities.

New York City, like every major city in the United States, is plagued with problems. As the Nation's largest city, New York City faces crises of seemingly insurmountable size. New York City's difficulties while far from unique, are most easily recognized. For this reason, I feel that a close examination of the ills that beset her could prove universally beneficial.

The New York Times recently published an excellent eight-part series on the conflicting demands and resulting conflicts in New York City. Entitled, "The Changing City," this series reports on welfare and the budget, hospitals and health, crime, the physical environment, housing, education, race relations, and the limits of government power.

I include in the RECORD the articles which comprise the eight-part series: "The Changing City: A Financial Paradox," by Richard Phalon and Michael Stern, June 1, 1969; "The Changing City: A Medical Challenge," by Martin Tolchin, June 2, 1969; "The Changing City: Crime on the Rise," by David Burnham, June 3, 1969; "The Changing

City: Tide of Pollution," by Peter Milones and Murray Schumach, June 4, 1969; "The Changing City: Housing Paralysis," by David K. Shipler, June 5, 1969; "The Changing City: School Turmoil," by Fred M. Hechinger, June 6, 1969; "The Changing City: Social Tensions," by Sylvan Fox, June 7, 1969; and "The Changing City: Power Is Limited," by Richard Reeves, June 8, 1969.

The New York Times reporters who prepared the series have presented very thorough and insightful examinations of critical problems confronting the city. Their analysis should be helpful in making clear not only the complexities but the urgency of the urban crisis. I urge my colleagues to read the series, which follows:

[From the New York Times, June 1, 1969]

#### THE CHANGING CITY: A FINANCIAL PARADOX

(By Richard Phalon and Michael Stern)

(NOTE.—New York, like every major city in the nation, is being strained by new social and economic forces. With pressure for change, the tax burden and violence all growing, New York has been searching for solutions to accommodate conflicting demands and improve the quality of life for all.

(Reporters for The New York Times have gone to leading officials of the city, state and Federal governments, to the students, the teachers, the racial and union leaders, the citizens who pay the taxes, for their views.

(Their reports—on welfare and the budget, hospitals and health, crime, the physical environment, housing, education, race and class relations and the limits of government power—are in an eight-part series beginning today.)

New York, says Budget Director Frederick O'R. Hayes, is a "city of two faces, a combination of affluence and municipal poverty."

On its affluent side, the city has never had it so good. The glass and steel of more than \$1.5-billion worth of new office construction is being bolted into place; retail sales are pounding along at the rate of more than \$12.7-billion a year; Wall Street is all capital gains; more than 70,000 jobs have been added to the work force in the last year alone; unemployment is at an all-time low.

Yet there is evidence of municipal poverty in the explosive growth of the welfare rolls—chilling evidence because their growth reflects society's failure to nurse more than 1 million blighted lives into the mainstream of its economy; chilling because their growth has compounded the city's chronic budget problems and forced it to reallocate money that might otherwise have gone into cleaner streets, cleaner air, better schools and better hospitals.

The streets will continue to be littered and the air contaminated despite the fact that the city's operating budget will reach \$6.6-billion next year—more money than is spent by either the state of California or the state of New York; more money than any Federal budget before Franklin D. Roosevelt's first term.

"Municipal poverty" and a \$6.6-billion budget? How can the two be squared?

"In the paradox of this city's wealth and its municipal finances, nothing is mutually exclusive," Mr. Hayes says "We're going broke on \$6.6-billion a year."

Moreover, to a large extent the city is molded by a myriad of forces beyond its control—the birth rate, the uncertainties of the Vietnam war, technological developments that simultaneously improve and retard the urban environment, and even out-of-state elections that send to Congress men unat-

tuned to or unsympathetic with the urban crisis.

Added to this is a welfare and antipoverty effort that has proliferated from 10.8 per cent of the budget in 1963 to 26.6 per cent now and the following factors:

The growing union militancy of the city's 354,600 employees who have come away from the bargaining table with sizable gains and pushed labor costs to 60 per cent of the budget.

The ambitious spectrum of services the city provides—a tuition-free university and a hospital system, for instance—that elsewhere are either paid for entirely by state government or privately run.

A "balance of payments" problem that is widening because of the growing number of high-salary commuters who make their money here but pay most of their taxes in the suburbs.

The \$16.2-billion worth of property here—36 per cent of total valuations—that is exempt from the real-estate tax because it serves religious, educational, charitable or government purposes.

A comparatively inelastic tax structure that leaves the city vulnerable to inflation and a complicated tangle of relationships with the state and Federal governments that makes it difficult for the city to retain a larger share of the enormous wealth it generates.

#### TAKES UP, SERVICE DOWN

What all this means for, say, the average householder in Queens is that he must pay higher taxes, but must wait longer to have the pothole in his street repaired, continue to suffer a street-cleaning operation that one city official concedes to be "worse than five years ago," have his children attend improperly maintained schools and see the parks in his neighborhood continue to deteriorate.

The city bears roughly only 30 per cent of all welfare payments (the Federal and state governments absorb the rest), but its tax revenues simply have not grown fast enough to meet the needs of the poor and at the same time keep pace with its other, more traditional services.

The pressures have forced a significant shift in the city's spending mix.

A comparison of the average shares going to vital services in the period of 1963 through fiscal 1966 and in fiscal 1967 through next year's projection shows the following: public schools dropped from 26 per cent of the budget to 21.91; police work from 9.53 per cent to 8.3; firefighting from 4.95 per cent to 3.86; sanitation from 3.54 per cent to 2.87; hospitals from 7 per cent to 6.56.

The city has always had a difficult time making municipal ends meet. From 1962 to 1966, for example, it ran deficits that ranged from \$45-million to \$300-million, deficits that were covered by dipping into reserves, by borrowing against future budgets and by the sale of long-term notes that are still being paid off at the rate of more than \$50-million a year.

Not since the days of the Depression, however, has the treasury's plight been so apparent as in the budget for the next fiscal year, which the Mayor presented to the Board of Estimate and the City Council last April 15.

The way the Mayor saw things, the budget—though \$597-million more than the \$6-billion the city expects to spend this year—fell \$668-million short of what it would take just to hold municipal services at the current level, let alone improve them.

#### WHO PAYS THE BILL?

City budgets are of necessity a blend of economics and politics. Mayors must take into account the fact that much of the city's money comes from the State Legislature.

"The scenario," says Mr. Hayes, "is pretty much dictated by a situation where the city, for more than a decade, has not been able to see how it was going to finance its next budget without having some additional revenue from Albany."

Albany did provide more money—state aid will amount to 24.9 per cent of next year's budget compared with 24.7 per cent this year—but unlike the emergency infusions of the past, not enough more money to compensate for the increased cost of running the city.

The result was a squeeze. Threatened service cuts in hospitals, the schools, museums and libraries touched off a wave of demonstrations and sit-ins that set the city looking for more money.

Then the Mayor, employing a tactic used by other Mayors in other years, discovered \$79.7-million by re-estimating the amount of revenue the city expected to receive next year.

This was enough to stave off the threatened cutback in library and museum schedules and to ease some of the pinch on the hospitals, but it brought a charge from Democratic Councilmen that the Mayor had "needlessly precipitated months of artificial crisis" at a time when threatened cuts in services exacerbated racial tensions.

The juggling of budget accounts has become known over the years in the Budget Bureau as "flimflam." Enough of this has been reported in the current budget—shifting some expenses to the capital budget, for instance, where they could be paid for by borrowing rather than from current income—to suggest to some officials that the city does not have much more room for maneuver.

The chronic problem is where to find more money—a problem that plagues almost every major municipality and an endless succession of mayors everywhere.

As with almost everything else, however, New York has more disequilibrium than almost anywhere else.

Some of that disparity is due not only to the rising costs of welfare, but also to the way welfare costs are financed. In general, New York State provides more over-all local aid than most neighboring states. But in Pennsylvania, for instance, the state shares the entire cost of welfare with the Federal government, leaving Philadelphia to raise nothing through direct local taxes for that purpose.

In New York, on the other hand, the city and the state split the welfare balance about 50-50 after Federal contributions, which means that the city next year will have to raise a minimum of \$300-million on its own for welfare.

#### WAGES ON THE RISE

Welfare, of course, is not the only reason why the expense side of the revenue-cost equation has tied the city's finances in knots. New York is a high-cost town. Since 1966 a fireman first grade's salary has risen 29 percent.

Police pay has matched this rise, and this fall, a first grade patrolman with 20 years experience will be making \$11,350 a year, compared with a maximum of \$10,974 in Los Angeles.

The arithmetic of generally higher pay scales bites deep because the city, in effect, is a gigantic service organization. A succession of expensive wage settlements has pushed labor costs from 57 per cent to 60 per cent of the budget. The rise in pay and pension costs next year will be \$400 million.

Some of those labor costs—in health services, education and welfare—are absorbed by the Federal Government and the state. Their contributions have been expanding—from a combined 24.8 percent of the budget in 1963 to 40.8 percent of next year's proposed spending.

"One cannot gainsay the expansion of state aid, nor discount increased Federal aid," says Mayor Lindsay, "but it has not been enough."

It has not been enough because much of the increase has simply paralleled the rise of the welfare rolls and left the city to deal relatively unaided with the demons of inflation generally, and the departments in which the bulk of the big pay raises have come—police, fire and sanitation.

The structure of the city's revenue base has proved unequal to the task. Though New Yorkers are among the most highly taxed people in the nation, the major levies on which the city has traditionally relied (sales and real estate taxes) are comparatively inelastic. They tend to expand no faster than the economy as a whole.

The city income tax, wrung out of the Legislature in 1966, offers more growth potential, but it is no panacea.

Since 1963 the city's needs—as expressed by the budget—have increased 136.5 per cent. Real estate tax yields, however, have risen only 72.7 per cent and the proceeds from all other levies (sales taxes, corporation taxes and the like) have risen only 118 per cent.

The way those yields have lagged helps to explain why New York runs a chronic budget gap—why projected spending always exceeds what the city can expect to take in.

#### WELFARE PAYMENTS CUT

Albany has been having budget problems, too. The Legislature resolved them in the last session by increasing the sales tax one cent on the dollar and by cutting back on welfare payment formulas.

The change in the New York payment formulas, which are regulated by the state, means that three-fourths of the 1-million people on welfare will be getting less money—in the case of a family of four, as much as \$568 a year less.

The cut was not without some popularity in a city where 25 cents of every dollar in the budget goes to the Human Resources Administration. As the welfare rolls have grown so has taxpayer resistance to the higher costs.

But the roots of the welfare problem are not in Albany, or even in the city. Many students of the problem say they lie in Washington and in a national agricultural policy that has promoted and subsidized the grim march of mechanization over the South's cotton fields and tobacco lands.

In the last generation more than 3.5-million Negroes, driven off the farms by the enormous productivity of the tractor and the new agricultural economics, have packed up and headed north to the cities, including New York—traditionally regarded as a city of opportunity.

#### FEDERAL ACTION MAY HELP

One reason that at least some came to New York was that welfare payments here average \$71 a month for dependent children compared to the national average of \$41. Further, unlike 40 other states, New York had no minimum residency requirement for persons seeking welfare.

Two things may help to ease this situation, but since so many of the poor already have moved here they may be too late to have major impact. First, the Supreme Court recently struck down the residency requirements in the other states. Second, the Nixon Administration is considering establishing national standards for welfare.

Many of those who came here were poor, often illiterate and rarely trained in skills that can fetch more than a minimum wage in the cities. Combined with a similar migratory stream from Puerto Rico, they have pushed the welfare rolls up to a point where one of every eight New York City residents now relies upon government for his food, shelter and other necessities.

At the same time, the white middle class has been leaving the city for the suburbs in search of better schools, lower taxes, lower living costs, lower racial tensions.

The result has been a dramatic shift in the population. Between 1950 and 1965 according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, more than 1.5 million comparatively high-income whites have moved out; more than 1.25 million Negroes and Puerto Ricans have moved in.

The shift has put the city's budget in double jeopardy. The influx of the poor and the compounded miseries of slum life has meant higher costs not only for welfare, but also for health services, remedial education, and expanded fire and police protection.

Further, the poorer people do not pay as much in taxes as the high-income people they replaced. Many of the expatriates take a high share of the new white-collar jobs being produced by the city's expanding economy but the bulk of their local tax bill goes to support government in New Jersey, Long Island and Westchester instead of New York City.

#### MORE ARE ACCEPTED

A recent Columbia University study suggests that a distinct change in city policy has also added to welfare costs. In 1965, the last year of the Wagner administration the city accepted only 58 out of every 100 applications made for aid to dependent children. By the middle of 1967, the second year of the Lindsay administration, the figure had climbed to 75 out of every 100.

However, in a recent interview, Mayor Lindsay said:

"It is not right to say that the city encouraged people to go on welfare. Community-action groups did that. They dug out the most severe poverty of all the persons who were festering in sickness and brought the whole stuff up to the surface. The fact that it came up from underneath the mud and could be seen in all of its ugliness may have been an important thing."

Further, he added that since welfare standards are set by the state the city has no right to stand between a poor citizen and his rights to welfare.

Jack R. Goldberg, the city's Social Services Commissioner, while denying that lax procedures have encouraged people to sign up for welfare, adds, "It is not my job to keep people off the rolls who are legally entitled to it."

Some upstate cities have traditionally taken a hard line with applicants.

"You just ask them a lot of questions about how they managed to get along before and make them come back with proof of their claims," says Joseph H. Louchheim, a deputy commissioner for the State Department of Social Services.

Mr. Louchheim, who served as a deputy welfare commissioner here under Mayor Robert F. Wagner, contends "the city definitely is not discouraging people the way it once did."

#### REASONS FOR JOBLESSNESS

One of the most discouraging facets of the welfare problem here is that the rolls have been rising during a period of economic expansion and rising employment.

Why haven't more of the poor been able to find jobs? How many ineligible are there on the welfare rolls?

Both of those questions are being examined in a major study initiated by the Federal Government's Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which has become alarmed by the year-by-year rise in the Federal public assistance contributions required by the poverty cities.

The cities contend that putting more welfare recipients to work is virtually impossible because of the kind of people who are on the rolls.

In New York, a Department of Social Services report says that 59 per cent are children too young to work, 19.1 per cent are mothers kept from work because they must

look after those children, 5.6 per cent are too old to work, 8.6 per cent are disabled, 2.7 per cent have jobs, but earn too little to support themselves, and 4.5 per cent are unable to work because of alcoholism, narcotics addiction, emotional instability or other problems.

The high proportion of women and children without husbands and fathers—over 78 per cent of those receiving public help—reflects, not only increasing illegitimacy, but also the high cost of living, comparatively low wage scales and a law that some people say encourages the disintegration of families by providing Federal help to broken families rather than to whole ones.

#### LIVING ON \$80

According to Herbert Bienstock, regional director for the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 48 per cent of all jobs here paid \$100 a week or less in 1966—the most recent year for which figures are available—and one-third paid \$80 or less. Discrimination, including that in some unions, bars Negroes from many higher paying jobs.

Low-reward jobs that are open to unskilled workers often are the only ones available to black and Puerto Rican fathers in the city's poorest neighborhoods.

Such a father, say a man with a wife and three children filling one of these jobs at the minimum legal wage of \$3,328 a year, obviously and desperately can use more money in this city of high-living costs.

One way he can get an immediate "raise" of \$3,700 a year is to move away from his family and thus make them eligible for full welfare assistance.

For such a man, Mr. Bienstock notes, "welfare becomes competitive with work" and his choice is to try to get along on an impossibly low wage or to surrender his dependents to a welfare system that can give them more money than he can.

"Because these people are poor, we cannot assume that they are any less intelligent than we are," Mr. Bienstock said. "They can see where their economic advantage lies."

The city has tried to help families achieve self-sufficiency. Last year, it placed 40,000 persons in jobs, and 25 antipoverty agencies offered a variety of services to help people find their way out of poverty.

However, many of those helped came not from the one million on the welfare rolls but from another million who are counted as poverty stricken because, even though they are working, they earn less than the official poverty standard of \$3,700 a year for a family of four.

No one pretends that \$3,700 a year for a family of four is adequate in a high-cost city like New York. A Department of Labor study issued in March showed that the minimal income for a four-person family here should be \$6,021.

#### ILLICIT ACTIVITIES

How, then, do so many people get by on so little? The answers to that question lie in underground facts that no city officials will acknowledge for the record. Privately, some say it is probably true that much of the domestic and casual labor of the city is done by people on welfare who do not get caught because their employers agree not to report their earnings to the government.

They also say that many of the illicit activities that plague the slums—prostitution, thefts, narcotics peddling, numbers running—have their motivation in the compelling need to supplement inadequate income. The social costs of such activities, and the direct costs to government in trying to control them, are incalculable.

Mayor Lindsay summed it all up recently when he said that "welfare is resented by those who receive it," derided "by those who administer it" and hated "by those who pay for it."

There is some hope that the rise in the welfare rolls is beginning to taper off. The evidence so far is meager, but mildly encouraging. The rate of increase dropped from a monthly average of 21,164 individuals in the third quarter of last year to 14,220 in the fourth quarter to 8,663 in the first quarter of this year.

At the moment, city officials do not understand the reasons for the decline. Some think the great in-migrations have finally begun to run out of steam. Others think that the flood tide of the economy has finally begun to trickle down to some of the bedrock poor.

#### ALBANY LIMITS TAXES

If all those believed eligible apply for help the city will have no alternative but to squeeze still more money out of other operating departments, according to Mr. Hayes, because the city is not likely to get any more major taxing power out of the Legislature.

It would like very much, for instance, to have the income levy on commuters raised to a par with the income tax on city residents. The possibility of Albany's going along with such a move is considered remote because the commuters are represented by a powerful bloc in the Legislature.

Similar opposition from suburban and up-state legislators has blocked city proposals for a higher liquor tax, for off-track betting and for basing a part of state aid to cities on the amount of money the cities raise themselves.

#### THE STATES' VIEWPOINT

As a "creature of the state," the city gets its taxing powers only from the Legislature. And as a panel of experts noted in a recent issue of *Nation's Cities*, a publication for municipal planners, the states "have seen fit to limit the cities' taxing powers, partly because the states do not want the cities dipping deep into the same tax sources the states depend on for their own support; partly because some state legislators still do not trust their cities, and partly because state legislators do not always understand their cities' problems."

Even if the city had unlimited taxing power of its own, it could not use it freely. High taxes are one of the reasons why a number of manufacturers have left the city, taking with them in the last 19 years almost 200,000 blue collar jobs—jobs that might have helped to take some of the pressure off the welfare rolls.

#### DECAY IN QUALITY

High taxes are also one of the reasons why so many comparatively high salaried former New Yorkers now call the suburbs home—an economic exodus the city cannot afford to accelerate.

Yet if the city cannot tax new revenue sources it faces what Mr. Hayes calls a "decay in the quality of urban life."

"If we're going to maintain the kind of life we want to have," he says, "it is going to take a lot of money."

Where is the money to come from? Washington, the way the city sees things. It calls for the Federal Government to take over all welfare costs and an extended system of revenue sharing in which Washington would automatically make sizable outright grants to the cities every year.

The premise is pegged to the enormous elasticity of the Federal income tax, which because of its progressive rate structure, yields a 15 per cent increase in revenue for every 10 per cent increase in the total output of the nation's goods and services.

Federal spending, on the other hand—heavy military demands such as Vietnam aside—tends to rise at a slower rate than national output. The result, many economists argue, is a "fiscal dividend" that could mean salvation for the cities.

The Federal deficits of the last several years, however, have left the implementation

of revenue sharing as remote as when the concept was voiced in 1964 by Walter W. Heller, then chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. An end to the war in Vietnam might get the concept back on the rails, but critics of the industrial-military complex have their doubts.

The Nixon Administration does have some welfare reforms in the works that could take some of the load off the city, but it is too soon to tell how much. For the short term at least, the city will continue in the squeeze Mr. Micawber described a long time ago:

"Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure nineteen, six: result, happiness.  
"Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure twenty pounds, six: result, misery."

[From the New York Times, June 2, 1969]

#### THE CHANGING CITY: A MEDICAL CHALLENGE

(By Martin Tolchin)

A girl born with a series of defects was taken to Jacobi Municipal Hospital 44 times during her first nine months of life and was never treated by the same physician twice.

In other of the 20 hospitals owned by the city, a shortage of technicians forces ulcer patients to wait in bed two weeks for X-rays, there are no registered nurses from sunset to sunrise in most wards, and, according to Prof. Harry Becker of the Albert Einstein medical school, "expensive machinery monitors patients, but no one is there to interpret it."

"You come to this hospital and we're telling you somebody's going to take care of you," said Dr. Seymour M. Glick, chief of medicine at Coney Island Hospital. "The fact is, you're going to lie in a damp bed, develop an ulcer, septicemia [blood poisoning] and perhaps ultimately die because of inadequate nursing care."

Such conditions, a result of decades of deterioration, persist despite efforts by the city, state and Federal governments to improve service in the hospitals, which treat an average of almost 13,000 bed patients a day and about the same number of persons in clinics and emergency rooms.

Some progress has been noted, but not enough to satisfy many critics.

"The rate of deterioration has slowed," is the way Elleen McCaul, associate executive director of the State Nurses Association, puts it.

Others, principally militant community-control groups, say that the hospitals—traditionally a haven for all citizens without regard to race or economic status—will never meet the needs of the people until the communities are given some measure of control over health services.

In the last three years, emergency renovations were begun at 13 hospitals, X-ray equipment was installed at five, most general hospitals installed full-time directors and chiefs of service and ambulances were stationed at outlying points to speed service.

In addition, administration was tightening by the recruiting of young, aggressive hospital administrators who were given authority to increase the comfort of patients even when changes had to be made at the expense of traditional hospital procedure.

For these and other improvements, the city administration shares credit with seven city and state investigating agencies, some of which ordered equipment purchased on the spot during tours of the institutions.

As a result, hospital experts have noted such improvements as the following:

Mental patients no longer sleep on the floors of Bellevue Psychiatric Hospital during the day and they have been given lockers so they no longer have to carry their belongings in shopping bags. The 15-minute diagnostic interview with a psychiatrist—formerly their only contact with a psychiatrist

during an average 21-day stay—has been lengthened to nine 50-minute sessions.

Patients at Metropolitan Hospital are sent to a recovery room after surgery instead of being immediately returned to their wards on evenings and weekends, where some have died because of a lack of nurses to provide postoperative care.

Desperately ill patients no longer wait up to seven hours in the emergency room of Kings County Hospital, where they are now seen within 15 minutes. Patients no longer must share respirators, and physicians no longer must wait hours for electrocardiogram machines and other diagnostic equipment.

Such improvements have spawned the hope of more.

Beginning July 1, the hospitals, which formerly had been spurned by many American-educated internes because of their poor quality of medical care and teaching programs, will receive 75.7 per cent of those they sought. This compares with 55.4 per cent last year, which was more than twice the preceding year.

In previous years, the hospitals had to hire a large number of foreign internes because they could not attract the American-educated internes. These latter are prized because of the acknowledged superiority of American medical schools and the absence of a language barrier between these physicians and their patients.

#### MORE NURSES HIRED

Even the critical nurse shortage has begun to ease. The hospitals, which had only 1,200 registered nurses in 1967 to fill 3,890 authorized positions, recruited 400 more last year. The increase began after the city nurses negotiated a contract that assured them the same wage scale as nurses in voluntary hospitals.

"We've made progress," said Hospitals Commissioner Joseph V. Terenzio, "but the progress is like a bird emptying the Atlantic Ocean one drop at a time."

Dr. Donald Dickson, deputy state health commissioner, agrees. "But it certainly hasn't been the kind of progress we expected and hoped for," he said. "You can find individual cases of municipal hospitals that are better equipped and staffed than some of the poorest voluntaries. But the worst of the municipal hospitals are about as bad as you can find anywhere."

At their best, the 20 municipal hospitals provide care by physicians that is equal to the best in the world. Most of the hospitals excel in emergency treatment of stab and gunshot wounds—their stock-in-trade after the bars close Fridays and Saturdays.

#### CONVALESCENTS FORGOTTEN

Seriously ill patients are often given the newest most expensive therapy—radioisotopes, cobalt-ray catheterizations and the use of an artificial kidney. But once past the acute stage of an illness, patients are often forgotten.

At their worst, the hospitals betray their poor-house origins. The death rate of 6.8 per 100 discharges is nearly twice the 3.5 death rate of voluntary hospitals. To some extent, this is because the city hospitals are most used by poverty-stricken patients, many of whom suffer from malnutrition and have delayed seeking treatment.

The problems of the city hospitals, which are typical of public hospitals in other cities, are shared to some extent here with the 80 private, nonprofit voluntary hospitals, whose 270,000 beds are filled nearly to capacity, and the 36 proprietary hospitals (private, profit-making), whose 5,000 beds are more in demand than ever.

All face national shortages of physicians, nurses and ancillary personnel. All must cope with soaring costs. The municipal hospitals have suffered most, however, because these problems have been aggravated by an un-

wieldy local bureaucracy and budgetary restrictions.

It took two extra years, for example, to renovate a nursery at Metropolitan Hospital because the city's Purchase Department could not reach agreement with a contractor. There was a delay of one and a half years in buying 4,000 beds because the Purchase Department could not agree with the Hospitals Department on the size of guardrails.

A shortage of X-ray technicians exists throughout the system because the city salary of \$125 a week is 25 per cent below the salary paid by voluntary hospitals.

#### CONFLICTING OBJECTIVES

Such chronic problems have led some health specialists to conclude that the city is incapable of operating a hospital system. However, others contend that the city hospitals must be maintained because they are responsive to public needs and public pressures.

Unlike private hospitals, the city institutions are the hospitals of last resort—they accept any patient sick enough to require hospitalization. Most private hospitals refuse some patients because they do not fit their teaching and research needs.

Because of this, the emergency rooms of such municipal hospitals as Bellevue, Kings County and Metropolitan continue to receive from voluntary hospitals critically ill but educationally "uninteresting" patients.

"We've gotten corpses from other hospitals," said Dr. Arnold Miles, an attending physician who is director of the emergency room at Metropolitan Hospital.

Still, critics maintain that the municipal hospitals, along with private institutions, have allowed the basic tripod of good medical treatment—research, training and patient care—to become lopsided because patient care is neglected.

"As internes and residents in the city hospitals, some of us are not very different from ghetto merchants," said Dr. Steven Sharfstein, an interne at Jacobi. "The merchants get their profits in the ghettos and go home to the suburbs. We get our training in the ghettos and then practice in the suburbs. This kind of training breeds contempt for the patient."

This neglect of patient care is seen, too, in clinics, which, says Dr. Howard J. Brown, a former Health Services Administrator, are "geared to the professional needs of the physicians, but not to the medical needs of the patients."

#### PROGRESS DENIED

Dr. Brown observed, for example, that dermatologists preparing for their examinations sometimes overlook any trouble but skin trouble when treating patients in clinics.

Moreover, the clinics often fail to provide continuity of medical care, as in the recent case of the baby who was treated by 44 different doctors in nine months. The girl's case was finally noticed by a young physician who took over-all charge of her care and reports that she is now progressing. The child's problems include cerebral palsy and a cleft palate.

Failure to provide continuity of care can undo good work. An elderly patient at Jacobi, for example, was given exhaustive diagnostic tests, valued at \$4,000, that showed he had a heart condition. He was then discharged and sent out to climb the five floors to his apartment.

Some of the new hospital administrators appointed by the city are working to improve service to patients. Anthony Constantine, the administrator at Metropolitan Hospital, has been trying to get play space for children there who are confined to their beds because the recreation area set aside for them has been converted into research offices by New York Medical College, which provides medical services to the hospital under contract.

Gordon Derzon, the new 34-year-old administrator of 2,666-bed Kings County Hospital, antagonized some physicians when he

insisted that the trauma and general surgery wards be combined if one was overcrowded, so that patients would not be placed in corridors.

Some doctors had argued that merging the patients would confuse administration and impair medical care.

The municipal hospitals, once hard pressed for physicians, have undoubtedly benefited from the medical services provided—for a fee—by voluntary hospitals under affiliation contracts, a system begun in 1961.

But the City Controller, the State Investigation Commission and a joint legislative committee found last year that the voluntary hospitals had appropriated millions of dollars worth of badly needed equipment purchased for the understaffed city institutions, and also had appropriated the services of physicians on the city payroll.

Three years ago there was a widespread expectation of dramatic improvements in city hospital care because of the beginning of Medicare and Medicaid, programs under which the Federal and state governments pick up many medical bills for the elderly and the indigent.

But after three years' experience with the programs, Dr. Brown said recently: "I think we have to look very hard at the fact that Medicaid was a failure. It failed to achieve the social goals, the quality goals, or extension of services. It's money that largely went to inflate the costs of the existing health system."

When the programs began there was a widespread expectation that voluntary hospitals would be flooded with patients who previously could not afford to pay for their superior services. However, the switch from municipal hospitals to voluntaries has been slight, in part because the voluntaries were crowded with their own doctors' patients and are still crowded now.

The Medicaid program has provided medical and dental care that would otherwise have been unobtainable for many of the 1.6-million city residents on its rolls. But many health experts have complained that such care continues to be given under the aura of impersonal, second-class medicine.

The programs have also contributed to other problems.

In 1965, before Medicare and Medicaid, it cost the city an average of \$58.35 a day to care for each bed patient. This year, the cost has risen to \$97, in line with soaring national health costs, which have increased 87.8 per cent since 1960, according to the Department of Labor.

The salaries of physicians, nurses, and especially of aides, have also risen dramatically. So have the costs of drugs, equipment and supplies as the Federal and state governments joined in reimbursing the city for costs.

In addition, private physicians' fees have gone up nationally 7 per cent a year. And minimum salaries paid city nurses have increased from \$5,150 in 1965, to \$7,900.

#### DISPUTE OVER FUNDS

The amount of money the city receives from Medicare and Medicaid is disputed. The city maintains that it received \$210-million last year, but some observers, including State Senator Seymour R. Thaler, the Queens Democrat who has conducted many hospital studies, believe that the figure is nearer \$250-million to \$300-million. The reasons for the difference include delays in billing and delays in receiving payment.

The city reduced its contributions to hospitals when the programs became effective, leading Senator Norman F. Lent, a Nassau Republican who is chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee on Public Health and Medicare, to charge:

"The city of New York has been diverting millions, perhaps over \$100-million a year, out of the hospital system and putting it into other programs."

The city's own figures give the following picture:

In fiscal 1965-66, before Medicaid the municipal hospitals received \$188.7-million in funds raised through city taxes and \$44.9-million from Blue Cross and other sources for a total of \$233.6-million.

In fiscal 1967-68, the last year for which complete figures are available, the hospitals received \$132-million in funds raised through city taxes, \$20-million from Blue Cross, \$19-million in mental health grants and \$146-million in Medicare and Medicaid funds, for a total of \$317-million.

In 1967-68, the city reported it received \$210-million from Medicare and Medicaid. Since it turned over only \$146-million of this to the hospitals, it had \$4-million in Medicare and Medicaid funds to spend on nonhospital programs.

The city defends its decision not to put all the funds into hospital programs by maintaining that these funds are intended to reimburse the city for its own expenses. The Federal law says that the city can use funds any way it wants.

As a Mayoral candidate in 1965, John V. Lindsay called the municipal hospital system "an unmitigated disgrace" and proposed among other things a reorganization, to put the administration of hospitals and other health services in one umbrella agency.

Although it exists more on paper than in reality, this has been done. Dr. Bernard Bucove, head of the new Health Service Administration, has generally delegated administration of the Hospitals Department to the Hospitals Commissioner and of the Health Department to the Health Commissioner.

The Health Department has the job of trying to prevent illness. Its operations have been characterized by a downward drift that started years ago and that has been marked by a curtailment of services, widespread demoralization and continued loss of key personnel.

"There clearly has been a deterioration—there's no other word to use," Dr. Bucove conceded recently.

A New Yorker may still dine with confidence almost anywhere in town, thanks to the surveillance of restaurants by Health Department inspectors. But inspections have become more widely spaced. The city has not been struck by a serious epidemic, thanks in part to the vigilance of the department's epidemiologists, but the staff continues to diminish.

Money is a problem. The Health Department budget was increased from \$54-million to \$59-million in the coming year, but already-promised salary increases will snare \$14-million of this.

As a partial result, the few budget calls for reductions in the department's research programs, laboratory facilities and proposed improvements that will seriously hamper the job entrusted to the agency.

For example, despite a steady increase in the incidence of gonorrhea from 10,000 cases in 1960 to 40,000 last year, the department closed all five of its Saturday morning venereal disease clinics.

In addition, the number of health examinations conducted in the schools—where poor vision, hearing defects and other ailments were often first detected by public health nurses—has been reduced from 90 per cent of the classrooms to 50 per cent.

In contrast with the Hospitals Department, whose administration has become increasingly efficient in the last few years, the Health Department, in the view of some health experts, could be more effectively operated.

A major reason for the continuing loss of key personnel is that Health Department salaries are relatively low compared with those offered by hospitals, private industry and private practice, all of which compete for scarce medical personnel.

For example, Raymond Alexander resigned last month from his \$23,000-a-year job as assistant health commissioner in charge of Medicaid to take a \$32,500-a-year job with Montefiore Hospital, where he will administer the voluntary institution's Medicaid program. His new job responsibilities are not expected to be nearly as demanding as those he had in the Health Department.

The Health Department suffers more than most city agencies because key personnel spend more and more time away from their official duties, sometimes to attend professional conferences out of town.

Nurses complain that some physicians who are paid for two-and-a-half-hour sessions in Health Department clinics often arrive late and leave early.

Dr. Edward O'Rourke, until recently the city's \$35,000 Health Commissioner, had spent 60 days since last January in Washington holding conferences preparatory to leaving for his new job as dean of the school of public health at the University of Hawaii.

Dr. Arthur Bushel, the first deputy health commissioner, has been dividing his work week between the Health Department and Johns Hopkins University. Dr. Bushel will leave his \$29,500-a-year-city job this month to become a professor of public health at the Baltimore institution.

#### MANY CHANGES AT THE TOP

Illustrative of the agency's administrative problems, Dr. Mary C. McLaughlin, who has just been appointed to succeed Dr. O'Rourke, is the third health commissioner in three and a half years—the fifth if two acting commissioners are included.

As the city continues to grapple with the awesome problems of health and hospitals, militant forces have arisen to challenge—and support—the city's hospitals and health facilities. The success and direction of these forces may have profound effects on the hospitals. In any event, the pressures they exert will be of major concern to any city administration.

The increased militancy of the hospital workers' union—whose membership is 85 per cent Negro and Puerto Rican—parallels the rising militancy of both minorities. To both groups, the hospitals provide the unskilled and semiskilled jobs that earlier Jewish immigrants, for example, found in the needle trades.

"The growing strength and militancy of hospital workers has enabled us not only to think in terms of our rights as employees, but also as community groups who use the city hospitals," said Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, which represents 30,000 of the 40,000 hospital workers.

In addition, community groups have led mass demonstrations at Harlem and Lincoln Hospitals and at Bedford-Stuyvesant and Jamaica health centers. These groups point to bungled and inadequate health services as evidence of the ineptitude and possible indifference of professional groups to the poor whom they treat in the municipal hospitals.

They demand a voice in health decision-making on the grounds that the institutions in their communities must provide services that are relevant to the needs of those communities and that new priorities must be established.

#### STUDY POSTPONED

As a result, such research studies as a proposed psychiatric study at Lincoln Hospital are asked to wait until the community's basic health needs, such as dentistry, are met.

The community participation groups have been joined by increased numbers of militant physicians who articulate the needs of their hospitals and who are taking a critical look at their own roles.

These forces were in evidence recently when the Harlem Hospital medical board

voted to close the institution because "we are no longer willing to assume the responsibility for trying to provide hospital care with the inadequate facilities here."

Playing an important role in the Harlem Hospital revolt, which was staved off by a budget increase, was the newly created Society of Urban Physicians, which is composed of 100 chiefs of services in the municipal hospitals.

Many observers believe that the hospitals are ripe for the thrust toward decentralization similar to the pressure the city has experienced in the schools.

To solve the problems of the municipal hospitals, the city has considered—and rejected—the sale or lease of its hospitals and their conversion to private, nonprofit institutions. The city did manage to lease 220-bed James Ewing Hospital to Memorial, but public outcry made the Hospitals Commissioner pledge that this was to be an isolated case.

#### CORPORATION CREATED

In the last session of the State Legislature, the city administration sought, and obtained, the creation of a management corporation that will replace the Hospitals Department. It is designed to extricate the hospitals from the red tape of city regulations that the Mayor says have delayed improvements.

The corporation, scheduled to take over the hospitals in July, 1970, will operate them in accordance with the directives of the city's Health Services Administration.

Opponents of the reorganization, however, fear that the corporation may not be responsive to the wishes and needs of the public.

"We need more public control, not less," State Senator Thaler says. "We are seeing the results of decades of neglect, when the city hospitals were left to the so-called experts."

"No service of the city government was allowed to become so inadequate and obsolete in the last 20 years as municipal health services," Mayor Lindsay declares. "We have made significant progress, but obviously, there is much more to be done."

[From the New York Times, June 3, 1969]

#### THE CHANGING CITY: CRIME ON THE RISE

(By David Burnham)

The Police Department has modernized its equipment, increased its manpower and reorganized patrolling operations in the last three years, but reported crime in the city has continued to rise.

This anomaly has left residents of almost every neighborhood in the city fearful of the mugger, the burglar and the vandal. It also has led more and more policemen, criminologists and government officials to challenge widespread views of how to combat crime.

One key problem is that very little is known about crime and how to fight it. Shortly after Howard R. Leary assumed command of the New York Police Department in 1966, for example, he doubled the size of the Narcotics Bureau to 300 men.

Asked recently whether this move had reduced the traffic in illegal drugs or the crimes committed by the city's estimated total of 50,000 addicts, Commissioner Leary replied:

"I can't answer that question. I could pop my mouth off, but there really isn't any hard information."

Despite the lack of concrete evidence, many criminologists and law enforcement officials are convinced that attempts to suppress crime must go far beyond the police to the broader realm of the city's attempts to solve the economic, social and racial problems that have divided and scarred its citizens.

"To a considerable degree law enforcement cannot deal with criminal behavior," James Vorenberg, former director of the National

Crime Commission, says in explaining this position. "The most important way in which any mayor could be held responsible for crime is the extent to which he failed to fight for job-training programs, better schools and decent housing."

New Yorkers live with an enormous amount of crime. In 1968, 904 murders, 1,840 rapes, 54,405 robberies, 28,515 felonious assaults, 173,559 burglaries, 146,319 larcenies of \$50 or more and 74,440 car thefts were reported to the police.

In addition, projections based on studies by the National Crime Commission show that every day in New York, there are 56 per cent more rapes, felonious assaults and robberies than are reported to the police.

New Yorkers—black and white, rich and poor, young and old—have become pre-occupied with crime. Their fear has become so pervasive that it shapes election campaigns, influences the decisions of government, business and labor, exacerbates racial tensions and molds the day-to-day living habits of virtually all of the city's eight million residents.

The fear is visible: it can be seen in clusters of stores that close early because the streets are sinister and customers no longer stroll after supper for newspapers and pints of ice cream. It can be seen in the faces of women opening elevator doors, in the hurried step of the man walking home late at night from the subway.

The fear manifests itself in elaborate gates and locks, in the growing number of keys on everybody's keyrings, in the formation of tenants' squads to patrol corridors, in shop buzzers pressed to admit only recognizable customers.

And finally it becomes habit.

A young writer lugs his stereo set into a neighbor's apartment for safekeeping while he goes to the country for the weekend. A lawyer walks the streets with his hand in his pocket nervously clenched around a pen-knife. A housewife unable to find a company that will insure her valuables against theft hides them in her refrigerator. A policeman whose job it is to try to recover stolen goods wearily lists stolen items knowing his chances of success are slight.

And New Yorkers walk past arguing people, distressed and confused people and even wounded and dying people because they have accepted the idea that to get involved is dangerous.

#### NATIONAL ATTENTION

Beginning in the 1964 Presidential campaign, politicians of both parties and every level of government began to increasingly emphasize how they were going to reduce crime. It is a good measure of the difficulty of achieving this goal that despite a new Federal financial assistance program for local law-enforcement agencies, an increase in the State Police to help fight narcotics addiction here, and a 35 per cent jump in the number of patrol units cruising the streets, New York is experiencing steadily mounting reports of crime.

Pointing to the reduction of crime and fear achieved by placing policemen on every subway train and station platform at night, many New Yorkers have demanded even more policemen on the streets. But such demands, criminologists say, fall to take into account that guarding subways is not the same as preventing crime among eight million New Yorkers.

For example, the number of uniformed men on patrol on the city's 6,033 miles of streets now averages no more than 3,000 at any one time, and most of these men work in pairs.

So few policemen patrol the streets because the number of men available is limited by vacations, days off, court appearances, special assignments and the requirements of operating around the clock.

"The additional men you would need to man the posts you might like covered in just one precinct would knock you right into the Hudson River," Commissioner Leary said.

It has been estimated, for example, that it would cost \$25-billion a year—a third the total annual budget of the Defense Department—to have one patrolman around the clock on each of the city's four-sided blocks.

And even if this were possible, policemen say it would not stop crime since more than half of it is committed in areas that they do not patrol—homes, restaurants, hallways and elevators.

An additional limitation is that fighting crime is only a part of the policeman's day. Most of his time is taken helping to get sick people to hospitals, returning lost children to their parents, directing traffic and calming family squabbles.

Another limitation is the often successful effort of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association to protect what it considers the rights of its members. Vehement P.B.A. opposition, for example, so far has completely defeated the Department's effort to use one-man patrol cars in low crime areas of the city.

The P.B.A. also long delayed the Lindsay administration's drive to get the permission of the Legislature to establish a fourth platoon during the high crime hours between 6 P.M. and 2 A.M.

The Police Department is trying to counteract some of these limitations by improving its communications, command and control system so that patrolmen can respond more swiftly to a call for help.

#### COMPUTER BEING INSTALLED

For example, to shorten the time it takes the police to assign a patrol car, a \$5-million computer is being installed that will automatically and instantly give the dispatcher the nearest street intersection, hospital and available patrol cars to the address of each complaint.

The Police Department also has made a strenuous effort in the last three years to find out more about the size and shape of the problem it confronts.

One of Commissioner Leary's first official acts was to order all police units to begin reporting all the crime that came to their attention. Many police officials conceded that a large number of crimes were not reported to headquarters because commanders were judged on how many crimes occurred in their districts.

The effort to improve crime reporting led to an immediate sharp increase in reported crime. The statistical increase now seems to be leveling off, according to police officials.

For example, the department announced yesterday that reports of crime in the first four months of this year had increased 7.8 per cent as compared with 23.6 per cent in the similar period last year.

Commenting on police limitations, Commissioner Leary said:

"When they get worried about crime, very few people go beyond the police. Very few people go to the District Attorney, the judges and the prisons. The problems the public expects the police to do something about the police are unable to solve."

To deal with these broader problems, Mayor Lindsay has established the Mayor's Criminal Justice Coordinating Council, made up of the Police Commissioner, the city's five independently elected District Attorneys, judges, correctional officials and a broad range of community representatives.

Its goal—forging a single mechanism to deal with crime—is described as one of the most advanced and significant efforts of its kind in the United States by such men as Patrick V. Murphy, a former New York policeman who until recently was the head of the Federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

#### CALENDARS ARE OVERCROWDED

During the two years since it was formed, the council had supported a wide variety of complicated experimental projects, including a number to reduce the time between arrest and trial.

This reduction is considered essential by the council because overcrowded calendars force assistant district attorneys to encourage virtually all arrested persons—even those charged with serious offenses such as assault and robbery—to plead guilty to lesser crimes to save court time.

But lesser charges mean lighter sentences and the swift return of many dangerous persons—muggers, for example—to the streets.

One way of giving the prosecutors and judges more time to deal with the serious problems to develop new methods to take care of the less serious ones. In the Bowery, for example, because of a Council-supported effort to develop an infirmary that sends out teams to bring in the worst derelicts on a voluntary basis, there has been a substantial decrease in the number of drunks who must be arrested and tried.

Another aspect of the council's effort to reduce the number of less serious criminal cases flooding the courts is the bill passed by this year's Legislature that eventually will mean that many categories of traffic cases can be decided by referees rather than judges.

The council also has started the initial planning of a computer designed to reduce the paper work and increase the scheduling efficiency of the courts in the same way the once cumbersome problem of making an airline reservation has been speeded. At present, court clerks have become so overburdened that for the last few months they have been unable to tell the police whether a previous arrest showing on a person's "yellow sheet" had resulted in a conviction.

Encouraging as the council's effort is to many criminologists, Mr. Vorenberg, now a professor at the Harvard Law School, says:

"With the possible exception of how we treat first offenders, I have become convinced that improvements or changes in the police, the courts or correctional agencies are holding actions at best."

The frustration implicit in Mr. Vorenberg's comment reflects the rapid growth of reported crime in the nineteen-sixties and the drastically changed nature of the urban problem that the patrolman on the street and the man in City Hall have been asked to solve.

For the urban mayors—whose chief adversaries had once been budget problems and political rivals—and for urban policemen—who had traditionally thought of themselves as fighting a no-nonsense duel with a rum-runner or a bank robber—have abruptly found themselves confronted with delicate and explosive social conflicts that have been festering in the neglected slums for decades.

Suddenly, there were riots in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant. Suddenly, the students at Columbia University were barricading themselves inside buildings. Suddenly, there were hippies and Yuppies and Crazies turning up in droves at Grand Central Terminal and Central Park. Suddenly, for at least some of these demonstrators, the tactic of non-violence had fallen into disrepute.

The social ills of years past, the malaise of an overgrown educational system, the once remote war in Vietnam and other accumulating problems surfaced in New York and other major cities of the United States. And there were no simple answers.

In the area of civil disorders and demonstrations, an examination of specific cases over the last five years does not show a flat pattern of police conduct.

#### ONE KILLED IN RIOT

Thus, in the first riot here—a six-day rampage that swept Harlem and Bedford-Stuy-

vesant in July, 1964—one person was killed and millions of dollars in property was destroyed. Again, in the summer of 1967, three persons were killed in an East Harlem riot by Puerto Ricans.

In 1964, there were few restrictions on the use of pistols by individual policemen. In 1967, the Police Department had issued strict guidelines that there was to be no general firing.

By April of 1968, during the two days of violence following the slaying of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the orders issued by Mayor Lindsay and Commissioner Leary against general shooting had begun to be felt by the rank and file of the department.

The result was again millions of dollars worth of property destroyed. But no one was killed.

Eyewitnesses, however, reported seeing policemen stand by while looters ransacked stores, and merchants charged that they lost thousands of dollars because the police abdicated their responsibility of protecting property as well as lives.

Mayor Lindsay has answered such criticism this way: "We happen to think that the protection of life, particularly innocent life, is more important than protecting property or anything else . . . We are not going to turn disorder into chaos through the unprincipled use of armed force. In short, we are not going to shoot children in New York City."

On the issue of racial disorders, national attention has been focused on Mr. Lindsay, partly because he is Mayor of the largest of the nation's troubled cities and seeks solutions that may be applicable elsewhere, and partly because he is vice chairman of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

#### POLICY OF VISIBILITY

In addition, part of Mr. Lindsay's policy has been his visibility: he has walked the streets of potential trouble areas and talked with the people there.

He has also taken, more than did any of his predecessors, a role in the direction of the Police Department. His admirers have called it a bold and fruitful move; his detractors have branded it "political interference."

Many policemen, in fact, believe that the Lindsay administration has gone too far in imposing restraints on them. Some believe that these restrictions have led to reluctance to become involved, particularly in black and Puerto Rican areas, where residents have complained of insufficient police protection.

"This is both good and bad," said James Curran, a former New York policeman who is now an assistant professor of police science at the State University in Farmingdale, L.I.

"It is good because the caution many policemen feel when approaching blacks has resulted in less verbal and physical abuse. It is bad because it has caused the police to shy away from doing their job—helping people and arresting criminals."

But many of the Mayor's friends and even some of his critics say that the relations between the police and the black and Puerto Rican communities have been improving.

"I don't think you can give the Mayor and his Police Commissioner all the credit," said Representative James H. Scheuer, who is seeking the Democratic nomination for Mayor, "but they have avoided major bloodshed in this city and their restraint and sophistication have played a part in this."

Dr. Arthur Niederhoffer, a former police lieutenant here who is now a professor of sociology at the City University said:

"Crime prevention and peace-keeping often are antithetical. There are many situations where you can make an arrest, but start a riot. It is my opinion that it is to the everlasting credit of Mayor Lindsay and the Police Department that there have been

no major riots here in recent years. Beside this, all other accomplishments are minor."

There is no unanimity of opinion on the subject, however, Harold Rothwax, legal director of Mobilization for Youth, the Lower East Side antipoverty agency, said: "I've noticed no appreciable change in the way the police handle the poor. There still are a great number of cases where there is improper abuse."

Bayard Rustin, who organized the March on Washington, agreed. "The most serious complaint has never been the cops beating the people but their attitude of contempt," he said. "And I don't think this attitude has changed."

Public attitudes toward the police were crystallized three years ago when, responding to Negro complaints of police brutality, the city proposed that civilians, rather than the police, operate the board that reviews complaints against the police.

#### BRUTALITY VERSUS SHACKLES

The issue went to a public referendum and was overwhelmingly defeated after the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association mounted a vigorous campaign suggesting that a civilian review board would "shackle" the police.

Attitudes that sharpened during the referendum campaign are still evident. Some Negroes have vowed to fight with force against what they see as unjust police actions.

This division has led to violence on both sides. Last year, for example, a large group of white men—mostly off-duty, out-of-uniform policemen—attacked a small band of Black Panthers who had gone to the Brooklyn Criminal Court to show support for two young Panthers accused of attacking policemen.

On the other side, the police have reported at least five bombings or attempted bombings of precinct houses or patrol cars, three sniping incidents and one ambush in the last year. They also have won indictments in two cases involving alleged attempts to kill policemen.

Another source of controversy has been the role of the Tactical Patrol Force, which was quadrupled in size to 1,000 men.

The Tactical Force, which can be quickly moved about the city to meet crises, has been praised for such actions as controlling hostile crowds drawn to the George C. Wallace rally at Madison Square Garden during the Presidential campaign.

#### WHO ARE THE POLICE?

But many Negroes, who have demanded more police protection in their crime-ridden neighborhoods, say the sudden appearance—and disappearance—of a large Tactical Patrol Force unit creates resentment in these communities and does little to control crime on a long-range basis.

Moreover, a number of specialists argue that attempts to modify the day-to-day behavior of the police have failed because there has been virtually no change in the composition of the department.

Both the National Crime Commission and the Commission on Civil Disorders have recommended that every major city make a strong effort to hire more Negroes and Puerto Ricans as policemen.

The Police Department says it does not collect figures on the racial make-up of its force, but it was observed that about 5 per cent of the rookies at a recent graduation ceremony were Negro.

By contrast, police experts report that about one-half of the recent recruits in cities like Washington, Baltimore and Chicago have been nonwhite.

"The real powers in the New York Police Department—the ranking uniformed guys—simply are not interested in hiring black men," said Professor Curran.

"They set up a cadet program a few years

ago that was deliberately designed to fail. Instead of going out and making an effort to hire Negro family men with jobs, the department tried to train inexperienced teen-agers. And even this program has been reduced to one-fifth its original size."

Another way of making the police more responsive to the communities in which they operate is to appoint commanders of the same ethnic background as the people in those neighborhoods. Commissioner Leary has promoted more Negroes to higher posts than any commissioner before him, but the department has such a small number of Negroes in its ranks, according to qualified observers, that only a limited number of promotions are possible.

Some critics charge that the quality of police work has declined here since the widespread policemen's practice of living outside the city was legalized some years ago.

"The man who lives in the country is avoiding the city," Professor Curran said. "He is a voyeur, a member of an occupying army. It will be impossible to get really good police work until a much larger part of the department lives in the city and has its wives and children walking the streets."

#### COMMUNITY VOICE SOUGHT

This view coincides, in part, with a movement among some Negroes for community control of the police. The Black Panthers, for example, have filed a suit in Federal Court calling for control of the police assigned to each precinct by the people who live in the precinct.

One source of the demand for such control is the belief among some Negroes that policemen assigned to their neighborhoods allow the numbers racket and narcotics traffic to flourish there.

Concern over "bribes to the police" was one of the factors mentioned by President Nixon in his recent announcement of a special Federal-state racket squad to fight the Mafia in New York, which he said had a "heavy concentration of criminal elements."

Police corruption and disciplinary infractions—including "cooping," or sleeping on duty—have been growing, in the opinion of a number of officials who asked that their names not be used.

At a time when the overall strength of the department has increased 18 per cent, for example, the number of disciplinary actions has dropped 5.6 per cent.

Asked about this, Commissioner Leary said that discipline was the primary responsibility of First Deputy Commissioner John Walsh.

"I am sure he is adhering to the same high standards today that he adhered to before I came," Mr. Leary said.

#### POVERTY A KEY FACTOR

But even if corruption did not exist and if the new programs started by the city produced a more effective department, the result might not be a safer city if there were an increase in the number of persons likely to commit crime.

One long-time study in Chicago has found the highest incidence of juvenile delinquency among the city's poorest children—regardless of whether their families were immigrants from Ireland, Poland or the Mississippi Delta.

A number of other studies have found that young people seem to commit a disproportionate share of crime. Nearly 50 per cent of all those arrested for burglary and larceny and 60 per cent of those charged with auto thefts, for example, were under 18.

These findings may be significant because of tentative statistics suggesting there has been a substantial increase in the number of unemployed teen-agers, most of them Negro and Puerto Rican, living in New York during the last few years.

But the final word may belong to a thoughtful police sergeant.

"Americans like to think we can always build a better mouse trap," he said, leaning across the battered precinct desk. "Maybe we can't."

[From the New York Times, June 4, 1969]

THE CHANGING CITY: TIDE OF POLLUTION  
(By Peter Millones and Murray Schumach)

The richest city in the country breathes some of its poorest air. The city with the largest park system in the nation may be without greenery in a generation. The world capital of the arts is the nation's dirtiest metropolis.

These are paradoxes that New York is grappling with and must resolve if the city is to be what an increasing number of residents feel they have a right to expect—a city that is enjoyable, not just endurable.

They are obstacles to the wistful goal of making New York a "fun city"—a place where pleasure derived from the city is an everyday possibility for more than just the rich.

"Why live in the city?" asks Arthur W. Rashap, an executive in the Department of Parks and Cultural Affairs. "Do you live here because of inertia or a job? We have to offer diversity of experience to those who live here. We have to think of the quality of life."

Endless warfare has been waged to improve that quality of life.

Test tube has been pitted against belching smoke, incinerator against garbage-strewn street.

Swimming pool and traveling theater have been combating racial tension.

Pruning-knife and community-control projects have been battling park deterioration.

Vital questions that cut across all economic and ethnic lines—and sometimes stem from these distinctions—have been confronted in trying to prove that New York City can be more than a turbulent anthill.

The confrontation has set community groups against city project planners and touched off intramural battles among city agencies for the budget dollar.

So far, the results have been erratic and the outcome is in doubt. Some of the main battles over the years shape up this way:

Control of air and water pollution has been improved slightly.

Garbage problems are worse.

More people are enjoying the parks, but the parks are deteriorating because of vandalism and a manpower shortage.

The arts are vibrant with talent and experiment, but are increasingly expensive.

These contradictions and the snail's pace of progress have prompted Norman Maller to suggest that "the only way to end the smog is for citizens to get muskets, get on barges, go to Jersey and explode all the factories."

Others suffer disappointment less dramatically.

August Heckscher, the administrator of the Department of Parks and Cultural Affairs, looks back on vast hopes—such as piers being converted into recreation areas—and says: "Some of these things are just beyond our means."

And he adds sadly: "The last pier we could have used is now being used for the towaway program."

A recent cartoon in *The New Yorker* showed a woman sitting at a table on a terrace of a New York apartment, calling to her husband, "Hurry, dear, your soup is getting dirty."

More than soup has been getting dirty in New York. The United States Public Health Service has estimated that New Yorkers could save \$800-million-a-year in cleaning costs if air pollution was significantly reduced.

More important than the erosive effect of pollution on property is its harmful impact on human health. The Public Health Service has cited air pollution as a contributory cause of cancer and a serious irritant to lung and respiratory tissue.

Yet decisive action against air pollution here and throughout the nation has been slow because other problems—such as housing, crime, education and keeping the city "cool"—have had a higher priority.

As a result, air pollution has been vigorously attacked by cities only in the aftermath of disaster, such as the one that struck London in 1952, when 4,000 deaths were attributed to an eerie smog that contained a large percentage of sulfur dioxide from coal-burning furnaces.

In 1966, Mayor Lindsay's Task Force on Air Pollution, headed by Norman Cousins, the editor of *Saturday Review*, reported:

"All the ingredients now exist for an air-pollution disaster of major proportions."

Today, Merrill Eisenbud, head of the city's year-old Environmental Protection Administration, says: "We probably have the possibility of a health catastrophe under control now."

This hedged declaration is based largely on two things that have occurred in the last year: an estimated reduction of 28 per cent in the amount of sulfur dioxide entering the atmosphere and establishment of an air-monitoring network that is supposed to warn the city if air pollution becomes oppressive.

The reduction in sulfur is almost entirely due to the use of fuel with a lower sulfur content by the Consolidated Edison Company—a move demanded by the city, but implemented earlier than required.

#### THE WAFTINGS OF JERSEY

These changes are important, but the average housewife probably has seen no difference in the amount of dirt on her windowsill or the pedestrian any less dirt swirling about him each day.

That is because even though pollution coming from stacks is reduced, many factors, including dirty streets, polluted air drifting from New Jersey and exhausts of automobiles, trucks and buses contribute to the problem.

The city can do nothing about the Jersey pollution or engine exhaust without Federal help, but some critics maintain that it can be much tougher in areas where it does have control.

"Enforcement of air-pollution control laws in New York City is in a state of collapse," according to Eldon R. Clingan, executive director of Citizens for Cleaner Air, a 7,000-member group that in the past has often praised the city's efforts.

The city "cannot or will not enforce any standard or rule," Mr. Clingan told a recent hearing of the State Air Pollution Control Board. He asked the state to take a stronger role here.

The city has increased its budget for controlling air pollution from \$1.3-million in 1965-66 to \$5.2-million for 1969-70.

One difficulty in increasing the budget beyond this at a time of high concern over crime, schools, and welfare is that the funds would most likely come from other areas that are also viewed as low priority—parks, recreation and water pollution.

#### PROBLEMS INTERACT

Sometimes the conflicting needs of city agencies create other programs. The Sanitation Department, for example, has long used inefficient incinerators to burn up to 9,000 tons of refuse a day. Now it is in the expensive process of shutting down stacks to reduce pollution. But this poses still another problem: what will it do when dumping areas, such as in Staten Island, reach a saturation point?

A similar strain on the Sanitation Department was threatened by the city's decision last year to close apartment-house incinerators that pollute the air and allow the apartments to give refuse to the city for collection.

The city was forced to extend the deadline for the closing of these incinerators because

it could not raise the money to upgrade many incinerators in buildings the city itself owned. And the larger problem remains of what to do about disposing of the garbage that would have been consumed by the closed incinerators.

All of this happened at a time when officials of the Sanitation Department were conceding privately that they were running hard just to maintain garbage collection and street cleaning at levels that pleased few citizens or the officials themselves.

The dirty air combined with the dirty city streets have prompted some persons to move to the suburbs, and encouraged more and more residents to fight the traffic jams (which pollute the air) and seek fresh air and cleaner surroundings outside the city.

#### THREE MILLION TONS A YEAR

Critics of the Sanitation Department say that inefficient work habits often stand in the way of improvements.

The Uniformed Sanitationmen's Union replies that the city administration is responsible for the department's inability to handle the city's trash heap—more than 3 million tons a year—because it has not received the money and the men to do the job.

The amount of refuse produced here has been going up about 3 per cent a year largely because of the increase in throwaway bottles and other disposable items. At the same time, however, the size of the sanitation force has remained fairly constant at about 9,000 men a year.

The city's ability to handle snow removal—although it caused a great public resentment following the storm last February—has not diminished, in the view of sanitation officials. They say the ability to cope with a storm is largely dependent on human judgment—the ability to predict a bad storm and then to employ men and equipment at the outset, despite possible heavy financial costs.

Although no public official will say so publicly, they say in private that much of the garbage problem exists because many New Yorkers are slobs.

Some shopkeepers, whose wives would scream if they dropped cigarette ashes on the living-room rug, think nothing of allowing debris to swirl in front of their stores.

Some landlords, who complain of tenant sloppiness, never require their superintendents to wash down the area in front of apartments.

Added to this is inefficient garbage collection, which results in wind-topped cans and indifferent collectors who spread refuse over curbs while dumping cans into noisy trucks.

The city is now conducting an experiment with big plastic bags to see if they are better receptacles than cans. But this step, while important, will meet only a small part of the problem.

One big part of the problem, officials say, is the morale of the sanitation men, who threw eggs at their union leaders in January, 1968, when they were told to be calm and not strike.

#### WATERS POLLUTED

One member of the department notes: "There's a simple fact that you can't get away from—garbage stinks. And the human beings who handle it stink when the day is over. You do it every day and sooner or later you realize that you're a damn fool to pick up everybody else's leftovers and you say, 'Let somebody else do it.'"

When the sanitation union did strike in February, 1968, the situation became embroiled in a controversy between the Mayor and the Governor that illustrates some of the complex relationships between the city and the state.

The Mayor, to the applause of those who were angered by strikes of public employees, fought the union and asked the Governor to call out the National Guard to collect the

100,000 tons of garbage piling up in the streets.

The Governor, with the encouragement of unions generally and those who feared violence if the guard were called out, refused the Mayor's request and tried to work out a settlement with the union. A mediation panel named by the state finally produced an agreement that ended the strike.

#### ON THE BEACHES

As with sanitation the city's beaches face the reality of problems now and progress later. Mr. Eisenbud says that beach pollution is almost entirely due to years of gross neglect on the part of the city and the state and a lack of priority that prevent allocation of funds for research.

But Mr. Eisenbud is hopeful. By the late 1970's he estimates that \$1.6-billion will have been invested in water-pollution control in the city. The "highly visible" sewage that has been discharged from dozens of outlets around the city, will have been eliminated by then, he says.

It is possible that this summer or soon thereafter South Beach on Staten Island and Sea Gate in Brooklyn will again be suitable for swimming. The water of Jamaica Bay is expected to be ready for swimming in the late 1970's, as will the east shore of the Hudson River north of the George Washington Bridge in the late 1980's.

But at a recent meeting with his top aides, Commissioner Heckscher contemplated the problems of maintaining the 37,000 acres of parks, beaches and playgrounds that comprise his domain, and remarked:

"It's a nightmare from which we'll awaken only in pain."

To many residents the city's public recreation system is more exciting now than at any time in decades.

Former Parks Commissioner Thomas P. F. Hoving three years ago began to transform the city's major greens into vast and colorful theaters for "happenings," becoming a Pied Piper for thousands of New Yorkers of all ages and incomes.

The parks became a place for performances by the Metropolitan Opera and the New York Philharmonic, for poetry readings and fashion shows, for unconventional art exhibitions, rock music and hippie "be-ins" though many residents still feared for their safety in the parks at night.

Central Park's air was made sweeter by excluding cars and giving the green light to bicyclists, pedestrians and joggers.

"Central Park is a great village green of the city," Mr. Heckscher said in defining this concept. "Parks should be the scene of common enjoyment. Parks are, besides greenery, a stage in which the great ceremonies in the broader sense take place. Something of the common enjoyment made visible."

But something else has become visible as a result: deterioration. The most dramatic example of the joys and hangovers of intensive park use and the greater problem of interlocking human problems was the Barbra Streisand concert in Central Park on June 17, 1967.

#### COMMERCIALIZATION ATTACKED

The Streisand concert drew 135,000 persons to the 90-acre Sheep Meadow. But after they departed, the meadow resembled a huge garbage dump. Obliterating the grass was a prodigious rug of chicken bones, half-eaten sandwiches, cartons, bottles and paper.

For three days, dozens of sanitation men cleared the area while conservationists denounced "commercialization" of the parks at the expense of greenery and serenity.

Just as basic is the conflict between sports and more sedentary relaxation. Illustrative of this was a public clamor for a baseball field at Tompkins Park, in congested Bedford-Stuyvesant.

Park officials had to weigh the demand against another by other members of the

community for a rest area for the elderly. The solution was to take away nearly a fourth of the park for the field and to replace an old library there with a center for the elderly.

The decisive factor was the city's policy of encouraging communities to plan what they wanted even if they went against the wishes of sports lovers, conservationists or even citywide planners.

There have been occasions, for example, in which the city allocated funds for a swimming pool only to have the project blocked by community antagonisms. Sometimes it was because the community believed a pool would make the area too noisy or attract undesirables. In other instances, the community simply preferred unspoiled park area to a pool.

#### NEGROES SEEK WORK

Some aspects of this community policy have posed serious problems to park progress. For although the Parks Department probably works as closely with community groups as any city agency, it still has had to discard or delay prospects because of a lack of community consensus.

Another factor in some project delays has been the insistence of some black residents that any projects in their neighborhood be built by Negro-owned companies. According to Courtney Callender, who directs community relations for the department, there are not enough black companies in business to fulfill those demands.

Moreover, "about 90 per cent of the black firms are just not eligible," Mr. Callender, who is a Negro, says. "They do not have the financial resources. This means that most of them are effectively kept out. It's a terribly important problem. In Central Brooklyn—Bedford-Stuyvesant and Brownsville-East New York—a couple of million dollars worth of projects have bogged down because there is no guarantee of black entrepreneurship."

Many in the Park Department are convinced, however, that the maintenance of what it already has may be more important than building new facilities.

Statistics help sharpen the focus of this contention. Eighteen per cent of the city's land is under the category of parks—including 912 playgrounds. Last year some \$63 million was spent just to maintain these lands and support activities there.

By the standard of the National Recreation Association, which says there should be one acre of park for every 160 persons, most of the city is below par. According to the 1960 census, Staten Island has 37 persons an acre; Queens, 108; Bronx, 210; Brooklyn 440; and Manhattan, 650. Since the populations of Queens and Staten Island have grown rapidly since then, the situation is even worse today.

To maintain parks and playgrounds, the city employs 9,395 workers—5,500 on a permanent basis, the rest seasonal. This is not enough.

According to Alexander Wirin, executive director of the department: "The facilities increase and the problems increase. The problem of personnel has been getting worse for 20 years. We rob Peter to pay Paul."

Mr. Wirin, who has been with the department for 40 years, recalled how during the nineteen-thirties Parks Commissioner Robert Moses not only reached out for huge tracts of land to build much of the park system, but also fought for—and got—regiments of workers through the Federally supported Public Works Administration and the Works Progress Administration.

In the Depression years, Mr. Moses built Riis Park, Orchard Beach and scores of neighborhood playgrounds. He rehabilitated park areas and constructed some 200 comfort stations.

"Now," Mr. Wirin said, "the buildings are running down and we don't have the help to maintain them."

Adding to the misery of power is the frustration and anger of trying to cope with vandalism. Last year the city paid more than \$600,000 to repair vandalized park property and badly needed much more to do the job. Mr. Heckscher's chief assistant, William R. Ginsberg, says:

"We must have a public understanding of the fact that the park is our backyard and frontyard. Unless the urban dweller begins to treat the parks as his own garden, the parks are not going to be there for the enjoyment of his descendants."

Vandalism goes far beyond youngsters breaking branches when they scramble up trees. Entire comfort stations are demolished by arson and explosion. Swings, seesaws and even the rims of basketball baskets are ruined or stolen. Hundreds of benches are shattered each year and often even the concrete supports are demolished.

What is the answer? Many specialists would give more job opportunities to slum youngsters to develop more participation and a sense of belonging. Some executives in the department, including Mr. Heckscher, think public education would reduce vandalism. But Mr. Callender disagrees.

"It is absurd," he says, "to try to educate the people in these communities about vandalism. They do not think of the parks in those areas as theirs. When you approach them about vandalism, you are told to do something about more important matters. Vandalism is often a means of showing resentment."

In the middle-class sections, which are not immune to the problem, attempts to stop vandals have been stymied because parents say they can do nothing with their adolescent sons who are doing the damage.

One suggestion made by some city executives is that judges enforce the law that authorizes the imposition of fines on the parents of vandals. This is rarely done.

Part of the city's recreation policy is to use theater, music, dance and painting as a tool to ease racial hostilities in slums. This too, is the job of the Department of Parks and Cultural Affairs.

"Most of what we're doing is directed at the deprived areas," Mrs. Doris Freedman, who directs performing arts projects for the department, says. "The middle class and upper class can go to the theater. But there is this whole deprived area that has not had exposure to the arts. Shakespeare and symphonies were considered basically for Establishment groups. That was where I came in."

From the backs of trucks, from little stages in parks and playgrounds, this division of the department has, in effect, made the slums a showcase for performing artists, many of whom were recruited from the slums.

With funds scrounged mostly from private groups—it is almost impossible to obtain city funds that might otherwise be allocated to such areas as pollution, sanitation and parks—Mrs. Freedman's projects have supported graphic arts displays, stilt walks, workshops, and exhibitions of films made by slum teen-agers.

A major reason that a program such as this is even in existence, with so many other departments clamoring for funds, is that New York City is the world capital of the arts.

Sol Hurok, the international impresario, put it this way: "No question about it. New York City is still the leading city in the country in music, ballet, theater, opera. It is still the showcase of the arts."

New York has retained this prominence despite the flight of substantial numbers of the middle class—who make up much of Broadway's audience—to the suburbs, and the growth of regional theaters to serve those playgoers.

"It is nonsense to talk about the destruction of Broadway or New York City theater by the out-of-town theater," says Harold

Prince, the producer of "Fiddler on the Roof" "Cabaret," and "Zorba." "Now it is finally being admitted that these things out of town are not so good. It is no accident that Off-Broadway and Off-Off-Broadway grew in this city. They have both served Broadway."

In addition the city has encouraged the output of movies here. Some 24 full-length features were filmed here last year, compared to 15 the preceding year.

The city also hopes to stem the decline in Broadway theaters that dates to the Depression and talking pictures by persuading builders to install four theaters in the skyscraper office buildings they are planning for the Times Square area.

But the theaters will eventually suffer if New York is not made to work for more of its people—black and white, rich, middle class and poor, young and old.

Thus, a sign in Mrs. Freedman's office is of relevance. It says:

"What are 500,000 kids in the ghettos going to do when school lets out on June 28?"

And the question for the entire population here is what will it do if the city's efforts to raise the quality of life in New York—in pollution, sanitation, public recreation and the arts—continues to be only slightly better than a holding operation?

[From the New York Times, June 5, 1969]

#### THE CHANGING CITY: HOUSING PARALYSIS

(By David K. Shipler)

The state of housing in New York City seems as hopeless as an abandoned tenement whose broken windows stare blankly out on a slum.

Private industry is building apartments for only the wealthiest 7 per cent of the population except in cases where it receives government subsidies.

The city government says it cannot produce decent housing for the remaining 93 per cent without more money from Washington.

Federal housing officials charge that the city has not been efficient enough to use all the funds it has already been offered.

As a result, a low-income family asking for an apartment in a public-housing project will become No. 130,801 on the waiting list, according to the latest figures. At the current rate of construction, they could expect to move into a project in 51 years.

To solve this problem New York City needs right now 780,000 new subsidized apartments, but the Federal housing program, in its 34-year history, has produced only 800,000 units across the entire country.

All this adds up to eight-million New Yorkers caught in a clash of powerful forces: rising rents and falling rates of vacancy, dwindling amounts of new construction and widespread abandonment of sound old buildings.

The Lindsay administration, which inherited these problems, has not been able to run fast enough even to stand still, in the view of many urban authorities.

The city administration has taken strides toward allowing the poor to plan the renewal of their own neighborhoods, in paying careful attention to the quality of designs, in attempting to eliminate the past cruelties of relocation. But many housing experts see these gains as peripheral to the problem, which is how to improve the quantity of housing in this most congested of American cities.

The improvements are needed not only to replace decayed houses but also to satisfy the soaring hopes of millions no longer content to live as their parents did. The poor, most of them black and Puerto Rican, seek escape from crowded, heatless tenements. The middle class, mostly white, want enough space for a den or a study, a patch of lawn for their children, a safe neighborhood.

In the campaign of 1965, John V. Lindsay said that he hoped as Mayor "to begin the uplifting of New York and to build at least 160,000 low and middle-income apartments" in four years.

But in the last three and a half years, the city started construction of only 34,167 apartments, and just 8,920 of these were for the low-income families, most of them black, who are now in the city's worst housing.

Last year, 13,257 new apartments were started here through a variety of publicly aided programs. But housing specialists estimate that the effort was dissipated by the number of good apartments that decayed during the same period.

The entire population of Arizona could fit into the deteriorated housing in New York City. There are now a half-million decaying apartments, and the disintegration is accelerating as responsible private owners retreat from slum neighborhoods where investment is risky.

It is this rapid decline that forms the need for massive government building programs. But the obstacles to government action are enormous. Among them are the following:

Climbing real-estate taxes, interest rates, construction costs and land prices make housing too expensive here to qualify for many Federal housing programs, which set limits on how much each apartment can cost.

The city's political and administrative machinery is too unwieldy, qualified observers believe, to allow easy navigation through Federal red tape.

New York is so built up that for nearly every building that is constructed one must be torn down. That takes time.

Because Washington stresses new construction, there are only a few thinly founded Federal programs aimed at stemming deterioration, although preservation of existing housing might reduce the need for new building.

Even those who have studied the problem in depth have difficulty fully understanding the social and economic forces that lead to the housing deterioration characterized by rat infestation, heatless apartments whose floors are covered with ice in the winter, solid buildings abandoned to narcotics addicts.

#### ABANDONMENT ON THE RISE

The abandonment of buildings, by both landlords and tenants, has climbed precipitously in recent years. In 1961, there were 1,000 abandoned buildings on record; in 1968 there were 7,100, according to Dr. Frank S. Kristof, an economist with the New York State Urban Development Corporation. Dr. Kristof estimates that 2,000 to 3,000 buildings are being abandoned here each year.

Although the city has stepped up the demolition of unsafe buildings—from 216 in 1965 to 1,835 in 1968—it cannot keep up with the desertion rate.

As a result, more and more vacant structures are left standing, with a depressing and demoralizing impact on surrounding property and residents. Their infestation spreads quickly through whole blocks until some sections to the city now resemble bombed out areas of wartime Europe.

According to housing officials, most of the abandoned buildings are structurally sound but aging. Caught in the whirlpool of the slums or of neighborhoods changing into slums, they have suffered through the years from neglect by their owners, who are unwilling or unable to put rent money into repairs.

"A deteriorating building is as vulnerable as a wounded bird," said Donald H. Elliott, chairman of the City Planning Commission.

#### A NATIONAL PROBLEM

A vacant apartment falls prey to drug addicts, who rip out plumbing and sell it to support their habits. The old boiler, in need

of repair, stops providing heat. Water freezes, bursts the pipes and drips into electrical wiring, putting out the lights and perhaps starting a fire. The tenants leave, one by one, and the building is gone.

"If there is insufficient money to maintain a building," a group of landlords said recently, "the building must deteriorate and eventually become a slum structure." They blame the cycle on rent control and some experts, such as Dr. Kristof, agree.

But other specialists, including Prof. Chester Rapkin, director of Columbia University's Institute of Urban Environment and a member of the City Planning Commission, doubt that if controls were lifted landlords would put increased rent profits back into their buildings. And even if they did, tremendous hardships would result for thousands of families who could not afford to pay the rent increases.

Moreover, abandonment is a national problem, even in major cities without rent control. In the slums of Chicago's West Side, for example, structurally sound, brick apartment houses are being abandoned by owners who do not regard their investments as worth maintaining.

Here and in Chicago, the city governments attack the symptoms. New York fills fuel tanks that landlords have let run dry, fixes boilers and attaches rents and uses them to upgrade buildings. But the victims still multiply.

On the fourth floor of a grimy tenement on Manhattan's Lower East Side, Mrs. Zulma Pantoja, a dark-eyed mother in her early twenties, rolls her baby's crib away from the wall of a crowded bedroom.

"This is what I have to do at night," she says, "to keep the rats from climbing in."

She and her husband, Americo, and their two small children sleep in one cramped room of their three-room apartment. They pay \$35 a month rent, although with Mr. Pantoja's steady job, they could afford more.

"I've been looking and looking for an apartment," Mrs. Pantoja said, "but they're all in the same condition." She has been searching on the Lower East Side, where she grew up, and where she wants to stay.

The Pantojas are just one family among thousands who have suffered from the shrinking availability of apartments. Mr. Lindsay characterized the dwindling vacancy rate as an "emergency" in 1965, when it was 3.19 per cent. In the spring of 1968, it had dropped to 1.23 per cent.

One consequence of the shortage has been to drive up rents sharply in many of the city's 600,000 apartments not under rent control, prompting the City Council and the Mayor to legislate limits on the increases.

But while benefiting tenants in the short run, landlords contend that by restricting profits, these tenants will be hurt in the future. For since the demand for office space here is at least as strong as for apartments, many developers are turning toward office-building construction, where the income is higher and the tenants considered easier to deal with.

Private industry has built and owns 92 per cent of the city's 2.8-million residential units without Government subsidies. But privately financed apartment houses are now going up only in the most prestigious neighborhoods, such as Manhattan's East Side, and monthly rents are in the range of \$100 to \$150 a room.

Under the conventional rule that rent should not exceed 25 per cent of income, a family with a four-room apartment would have to earn nearly \$20,000 a year to pay those rents. The median family income in the city is about \$6,000 a year.

On Fifth Avenue just north of Washington Square, a young man, his wife and baby are living in a pleasant cooperative purchased a few years ago for \$32,000. Now, looking for a larger co-op, he finds he can get \$95,000 for his. An impressive profit?

"Peanuts!" he says. The apartment with the extra room he wants now will cost him \$135,000 or more.

Although families in all income classes share facets of the same problem, the need for new housing is most acute in the hard-core slums, where the attraction for private money and private initiative is weakest. Most poor families do not have the option that the Fifth Avenue family has: a move to the suburbs.

For this reason, Mayor Lindsay reordered the housing priorities of previous administrations, which had concentrated on building up and preserving fringe areas around slums, but had avoided emphasis on the slums themselves.

#### PRIORITIES ARE REORDERED

With encouragement from Washington, which wanted to attack the worst housing, the city shifted the focus to the major poverty neighborhoods, which are now New York's three Model Cities areas—the South Bronx, Harlem-East Harlem, and Central Brooklyn (including Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brownsville and East New York).

Under the Federally sponsored Model Cities program, Government effort is to be concentrated on hard-core slums in an attempt to deliver improved services, such as sanitation, education and medical care, and to raise the physical condition of the neighborhoods by building new housing, schools, parks and recreation centers.

Some planners, however, are wary of the new priority.

They argue that if more new low-income housing is built inside the slums than outside, more low-income black and Puerto Rican families will continue to live in the bad neighborhoods. The neighborhoods may be improved, they contend, but there will be less opportunity for the poor to move to better parts of the city. The bitter racial ghettos will remain intact.

The city has tried to compensate for this by adopting a policy to set aside 20 per cent of the apartments in middle-income projects at reduced rents for low-income tenants, and by leasing units for the poor in existing privately owned buildings in good neighborhoods.

Nevertheless of the 21,024 low-income apartments in new projects and leasing programs approved since 1965 only 7,434 are slated for neighborhoods outside poverty areas, mostly in Queens and the Bronx. Most of these units are in projects that have not yet been built.

This concentration on building in the slums appears to be in conflict with a proposal of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, whose report Mr. Lindsay helped write.

"We believe," the commission said, "that Federally aided low and moderate-income housing programs must be reoriented so that the major thrust is in nonghetto areas."

#### NEW CONSTRUCTION DISCUSSED

Asked about this in a recent interview, the Mayor said he thought new construction should be undertaken both inside and outside the slums.

"You have to do both," he said. "Obviously, what is desirable to achieve is the choice, in the long run. Given a choice, the average guy stays in his own community. Being locked out of a choice is what he doesn't like."

It is clear that publicly aided housing in good neighborhoods constitutes the best hope that poor nonwhites have for escaping the slums, since racial discrimination persists in private housing despite city, state and Federal laws against it.

Mayor Lindsay said recently that the fight to get low-income units approved in middle-class neighborhoods was "a real bloodbath" politically because of white resistance to blacks moving in.

Another obstacle to public housing outside the slums is the scarcity of usable vacant land, according to Albert A. Walsh, chairman of the city's Housing Authority.

Mr. Elliott adds that the sites that are vacant have usually been left alone by private developers for good reasons, such as ground that is too soft or hills that are too steep.

Limited sites also present problems in the slums, which are more congested and dense in New York than in most other cities. Usually, hundreds of families have to be relocated from rotting tenements wherever new housing is built.

To accomplish this, some neighborhoods, such as Coney Island, have been used for what community leaders call "dumping grounds" for relocates from housing sites. Some families have been moved several times, always from tenement to tenement rarely benefiting from the new housing for which they make room.

The city has tried to "make relocation a positive move upward," as one official put it, by moving tenement residents into existing public housing or new housing across the street or down the block before their homes are demolished to make way for new structures.

Much of the intricate planning required by this process has been done by community residents themselves, although some of them have complained that the city still has not given them enough power.

Neighborhood people, usually black or Puerto Rican, have usually been allowed to decide what buildings will be torn down, what kind of housing will go on the sites and who will own the completed projects.

In the view of some housing specialists, the city, in agreeing to some measure of community control, has simply ridden a wave of reaction to the old "bulldozer technique" employed in the nineteen-fifties by Robert Moses as chairman of the Slum Clearance Committee.

Rebellion against that centralized policy of urban renewal began in the later years of the Wagner administration, these observers note, and Mayor Lindsay has merely allowed it to move along its natural course.

If community participation has resulted in better location methods and other benefits, it has also caused some problems.

The planning process, for example, has often become a battleground on which contentious community organizations wage their wars for power and prestige. As a result, important projects have been delayed.

In Coney Island, for example, a predominantly black group wanted low-income housing on four sites along Surf Avenue. An association of businessmen, mostly white, wanted the housing for middle-income families.

The blacks compromised and accepted a city plan for half-middle and half low-income apartments. But the whites, adamant, used their influence on Board of Estimate members to force the city to drop plans for one of the sites. It was a vacant lot, and still is.

In another instance, planning for the Milbank-Frawley Circle urban renewal area in Harlem was snarled for years because blacks and Puerto Ricans were battling for control of the program.

#### BENEFITS ARE SEEN

City officials concede that there are sometimes delays. But more often, they say renewal projects would take even longer without community support. Instead of planning relocation programs, residents would be blocking them.

The city has retained final authority over important decisions, however. City officials recently blocked attempts by leaders of the Harlem-East Harlem and South Bronx Model Cities areas to take complete control of the

programs there. The result was an organization whose power is to be shared in "partnership," by both the community and the city government.

The city's community involvement and relocation policies depend on small, "vest-pocket" housing sites scattered throughout a neighborhood rather than on massive projects replacing whole neighborhoods with huge superblocks.

Charles J. Urstadt, the State Housing Commissioner, is extremely critical of the city's devotion to the "vest-pocket" approach, asserting that it takes as much work by planners to clear the way for 100 units as for 1,000, and what New York needs is a large quantity of housing in a hurry.

But advocates of the policy stress the importance of preserving a neighborhood's character, of retaining the structure and the roots of the people, because new buildings alone do not solve the problems of poverty.

This policy, and the attention to pleasing, efficient design, has delayed some projects and this annoys the specialists who want quantity. But to other experts the eventual gains outweigh the delays, for the resulting high quality, they say, may keep pace with the public's soaring aspirations.

Community involvement has had other ramifications, such as pressure on construction unions to employ more nonwhites, the letting of contracts to black architects and black-owned demolition companies and ownership of some new buildings by non-profit organizations based in the slums.

But these trends alone will not build housing. The Mayor, his housing officials and some experts outside government believe the greatest impediment to construction is cost.

City aides, as well as the administrators of other cities, recently told George Romney, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, (H.U.D.), that unless changes are made in the rules by which money is granted, the Federal housing programs will come to a complete halt.

By law, the Federal Government is not permitted to pay for public housing that costs more than \$3,150 a room to build, a figure that Congress has raised only 26 per cent since 1949, compared to a 118 per cent rise here in construction costs, according to Mr. Walsh.

The city's most recent project application was just \$5 below that limit.

The \$3,150 ceiling covers only pure construction costs. A second limitation, not written into law, but alleged by city officials to be imposed administratively by H.U.D., covers the entire development cost of a project, such as land cost and architects' fees, as well as construction.

Federal officials deny there is such a limit, but city housing men insist that until less than a year ago, it was set at \$20,000 an apartment, and has been relaxed only in recent weeks so that it rises as costs increase and apartments grow in size.

One H.U.D. official said he was reluctant to discuss price tags for fear of angering "Southern Senators," who he said would object to building such "expensive" apartments for the urban poor.

#### INEFFICIENCY IS CHARGED

The ceiling's effect has been to hamper the city's construction program, Mr. Walsh asserts, by requiring staff to spend more time getting the cost estimates down, and by subjecting many applications to rejection by Washington.

Some Federal officials observe that private industry, building low-income housing that is sold upon completion to the Housing Authority, has been able to do it for about \$19,000 an apartment.

In response to city charges that Federal regulations have hindered housing efforts, United States officials and some housing ex-

perts outside the Government maintain that the city has not been as efficient as it could be in finding sites, getting developers, obtaining aid from Washington and pushing plans through its own agencies.

Jason R. Nathan, who heads the Housing and Development Administration, the new superagency designed to streamline the housing operation by combining competing bureaucracies into one body, counters that 1968 was a "quietly spectacular year." He says he now has a "full pipeline" of more than 33,000 units, most of which are at the beginning of the tortuous route through the government bureaucracy.

#### MORE DIFFICULTIES AHEAD

New Yorkers will undoubtedly continue to have immense housing difficulties for some time to come because the city's problems are aggravated versions of national ills.

So much money is needed, specialists in the field believe, that national priorities must be reversed to place housing—along with other domestic programs—high above spending for defense.

One H.U.D. official conceded recently that "New York City could theoretically use all the money appropriated for the whole country."

H.U.D. says it allocated about \$100-million to New York for all its housing programs in 1968. In addition, the city spent \$50-million of its own, through its capital budget. But the Planning Commission has said that to make a visible dent in the city's housing problem, \$580-million a year must be allocated for 10 years at least.

In the meantime, the problem will remain an intimate one for New Yorkers. "The place a man lives is more than just another commodity, service or possession," wrote the President's Committee on Urban Housing last December.

"It is a symbol of his status, an extension of his personality, a part of his identity, a determinant of many of the benefits—and disadvantages—of society that will come to him and his family: schooling, police protection, municipal services, neighborhood environment, access (or lack of access) to a hundred possibilities of life and culture."

[From the New York Times, June 6, 1969]

#### THE CHANGING CITY: SCHOOL TURMOIL

(By Fred M. Hechinger)

The city school system, in the view of most authorities, is failing to meet the major challenge that it faces: the education of masses of seriously disadvantaged black and Puerto Rican children.

In contrast, these authorities agree, the city's schools work as well now as they have in the past for those white middle-class youngsters enrolled in traditionally stable and homogeneous neighborhood schools.

This difference, more pointed than ever because the Negro and Puerto Rican school population has passed the 50 per cent mark and is still growing, has led to demands for change that have shaken not only elementary and secondary schools, but also the municipal colleges.

As a result, the school system, with its 1.1-million children on the primary and secondary levels, and the colleges, with 166,000 students, have become both a battleground and a laboratory for the complex social problems that beset the community at large.

Dr. Bernard E. Donovan, the outgoing Superintendent of Schools, gave the official view of the problem from the viewpoint of his 40 years in the school system:

"The public should not be misled constantly into believing that the public schools have failed. They have not failed. They are still doing exceptionally well those things they have always done well.

"Deficiencies lie in the system's difficulty of coping with a new and massive group of seriously disadvantaged children. Even in this area the New York City public schools have

been pioneers in practically every innovative program to help the disadvantaged.

"Unfortunately, we, in addition to every other large city in the nation, have not yet been able to marshal effectively our own and all the other forces of society which must be brought together to solve this problem."

One of the problems of mobilizing the full resources of the society is that control of the schools is split between the city and the state. As a result, potentially important reforms—such as the current move toward decentralization—cannot be determined by local opinion or leadership.

The State Legislature, for example, determines to a large extent the financing of the schools because it supplies almost half the annual \$1.2-billion budget through aid formulas over which the city has little control. Also it can and does change the composition of the Board of Education and the method of selecting its members whenever it feels the need.

Other problems also figure in the schools' difficulties:

Probably as never before in the city's history, the parents of slum children as well as of middle-class children have riveted their attention on the schools as the gateway to economic improvement and personal fulfillment. But a conflict has developed over how the schools can best serve the majority and over whether the schools should become—as many black community leaders believe—an instrumentality for much broader social change.

As a result of this conflict, an increasing number of white middle-class parents have begun to fear that the schools are no longer serving their children. Some have left the city and a relative few have placed their children in private schools.

A predominantly white teaching staff has been challenged by a mass of dissatisfied black and Puerto Rican parents and community groups. The white staff is highly unionized and has been supported by white leaders of other unions, putting them in contention with much of the black and Puerto Rican community.

Because the schools are so important to the community and consume after welfare the largest share of the city budget, Mayor Lindsay has felt compelled to assume greater control over school affairs, placing himself in conflict with traditionalists who believe public education should be insulated from politics.

In New York and elsewhere around the country the public schools can no longer solve their problems, as they once could, by casting out those who are difficult to educate. At the turn of the century, for example, only 4 per cent of school-age children completed high school; today almost 40 per cent of eligible youngsters actually enter college.

A heritage of long years of neglect—the result of inadequate planning and financing—has left the schools seriously overcrowded. This is especially true in the high schools, where lack of space and curtailed programs have been invitations to disorder.

#### SURVEY'S RESULTS

A recent Public Education Association survey showed that there are 40,000 more students in the public high schools than they are equipped to accommodate. This is a group large enough to fill 10 to 15 entire high schools or more than the total number of high schools in any but the largest American cities.

Against the background of the school system's inability to deal with the education of large numbers of its children, public attention has been focused not on what is wrong with the city's schools but on the symptoms of their illness: violence in the streets, anti-Negro and anti-white invective, the temporary closing of tension-ridden schools.

"Disorders and fears of new and frightening dimensions stalk the corridors of many of our schools," the high school principals have warned in a somber, official communiqué. "The hour is late, our schools are in peril."

Indeed, often in alliance with radical college students, bands of high school pupils and some of their community allies did begin to roam the corridors of the schools and the streets around them.

The picture was—and is—clearly grim. But contrary to the convictions of many New Yorkers, it is not unique to the city. It is part of a national malaise.

"Three out of five principals report some form of active protest in their schools," according to a survey conducted this spring by the National Association of Secondary School Principals. "Many who note no protest as yet add that they expect it in the near future. . . . Among junior high schools, 56 per cent report protest activities."

This year there have been school disruptions in such places as Edcouch, Tex. (population 2,800) and in Billings, Mont. (population 55,000). Police patrols have been a commonplace in schools across the country. Security guards are stationed in schools from Newark to Kansas City, where they are equipped with handcuffs and chemical spray. Armed guards and plainclothes men patrol schools in Chicago, Philadelphia, Oakland and Flint, Mich. In some cities—San Francisco and Chicago among them—more than half the schools have experienced some sort of disruption during the last year.

In major cities, the troubles in the schools have grown largely out of racial and class conflict. Exacerbating this has been a panicky expectation of trouble by those who have been conditioned by the tense social atmosphere to foresee the worst.

In this crisis atmosphere, many New Yorkers lose sight of the fact that dozens of schools operate here without disruptions, continuing year in and year out to produce students of exceptional talent who win a disproportionate share of the nation's scholastic award and college scholarships.

Last week, for example, the Bronx High School of Science and Stuyvesant High scored first and second among 7,000 schools across the country that competed in the 207th annual high school mathematics contest.

Moreover, many Negro and Puerto Rican students, too, complete school successfully, win academic honors and move on to college, often to the highly selective campuses. And their number, though still far from satisfactory, is increasing.

To make this point one day not too long ago, when newspapers and television newscasts were filled with accounts of violence in eight city schools, John Doar, then president of the Board of Education, asked a reporter friend:

"Why don't you mention that there are 900 schools in the city? Why not a headline saying, 'Children Learning Peacefully in 892 Schools?'"

#### RESPECTED BY EDUCATORS

The implications of Mr. Doar's remark are important, for if New York shares an educational crisis with other major cities around the country, it continues to enjoy respect among the nation's educators.

Harold Howe 2d, who was the United States Commissioner of Education in the Johnson Administration, believes, for example, that New York's schools are of higher over-all quality than those of most other big cities.

This is not an assessment that is easily grasped, in part, because there are no fully acceptable yardsticks by which to measure the quality of one school system against another, and, in part, because the size of New York's school system places it in a special category. Only 11 of the 50 states have as

many public school students as New York has, which means that all of the city's educational accomplishments and failings should properly be compared—if that were possible—with the records of entire states.

Despite the absence of conclusive measurements of educational performance, there are some indicators of success or failure, and on these New York does fairly well in comparison with other cities.

In reading tests conducted in 1968, for example, 41.3 per cent of the city's sixth-graders demonstrated an ability to read above the national norm, as against 24 per cent in Philadelphia and 25 per cent in Boston.

#### ANOTHER STUDY CITED

This is small consolation, of course, since the majority of the city's sixth-graders were recorded as reading below the norm.

Another reading study offers further evidence, however, that the problem lies in the system's inability to educate the poor and culturally deprived. This study found that in 10 schools with predominantly Negro enrollments, the proportion of fifth-graders reading at or above their grade level ranged from 14 per cent to 44 per cent, while in 10 schools with a predominantly white enrollment the range was from 31 per cent to 73 per cent.

The necessity of educating large numbers of disadvantaged children is not likely to diminish during the foreseeable future. Between 1957 and 1964, the city's white public school enrollment declined by 85,000. At the same time, black enrollment increased by 111,000 and Puerto Rican enrollment by 60,000.

Together, these two groups now constitute 54 per cent of the total public school population.

Total enrollment, which declined with the white middle-class exodus to the suburbs in the post-World-War II period and because of the low Depression-era birth rate and the growth of parochial schools, now stands at the same level it reached in 1934.

But while the school system has only 10 per cent more pupils than it had in 1939, its staff has grown from 40,000 to 66,000, permitting smaller classes, additional specialized services and administrative positions, but bringing charges from Mayor Lindsay that the system fails to use its resources effectively.

"Our schools are the most lushly funded school system in the nation," Mayor Lindsay said in a recent interview. He said that per pupil expenditure starts at \$969 in ordinary grade schools and rises to \$1,200 in the More Effective Schools, which are designed to provide enriched programs for disadvantaged children.

"It has the best teacher-pupil ratio of any city—not just some but any city in the country," the Mayor continued. "And yet the problem is that the management of the thing is such that we just don't get the production."

Albert Shanker, the president of the United Federation of Teachers, agrees with the Mayor's statistics, pointing out that Detroit operates classes of 45 pupils while the maximum class size in New York is 34 and many are substantially smaller than that.

Mr. Shanker disagrees, however, with Mr. Lindsay's evaluation of the quality of the school system. If children on the same socioeconomic level are compared, Mr. Shanker contends, New York's educational success is greater than most other cities.

But to an increasing and highly impatient number of parents, the central issue was not that the city school system is working better than those of other cities, but that it did not appear to be working for their children.

Two strikes, one over wages and other labor issues, and one last year that involved the decentralization battle in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district of Brooklyn, plus boycotts and other shutdowns have been closing

the schools periodically, interrupting education over the last several years.

The Rev. Milton A. Galamison, a spokesman first, for integration and now for community control of the schools, expressed such dissatisfaction this way:

"The quality of education in our public schools continues to fall into intolerable depths, with community morale, the will to teach and the depths in decades."

Other black spokesmen, even more militantly, have accused the schools of "educational genocide."

But Dr. Robert J. Havighurst of the University of Chicago, an expert in urban education, believes such charges overlook "the whole complex reality of society" and turn the schools into "collective scapegoats for troubles of the city."

He says that "many of the local critics of the big-city schools have a naive faith in what the school can accomplish when it is not aided by the family."

Dissatisfaction with the schools came into social focus as never before with the emergence of the large black and Puerto Rican school population and into political focus with the presence of Mr. Lindsay, who declared in his 1965 campaign that a Mayor "must not shrink from taking stands" even at the risk of involving himself in controversy.

Thus the Mayor became identified with the push for decentralization and with the controversy over community control that erupted following the issuance of proposals by a mayoral advisory panel headed by McGeorge Bundy, the president of the Ford Foundation.

In reality, the demand for community control arose not out of any action taken by Mr. Lindsay or Mr. Bundy, but out of what Harlem considered a betrayal by the Board of Education in 1967.

At a time when integration was the paramount objective, community groups in Harlem has opposed construction of Intermediate School 201 at 127th Street and Madison Avenue on the ground that the new school would automatically fall victim to de facto segregation because of its location.

The Board of Education assured the community leaders that the school would be integrated and proceeded with its construction.

When the school was opened, the Harlem community's fears were fully realized. The school was virtually 100 per cent black and Puerto Rican. At that point, Harlem spokesmen turned to a new demand—not for integration but for the power to run the school as the community's own.

Out of this cry for community control grew the Ford Foundation's plan—which came long before the Bundy report on decentralization—to establish clusters of locally administered schools around I.S. 201, in Ocean Hill-Brownsville and on the Lower East Side.

The purpose, according to critics of the existing system, was not only to improve ghetto schools, but also to restore public faith in the school system through new management patterns.

#### RECRUITMENT LAG

One demand of community groups seeking control of neighborhood schools—more Negro teachers and principals—has been complicated, however, by a lag in the city's recruitment of Negroes and Puerto Ricans into teaching and educational administration.

Washington, for instance, has a predominantly black enrollment and a predominantly black teaching staff. Detroit, a labor city where the unions appear to have made an earlier peace with integration, has a school population that is 60 per cent black; 40 per cent of its teaching staff and 30 per cent of its administrative staff are also black.

By contrast, fewer than 10 per cent of the teachers and a mere handful of the admin-

istrators here are Negroes. The first Negro high school principal in New York's history was appointed last year.

The Board of Examiners, which controls the licensing of teachers, denies that it discriminates. In a literal sense, this is true, but many educators note that any tightly controlled admission system in which standards are established by the "ins" tends to reproduce itself in its own image.

Before 1930, veterans of the system recall, many Jews were barred from teaching in the city system on the basis of speech tests. Dr. Nathan Brown, executive Deputy Superintendent of Schools, remembers that when he entered the school system in 1937, there were only two Jewish high school principals—and seven other principals who had converted from Judaism to Catholicism.

This sort of pattern of self-reinforcing exclusion broke down under the pressure of Jewish insistence on entry into the school system. And today it is beginning to give way to a new wave of black and Puerto Rican men and women pressing for access and power.

In seeking access and power this group came into conflict with the middle-management layer of the school establishment and, by extension, with the Board of Education, which sets over-all policy for the system.

The board, ideally in traditional New York thinking, has been a nonpartisan body dedicated to what is best for the pupils without regard to what is best for any power bloc in the city.

However, experts in the field point out that in naming members of the board New York Mayors generally have been careful to try to keep a balance of Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jew and, with the rise in Negro and Puerto Rican population, these groups have successfully pressed for representation.

And, while Mayors usually have said that they did not interfere with their boards, these experts are not so sure that this has been precisely true.

Old-timers in the system say, for example, that former Mayor Fiorello La Guardia often involved himself in educational matters, not always with the best results for the schools.

Former Mayor Robert F. Wagner is often cited as a model hands-off-the-schools Mayor. Yet veterans in the system say that this did not keep him from getting many things that he wanted.

"He'd pick up the phone and talk to the right party," one of them said recently. "But, of course, most of the people involved were Democrats and so it remained a family affair."

In contrast, Mayor Lindsay, in a stand similar to Mayor La Guardia's, let it be clearly known that he intended to take a strong role in determining school policies on the ground that the Mayor had to take responsibility since he appointed the members of the Board of Education and helped to set its budget.

#### MAYOR CRITICIZED

Once he became publicly identified with school policies, the Mayor also became a target for criticism from members of the school hierarchy and teachers union. Much of this centered on the following contentions:

By being publicly identified with one or another side of an issue the Mayor could not mediate crucial situations as effectively as he might have had he not been involved.

The Mayor's reluctance to deal with labor leaders behind the scenes made contract negotiations more combative and costly.

The Mayor did not have as much technical and administrative knowledge of school affairs as the school officials who had been operating the system over the years.

Mr. Lindsay's answer to these charges is that it was the ineptness of the educational bureaucracy that compelled him to step into the situation in the first place and that as the Mayor he could not remain passive about

so central an issue as the quality of public education.

And while there has been hostility between him and Mr. Shanker in the past, many observers within both the union and the Board of Education now believe that relations between the two have greatly improved.

The State Legislature has now stepped in to reduce the Mayor's power over the Board of Education. In its last session it directed that the board named by the Mayor be replaced by an interim board appointed by the city's five Borough Presidents. This board will be replaced next year by a seven-member board, five members to be chosen in borough elections and only two to be named by the Mayor.

The legislation was not what the Mayor had sought. Some school officials, including Mr. Doar, say that a lack of administrative followup explains the defeat of most of Mr. Lindsay's decentralization proposals when the school bill was finally pushed hurriedly through the Legislature in April.

There is at the same time, an equally widespread feeling among critics that the school system itself is also lacking in administrative follow-through, and that this has, in fact, forced the Mayor to step into the battle.

These critics cite as examples the following two planning and construction problems:

When the city followed a state recommendation to move ninth-grade pupils from junior high schools to high schools to speed integration, it did not plan new high schools, thus creating the overcrowding that fueled much of the present unrest.

The school board planned new comprehensive high schools that would include both vocational and academic programs. One was to open in 1968 and four other plus four additions to existing schools were to open this year; none of this has been accomplished.

As in many city crises the Board of Education and the City Planning Commission accuse each other of causing such delays.

Another example critics cite is the much publicized Higher Horizons program, which offered special instructional and cultural opportunities to disadvantaged youngsters. When these intensive efforts showed signs of paying off, the program was spread to so many schools that—without extra funds—it was diluted into oblivion.

Still another criticism has been directed at the system's unwillingness to respond to those it has found too radical, with the result that relatively moderate pressures have been supplanted by more militant demands.

Seven years ago, for example, the school system recoiled from the demands by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for speedier integration. Bayard Rustin was then (as he is now) a leading integrationist spokesman, but James B. Donovan, then president of the Board of Education refused to meet with him because he was considered to be an extremist.

The current level of black militancy makes it poignantly plain that Mr. Rustin and the N.A.A.C.P. merited more considerate treatment.

Just as the primary and secondary schools have been the target of demands for improved service to the disadvantaged, so too has the City University, where black and Puerto Rican students, joined by white radicals, have staged disruptive and at times violent demonstrations against allegedly inadequate admissions for the minorities.

But the university has, in fact, established a national record along these lines: 20 per cent of its total enrollment is now black and Puerto Rican and more than 3,000 students are enrolled in special programs to aid the educationally handicapped.

Moreover, the giant tuition-free City University has expanded steadily to its current total of 166,000 students, a growth of almost 50 per cent in the last five years. With its

new affiliation with the Mount Sinai School of Medicine, the university now offers courses from junior college through the highest professional level.

The university thus offers New Yorkers opportunities for mass higher education on a basis unequaled anywhere except in California with its statewide college and university network.

#### MASTER PLAN FOR CITY UNIVERSITY

By 1975, under a master plan for the City University, every high school graduate in the city will be assured of a post-high school education, 25 percent in skills centers that are a step below the community colleges.

Despite the City University's accomplishments, however, its fiscal stability has deteriorated to a point of crisis and there is a growing sentiment—enunciated recently by Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, the former president of City College—for incorporating the City University into the State University system.

While the City University's problems may be transferred ultimately to the state, the city and its people cannot so easily shed the problems of elementary and high school education.

A few have found an answer in private schools, but they enroll only about 25,000 pupils, a tiny fragment of the total school population and their tuitions, now about \$2,000 a pupil at the high school level, are skyrocketing. Even the parochial schools which now have about 350,000 pupils, have felt a financial squeeze and their enrollment has dropped 12,000 in the last four years.

So for most New Yorkers with children, the battle for quality education will be fought—and won or lost—in the public elementary and high schools.

#### A PACESETTER

Mr. Shanker believes that after "extreme" forms of community control are curbed, the progress brought by decentralization of the school system may well set the pace for the nation's other large cities.

Deputy Superintendent Brown thinks that the strife that has wracked the system in recent years has created a greater sense of healthy participation especially among the poor. "Where a principal has really mobilized his own parents," Dr. Brown said, "the extremists have little chance to take over."

Mayor Lindsay is displeased by the decentralization bill that was finally passed in Albany, foreseeing political party domination of the elected school board. He has urged all segments of the system, however, to try to make the best use of new opportunities to decentralize the system.

But many members of the black community are openly angered by what they consider concessions in the bill to the teacher's union and by the abolition of the demonstration districts.

Thus at this point no one can assess the future of the city's school system, and the million children who are dependent upon it, unless it is to say that the time of suspicion and frustration is not yet past.

#### THE CHANGING CITY: SOCIAL TENSIONS

(The following is the seventh report in a series on the problems of New York City)

(By Sylvan Fox)

Deep and often violent divisions between the middle class and the poor and between the white and the black threaten the existence of New York and other cities as they are now organized, according to many urban officials and scholars.

Finding a solution to the problem is complicated by the fact that—in the words of John Gardner, chairman of the Urban Coalition—the people involved in the conflict live in "fragmented worlds."

It is complicated, too, by the fact that the fear, disorder and social upheaval plaguing the cities reflect racial and class differences

that have emerged with dramatic sharpness only during the last few years.

Three major factors have contributed to the creation of these strains in the fabric of urban life:

The new insistence by large segments of the poor—and especially the black poor—that they substantially control the schools, hospitals and other institutions that affect their lives.

The willingness of the poor to express these demands by employing tactics of social disruption and even violence.

A resulting feeling on the part of the city's middle class—both white and black—that this assertiveness by the poor threatens them and is transforming the city into a place that no longer works for them.

#### UNEXPECTED, EXPLOSIVE CHANGE

"We're running completely out of time," Senator Jacob K. Javits commented. "One big mistake and it will all be over. It will just be one big slum."

So new is the present situation that no candidate in the 1965 Mayoral campaign anticipated the cataclysmic changes that brought a transformation of substantial segments of the black community into a group no longer asking for integration, but demanding—often in stridently separatist terms—a significant share of autonomous control over the institutions of society.

Nor did the candidates foresee the increasing disenchantment that has evidently stimulated a new wave of migration to the suburbs by members of the middle class in response to the new turbulence in the city.

After he became Mayor in 1966, John V. Lindsay began walking the streets of the city's black and Puerto Rican ghettos in a dramatic and largely successful effort to convince restive minority group members that City Hall cared about their problems.

Today, Mr. Lindsay spends at least as much time visiting middle-class neighborhoods in an effort to dispel the conviction of large segments of the middle class that City Hall does not care about theirs.

Senator Javits, looking back over the last few years, believes "priority had to be given to the poor or they would have torn the place down."

Challenging Senator Javits' analysis, Mayor Lindsay says: "There's a big commitment to the poor, but the larger commitment is to the middle class. Most of the priority on the expenditure of funds has been directed toward the middle class."

It is almost irrelevant which analysis is correct. What really counts is the delicately interlocking nature of the city's problem: as efforts have been made to improve the lot of the poor and the Negroes, the middle class has felt cheated and threatened. And when attention has been turned to the middle class, the blacks and the poor felt abandoned, helpless and hostile.

This has forced the Mayor to search for ways of dealing with the new racial and class tensions that have emerged.

#### SEARCH FOR SOLUTION

Mayor Lindsay created the Urban Task Force to open channels of communication between the black and Puerto Rican communities and City Hall, and he and members of his administration have conducted rounds of meetings with religious and community groups in an effort to reduce the city's ethnic, class and racial antagonisms.

But these efforts, most urban authorities agree, must be measured in the context of the magnitude of these problems, for which there are no easy solutions.

These authorities say that the vocal and often violent expressions of "the revolution of rising aspirations" among the poor and the reaction of hostility among segments of the white middle-class reflect national and international social forces. The problems created by these forces, they say, cannot be

resolved by local government or perhaps by any government.

"These pressures were being created and developed regardless of the administration that happened to be around," said Jerome Libiet, the program director of the Center for New York City Affairs at the New School.

The pressures are evident everywhere in the city—in the comments of a white storekeeper who complains that black people "are trying to get everything for themselves" and in the cries of young black militants that "the white man is unqualified to make judgments about the lives and needs of black people."

#### THE TAXI SYNDROME

They are evident as well in the peculiar cycle of racial hostility that surrounds the city's taxicabs.

White cab drivers avoid going into black neighborhoods not so much because they are bigots, but because they fear being attacked or robbed in high-crime areas.

As a result, black people find it hard to get a cab. They feel insulted and humiliated and accuse white drivers of being racists.

Because there are so few licensed, white-driven cabs in the ghettos, unlicensed gypsy cabs manned by black drivers have proliferated in these neighborhoods. And as more gypsy cabs with black drivers have appeared on the streets, white cab drivers have expressed anger in racial terms at the growing competition.

In recent months, the gypsy cabs have appeared with greater frequency in midtown areas, to the increasing chagrin of white cab drivers who charge that the gypsies are often inadequately insured, are illegally picking up passengers who hail them and are tolerated by the city because they are driven and used by Negroes whom the city does not wish to offend.

#### UNWANTED ACTIVITY

"Nobody," Mayor Lindsay says, "wanted the agitation and the movement and the energies and what-not that have happened in the last few years. But it has happened."

Dr. Kenneth Marshall, a black official of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, says of this: "People at the bottom began to have a sense of not being just helpless victims."

Aided by vigorous community-action organizations created through the Federal anti-poverty program, the poor began to force changes by using, in the Mayor's words, "every device that there was to pull themselves up."

Young married couples moved to the suburbs to find a patch of green, a more placid environment in which to raise children, a place to escape from the frantic pace of the city, a piece of the world that they could call their own.

By the early 1960's, demographers say, most of those who preferred the suburban life style to that of the city had moved and the out-migration had dwindled to a trickle.

While a difficult group to define, the middle class in practical terms consists of the roughly 70 per cent of the city's white and black population that has a family income level above the poverty threshold of about \$7,000 or \$8,000 a year (depending on family size) and below the level of affluence enjoyed by those with incomes of \$30,000, \$40,000 and more.

#### A FAITH IN THE SYSTEM

It is a group whose members share a strong desire for stability and tranquility, have a basic faith in the existing social system and seek above all an opportunity, as one middle-class resident of Queens said, "to live a decent life, send my kids to a decent school and give them a chance to grow up to become decent adults."

Huge numbers of this group spilled from the city into the suburbs in the 1950's, creating the vast suburban belt that now surrounds New York.

#### BACKGROUND TO VIOLENCE

Then, as Mr. Gardner, a former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in the Johnson Administration, put it, "the storms came" and the cities "cracked wide open."

Plans for the busing of children to integrate schools were angrily opposed by some white middle-class parents. Negro resentment over discrimination that cost them jobs, housing and education erupted in Harlem in the riot of 1964.

Street disturbances broke out in Bedford-Stuyvesant and East New York in 1966 after major riots around the country. The following year Puerto Ricans, angered because an off-duty policeman had killed a Puerto Rican who had been in a knife fight, took to the streets of East Harlem in a riot that cost three lives.

Meantime, the black ghettos boiled with new demands for equal rights that became more and more separatist in orientation, focusing on calls for black control of schools, hospitals, police precincts, businesses.

#### CRIME A MAJOR ISSUE

Crime in the streets emerged as a major urban problem, assuming in many instances strongly racial overtones. The welfare burden mounted to unforeseen proportions and it too acquired heavily racial implications.

Finally, the school decentralization conflict erupted, bringing the teachers' strike and further polarizing the city along racial and class lines.

Anti-Semitic statements were made by extremist Negroes, touching off a reaction among Jews that divided two traditionally sympathetic groups. Unions were accused of being racist. For a time, the fabric of the city seemed to be unraveling.

At the same time, relations simmered between the city's 840,000 Puerto Ricans and 1.5-million Negroes.

Many Puerto Ricans are white and for them assimilation into the majority society of the United States poses much the same problems that were encountered and solved by earlier immigrant groups from Europe.

Black Puerto Ricans, however, face the same racial problems faced by black native Americans. But some Puerto Ricans, regardless of their skin complexions, resent being lumped with black Americans. And some black Americans feel a measure of hostility toward Puerto Ricans because of the relative success of many Puerto Ricans in moving into the social mainstream.

The response to all of these internal tensions in the city by many members of the middle class—both white and black—has been a new flight to the suburbs, according to population experts.

Among those most susceptible to the appeal of the suburbs were those most directly threatened by the spread of black ghettos—the lower-middle-class white residents of Brooklyn, some parts of Queens and the Bronx.

"The upper-middle-class New Yorker doesn't have to worry about black people moving in large numbers into his neighborhood," said one demographer. "They can't afford it. But the small home owner in Queens or Brooklyn does."

"It's the white guy who feels most threatened, who's desperately trying to hang on to what he's managed to get—his status in the middle class—who is likely to have the strongest racial feelings," one urbanologist said.

#### NEIGHBORHOODS IN TRANSITION

As the black and Puerto Rican ghettos continue to expand into many neighborhoods in the city that for generations had housed lower-middle-class white families, additional problems result. Young whites, whose earning power and interests are vital to the city's economy, often flee to the suburbs. But their parents remain, locked in their inability to find new apartments that would remotely approach their rent-controlled ones, frozen

in old ethnic attitudes of resentment toward strangers, blaming and fearing the newcomers for the crime and the deterioration and the loss of community that result when the landlords stop maintaining services and merchants move.

Typical of such people are a \$140-a-week salesman and his wife who live with their three children in a one-family three-bedroom house in Queens Village. They are thinking of moving to Nassau County.

#### PROPERTY TAX CITED

Why? The wife answered the question this way: More Negroes are moving into their neighborhood and the local junior high school has become "heavily Negro and is terrible."

"While we approve of helping those too old to work," she says, "the city pays out too much in welfare. Practically all or at least half the \$350 taxes we pay on the house we bought for \$15,000 seven years ago goes for welfare."

Actually the house is now worth about \$21,000 and taxes in Nassau County on such property would be substantially higher. But, like the other points the housewife makes, their relevancy to her situation stems not from fact as much as from deeply felt emotions.

No one has sold statistical information on how extensive the new flight to the suburbs has become. Those who believe it is substantial—and this includes almost all urban authorities—explain that we are nine years from the last census and that very little reliable information will be available until the 1970 census is completed.

#### THE EXODUS INCREASES

These authorities are impressed, however, by such information as came from the Census Bureau recently and was included in a report published by Urban American and the Urban Coalition.

This report showed that whites left America's cities at the rate of 140,000 a year before 1966. Between 1966 and 1968, the report said, the rate of flight increased to nearly 500,000 a year.

There are other clues that indicate new movement to the suburbs. State Department of Commerce figures show that New York City, which had a population of 7.7-million in 1960 grew to 8.1-million in 1968—an increase of 4.4 per cent.

At the same time, however, Rockland County's population rose by 56 per cent; Westchester's by 8.1 per cent; Nassau's by 10.6 per cent and Suffolk's by 54.3 per cent.

This migration current is not limited to whites. In one block in Teaneck, N.J., for instance, a dozen middle-class Negro families have bought homes in the last two or three years and similar patterns can be seen in Englewood and other suburban areas known to be hospitable to Negroes.

Those close to the black community are convinced that many—probably most—members of the black middle class share identical concerns with the white middle class about civil disorder, crime, the mounting welfare burden, the quality of education and the other problems of life in the city.

#### THE LEADERSHIP FUNCTION

But Dr. Marshall of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center says that a smaller group within the Negro middle class is highly conscious of its connections with the black masses and sees itself performing leadership functions to help Negroes get "a significant piece of action" in the society.

Portions of this group share the intensification of feeling among some Negroes in all economic classes and particularly among the young that separatism and not absorption into the mainstream of urban society is the most efficient path to a better life.

This view is not new. During World War I Marcus Garvey set up his headquarters for the Universal Negro Improvement Associa-

tion in New York and in the 1920's he had thousands of black people marching under a program that called for the establishment of Negro-run businesses, schools and even a Black Cross equivalent to the Red Cross.

For a long time, the main preoccupation of most Negroes was directed at intergration into the dominant American society. When the institutions and social mores of the nation proved more resistant to change than was hoped by many Negroes, however, the separatist position gained a new relevancy and new followers.

#### RACISTS BLAMED

This approach contended that racist elements in the society were cumulatively restricting opportunity for nonwhites. Many labor unions were closed to all but a handful of black journeymen; colleges and universities appeared out of the reach of most slum youths.

For a man like Roy Innis, the national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, blacks can achieve parity with whites in a truly pluralistic society only after they have achieved control over their own institutions.

He maintains that until blacks in the nation's "internal colonies" achieve recognition as a people and gain sovereignty over their geographical cultural entities—the ghettos—they will not have satisfactory economic development.

Mr. Innis urges the granting to "the Harlems" of local control over such institutions as schools and hospitals, whose budget could produce capital to be reinvested "in the community, by the community."

What it is to be black in New York City was expressed recently by a father of two girls, one 10, the other 9, who said life for his family—middle-class Harlemites—is "like waging a daily war to maintain one's sanity."

"It's at least 50 percent more difficult for black families," he said, "than it is for white families of the same economic bracket."

This New Yorker is a personnel executive who earns \$15,000 a year and to his annoyance pays \$225 a month for rent. "I get less house for the same buck," he said. "And I can't move to the suburbs because they're not eager for me there."

"I also pay more for all kinds of insurance—car, fire, theft. Living in Harlem, I'm always considered a risk."

"You wonder why we want community control in schools? he asked. "Because of the local school situation I have to send my daughters out of the area—and even that's not satisfactory. Last week my daughter was in a class play. She and the other black girl in her class had the traditional Negro singing roles. White children had the speaking parts."

#### GAINS BY NEGROES

Despite persistent discrimination, however, the black middle class is obviously growing in this city and throughout the country. Recently published figures show that in 1952, only 7 percent of the nation's nonwhite families had incomes of more than \$7,000 a year. By 1967, that proportion had risen to 34 percent and if the South is excluded, the figure is even higher.

To some urban experts, this growth of the black middle class is an evolution of major significance, heralding establishment of a "new middle class" to replace the whites who have deserted the cities.

Senator Javits is one who believes that this "new middle class" will emerge as a potent force in New York in five to 10 years.

The concept of "the new middle class" was at the heart of the "Plan for New York City," a massive master plan for the city's future drawn by the City Planning Commission.

The plan proposes that the city spend \$1.9-billion a year to create a new middle class through a system of direct payments to the poor, the development of new public service jobs, subsidy of expanded jobs in

private industry and stipends to poor people taking advanced training.

"We are not pursuing the chimera of a mass return of the middle class," the master plan says. "That is not going to happen. If the city is to have a thriving middle class, it will have to create it."

#### CLASS MOBILITY NOTED

Other specialists are not impressed with this approach. They note that as the poor—including the black poor—have moved into the middle class, they, like their wealthier counterparts, have often fled the city for the suburbs.

One such urban expert is Jerome Liblet of the New School. He argues that a new, predominantly black middle class in New York would not adequately replace the ethnically mixed middle class that is fleeing because of rising taxes, higher rents and "the subtle pressures that frighten people."

Diversity, Mr. Liblet and others believe, is the crucial ingredient that makes New York the exciting place it has traditionally been.

For many urban authorities, the answer is not just to elevate the city's poor to middle-income levels—as important as that is—but to concentrate as well on retaining as many white middle class people as possible. This, they say, must be done by solving a whole realm of social and economic problems such as housing, crime and welfare.

#### RACE NARROWS FOCUS

They say that many members of the white middle-class perceive the welfare problem in narrow racial and class terms, rather than as a problem of the society as a whole.

This is because the overwhelming proportion of people on welfare in New York City are Negroes and Puerto Ricans. For the middle class, with its strong belief in the work ethic and in self-reliance, this is a source of irritation that further kindles hostility and divisiveness in the city.

"If the city weren't financing welfare," said Dick Netzer, the chairman of the economic department at New York University and an authority on urban taxation, "it could reduce or eliminate the sales tax and eliminate the income tax."

Because of the racial and class hostilities and the complexity of reconciling the differences between the clashing groups many urban authorities believe that time is running out for New York and other cities. "I'm worried now," says Mr. Liblet. "I've just become worried."

#### LOOKING TO WASHINGTON

Dr. Russell Nixon, the director of New York University's Center for the Study of the Unemployed, says that one way of creating "a balanced city enriched by its ethnic diversity" is through more aggressive political leadership "that will assert itself in Washington."

"What is needed," he declared is "a large-scale reassignment of resources" that would pour billions of Federal dollars into the cities to deal with the wide range of problems that beset them.

"Part of our difficulty," Dr. Nixon says, "is that we are involved in confronting the culmination of a lot of defaults of the past which make the problems difficult to deal with and imperative that they be dealt with and hard and fast."

John Gardner of the Urban Coalition agrees and adds a note of stringent criticism of what he calls "the irresponsibility" of the middle class.

"Here is a class," he says, "that has been done pretty well by in economic terms. But typically, they are not doing much to make this a thriving society."

"They get out to the suburbs and they don't give a damn what happens. They're not citizens any more in a Periclean sense. They're not responsible members of a city in a civic sense."

"They conceive of the city's problems as something you can run away from," Mr. Gardner says grimly. "But there just isn't a far enough place to run."

[From the New York Times, June 8, 1969]

#### THE CHANGING CITY: POWER IS LIMITED

(By Richard Reeves)

New York is the wealthiest city in the world and its name is synonymous with international power, but its government can mobilize only a fraction of the city's resources to deal with the problems of the people who live here.

That paradox is at the root of the city's problems, according to many urban officials and scholars.

New Yorkers pay almost one-fifth of all the income taxes collected by the Federal government, but city officials complain that they cannot get a \$50-million Federal loan to rehabilitate old homes in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn.

New York provides 43 per cent of the state's tax revenue, but does not have the power to raise the price of a dog's license from \$5 to \$6 without the approval of the State Legislature.

The city provides jobs for 500,000 commuters, but its government does not operate most of the bridges and tunnels they use to get here.

The people of New York may be the most talented and powerful assemblage on earth, but some think of government in terms of the White House and Common Market rather than City Hall and the Board of Estimates.

The powers of city government are often overrated, according to numerous officials and urban experts interviewed in recent weeks. They say New York often cannot get full use of its own resources to solve problems in housing, air pollution, health care and other areas for many reasons, including these:

No city has standing under the United States Constitution. Thus, New York City has no powers or rights other than those granted to it by the State of New York. As a result New York has almost no direct link with Washington, which collects \$15 billion in individual income taxes and \$6 billion in corporate income taxes here. The city gets back less than \$1 billion in Federal aid after Washington takes care of foreign policy, defense, farm subsidies and other national concerns.

The state retains the right to control such details of city government as the power to decide what taxes the city may impose, how many hours a policeman may work and how much a dog tag costs. Some political leaders here agree that times have not changed much since 1905, when George Washington Plunkitt, a Tammany Hall politician, said: "This city is ruled entirely by hayseed legislators from Albany. . . . The hayseeds think we are like the Indians to the national Government, that is, sort of wards of the state, who don't know how to look after ourselves and have to be taken care of by the Republicans of St. Lawrence, Ontario and other backwoods counties."

The city is serviced by 300,000 employees welded into a bureaucracy that Lyle C. Fitch, president of the Institute of Public Administration and a former City Administrator, characterized as "antiquated machinery faced with Civil Service systems that reward mediocrity."

The city has no identifiable power structure, but is led by shifting coalitions of business interests, unions, religious and ethnic groups and the government. While smaller cities have consistent civic leadership, many important New Yorkers involve themselves only in occasional local issues and spend most of their time on national and international interests. In the words of Andrew Heiskell, chairman of Time Inc. and the New York Urban Coalition, "They use the city as a launching pad to go hither and yon."

The city, like others, is surrounded by suburbs, 1,500 of them, which many New Yorkers say take the best the city has to offer and return very little aside from the skills and leadership they provide for commercial enterprises. Scarsdale is one: 80 per cent of its men commute here each workday, including Saul Horowitz Jr., president of one of New York's largest construction firms and a civic leader—in Scarsdale, where he is the Mayor. "We are close enough to New York so that people here can take part in New York life," he said, "but far enough away so that there is a geographical chasm between New York's problems and Scarsdale."

#### URBAN CRISIS IS NATIONAL

Most of those problems are not unique to New York—talk of the national urban crisis has become so routine that more than half the speeches made last year by the Secretary of Agriculture were about the cities—but there is a difference in degree between New York and other cities.

"The difference between an elephant and a mouse," Dr. Fitch said.

New York is larger than 66 members of the United Nations and since World War II has absorbed the migration of an estimated total of 2-million Negroes and Puerto Ricans about the same number of people taken in by the entire United States in the great Irish migration of 1845 to 1870.

Many experts argue that New York and other cities—which have received an additional 1.5 million poor people—have handled this national problem remarkably well despite the broad social and economic problems it has caused.

"Urban life has improved enormously in this century," Dr. Fitch said in an interview last week. "We have come a good way from the time when urban conditions were synonymous with periodic ravage by fire epidemics, with muddy streets, corrupt and compliant courts and police, and large sections having no pretense to law and order."

He and others make the point that society no longer will tolerate street urchins starving or freezing to death, or poor women dying in childbirth without any kind of medical attention.

#### PROBLEM OF STANDARDS

But they add that society's efforts to meet the rising expectations of the poor with programs to improve schools, housing and other basic needs have created other problems.

"The City of New York is in trouble because it has set itself standards it's unwilling to pay for," said Roger Starr, executive director of the Citizens Housing and Planning Council. "It's like a person living beyond his moral means."

That is part of the reason that New York government, which sometimes stumbles over mouse-sized problems, seems to be constantly under siege from residents demanding better service, perhaps new welfare benefits, police protection or health care that they feel entitled to.

Mayors often meet these demands by saying that there is nothing they can do. They are without options, they say, because they just don't have the money they need. Salaries and welfare, for example, account for more than 80 per cent of New York's next budget, local taxes cannot be raised without driving away the upwardly mobile and taxpaying middle class, and Albany and Washington are not doing their share, according to this argument.

All around the country other mayors also contend that Washington has the options. They point out that Washington has taxing power—the income tax—geared to an expanding economy and that in the last eight years, according to the President's Council of Economic Advisers, it spent \$10.3-billion for programs related to metropolitan problems, compared with \$39.9-billion for agriculture, \$30.3-billion for space and \$507.2-billion for defense.

There are times when the Mayor of New York seems to have so little power that serious observers argue that it does not make any difference who is in City Hall. They contend that city government is nothing but a service institution, that it exists not to make laws or change the human condition, but to pick up garbage, put out fires, mail out relief checks and protect citizens against crime.

Others scoff at that conclusion. In the 1965 edition of "Governing New York City," a comprehensive study by Wallace S. Sayre and Herbert Kaufman, the authors say that the Mayor has both "extensive executive powers [and] significant legislative responsibilities."

#### LACK OF TAXING POWER

These executive and legislative responsibilities, however, must be exercised within the strict limits of state and Federal law. For example, the Mayor acts as a legislator when he sits on the Board of Estimate to approve the budget that he, as an executive, has submitted. But that budget may come nowhere near what he really wants because he does not have the taxing power that he wants.

In the context of limited municipal power, political scientists rate the Mayors of New York and Chicago as the most powerful in the nation under their City Charters. For example, they have the power to make appointments without City Council confirmation and do not have to deal with numbers of boards, which supervise municipal services in cities like Los Angeles and Minneapolis.

In fact, although New York has two legislative bodies—the City Council and the Board of Estimate, consisting of the Mayor, Council President, Controller and Borough Presidents—with powers to change the city budget, those bodies have never had substantial impact on any Mayor's administration.

The most important power of a Mayor, as defined by Sayre and Kaufman, comes from the fact that he is "the symbol of unity of the city . . . the central focus of responsibility . . . the problem solver, the crisis handler."

In other words, the buck stops at City Hall. The Mayor is the man called on to settle private disputes like a mid-winter strike of fuel oil truck drivers, to mediate between the city's power blocs, to plead for "the civic good" in Washington or Albany or among the city's bankers.

#### STYLE A FACTOR

The style of a Mayor is generally considered integral to the city's daily operation and future direction. In just three years, Mr. Lindsay was praised for walks in the slums that some people thought helped to prevent major riots, and he was criticized for the way he handled labor relations and the tone of voice he used in talking to union leaders.

But while a mayor's style may improve some situations and worsen others, he and his city are still suspended under Albany and Washington. Relations between the city and the two capitals and other restraints on the use of their resources are discussed below.

#### CITY AND WASHINGTON

Thomas Jefferson, a gentleman farmer from Virginia who helped set the constitutional pattern for relations between the Federal Government and cities, wrote to friends like James Madison, after the Revolutionary War: "I view great cities as pestilential to the morals, health and liberties of man. . . . The commercial cities, though, by command of newspapers, they make a great deal of noise, have little effect in the direction of the government."

That last sentence could have been written by any Mayor of New York contemplating the fact that in fiscal 1969, the city got back about 4 cents on each dollar collected here in individual and corporate income taxes and

that most of that money was spent under the strict supervision of Albany.

Students of urban affairs point out that just being part of a large state reduces the city's share of Federal aid. Most urban-aid legislation stipulates that only 12.5 per cent of the total appropriation may go to a single state—which means that New York City, Buffalo and two dozen other cities may share the same amount of money as all the cities of Idaho.

Another reason New York does not do too well on Capitol Hill, according to Congressmen from outside the city, is the international viewpoint of its 20-member Congressional delegation.

An aide to a Senator from another industrial state said New York's Congressmen "make speeches about the ABM and Vietnam while everyone else is scrounging around the departments trying to get money for the folks back home."

New York Congressmen traditionally try to switch from committees dealing with domestic problems to the Foreign Affairs Committees. This year two did make the switch—Senator Jacob K. Javits and Representative Jonathan Bingham of the Bronx.

"We don't use our clout—we should act as a unified delegation more often," said Mr. Bingham. He explained that he had left the House Banking and Currency Committee, which handles housing legislation, to go on Foreign Affairs, "because I believe peace is the most important issue of our time."

What that means is illustrated by the fact that one of the first American communities to receive aid under the Model Cities program to improve slum neighborhoods was Smithville, Tenn., a town of 2,300 which is the home of Rep. Joe L. Evins, a power on the House Appropriations Committee.

To try to get more money out of Washington the city opened an office there in 1966. Its work on the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 is cited by city officials as an example of why the office is needed.

The original bill provided aid for state public broadcasting systems only, because its drafters did not know that New York City operated station WNYC. That omission, which would have cost WNYC \$25 million in aid, was spotted by the city's Washington office.

The office says that it alerted New York Congressmen who promised to amend the bill in committee, but that the amendment was not made by the time the bill reached the House floor, where it was finally amended by Representative Richard L. Ottinger of Westchester County, who was hastily recruited by an aide to Mayor Lindsay.

#### THE CITY AND ALBANY

Mayors have annually pleaded with Albany for more state aid and greater "home rule" the power to levy new taxes or to order policemen to work during the hours of maximum crime.

Charging the city has been "shortchanged" by the state they can show, for example, that the city provided the state with just over \$2.5-billion last year and received back \$1.52 billion in state aid.

The state can show, however, that while the \$2.5 billion city contribution represented 43 per cent of state tax revenues, the \$1.52 billion in state aid to New York amounted to 47 per cent of the money allocated to all state municipalities.

Governor Rockefeller emphasized in a recent interview that state aid to the city had increased so rapidly in recent years that there was no longer any basis for charges that Albany is "shortchanging" New York.

New York City politicians point out that the Governor, a voting resident of Westchester, is one of a triumvirate of Albany officials that often has almost complete control over city affairs—the other two are Senate Majority Leader Earl W. Brydges of Niagara Falls and Assembly Speaker Perry B. Duryea of Montauk.

However, defenders of the state government question whether New York City received substantially better treatment when city residents held any of the top positions.

Home rule—a local community's right to self-government—is an issue as old as the state. Proponents of more home rule point out that this year the Legislature passed bills allowing New York to reassign its policemen to a fourth-duty platoon during high-crime hours and raise the price of dog licenses.

City officials believe that the city should have the right to do even more important things without help from Albany. The city has also regularly protested state laws that require New York to partially pay for services that Albany provides free for upstate communities—for example, the city pays more than \$10-million a year to maintain local State Supreme Courts and the jailing of state prisoners.

Some of the power of the state is rooted in Article 8, Section 12 of the State Constitution, which says:

"It shall be the duty of the Legislature, subject to the provisions of this constitution, to restrict the power of taxation, assessment, borrowing money, contracting indebtedness, and loaning the credit of counties, cities, towns and villages, so as to prevent abuses in taxation and assessments and in contracting of indebtedness by them. Nothing in this article shall be construed to prevent the Legislature from further restricting the powers herein specified. . . ."

The attitude of Albany toward New York is sometimes attributed to what Edward J. Logue, executive officer of the State Urban Development Corporation, called in a recent interview "the automatic reaction in the rest of the state of fear, concern that the great big thing, the city, will swallow them up."

Critics of the state's power over cities note that Mr. Logue is directing an organization, created by the Legislature last year over the protests of Mayor Lindsay, that has statutory power to build anything it wants anywhere in the city without regard to local laws. To date, however, the corporation has moved only after lengthy consultation with local officials.

Similarly, the city has virtually no control over quasi-governmental agencies like the Port of New York Authority, which is answerable only to the governors and legislature of New York and New Jersey. When the authority decided to build the gigantic World Trade Center in Lower Manhattan—a plan bitterly opposed by many local people—city agencies could only gain some small voice in the planning by threatening to withhold approval of minor changes in city zoning maps.

#### THE BUREAUCRACY

Complaints about New York's massive bureaucracy are legion and legend—the simplest clerical job takes weeks, a citizen needs a guidedog to find the man who can sign the papers necessary to install a new furnace, social workers educated to counsel poor people spend three-quarters of their time filling out forms in duplicate, triplicate and quadruplicate.

But there is another side of the legend. Sayre and Kaufman put it this way: "The quantity and quality of governmental services is high. . . . The city government, almost as a matter of routine, has mastered most problems of size and complexity that confront it, and performs without fanfare tasks that would overwhelm the leaders and institutions of [other] communities. Every day, the government of the city competently discharges a staggering burden of responsibility."

The Lindsay administration has reorganized the bureaucracy by putting 50 old city departments into 10 administrations, or super-agencies. The Mayor sought the reorganization to try to centralize policy decisions but redistribute operating decisions to the lowest possible level.

"We must bring government down to the neighborhood level," he says.

But critics of the reorganization argue that it has just added another level to the bureaucracy. Conceding that it is too early to assess the new system's permanent impact, they still point to the well-publicized administrative chaos of the Human Resources Administration—where one top official recently answered a query by saying: "Can't you wait until we get organized?"—and the fact that many city officials spent months negotiating their places on organization charts instead of building houses or whatever they should have been doing.

On the other hand there is general agreement that the new Finance Administration has streamlined functions formerly handled by four small departments and boards.

There has also been a small but encouraging flow of bright young people—"A talent shot-in-the-arm from Harvard Business School," one veteran said—into the bureaucracy during the past three years, particularly in middle-management jobs in agencies like the Budget Bureau.

New blood is desperately needed in city government, which cannot match the money of business or the prestige of Washington jobs, to replace the talented people who came into the bureaucracy during the Depression and are now retiring in droves.

Mr. Lindsay has also hired outside consultants to do city research and planning. The municipal budget now includes more than \$8 million in contracts with the Rand Corporation, management consultants and universities.

The massive municipal structure and incredibly complex paperwork—much of it designed as a system of double-checks to prevent thievery—makes the bureaucracy respond like a drugged elephant.

"You just can't get anything done quickly," said a city official who has been responsible for the 25,000 cars abandoned each year on city streets. "It's a simple problem in a small town, someone sees a car and calls the mayor or the police chief. Who do you talk to here? Outraged citizens have no way to get through to some clerk insulated from the public."

#### THE POWER STRUCTURE

"It may be said that nobody 'runs' New York," Sayre and Kaufman wrote. "It runs by a process of negotiation and mutual accommodation."

If New York is unique in one way other than its size, it is in the fact that the city has no rigid, identifiable power structure. Power here is exercised by shifting coalitions that may temporarily unite or divide City Hall, Wall Street and business interests or the Central Labor Council, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York and the city's intellectual establishment.

Increasingly, as their numbers rise and they see what organization can do, Negro groups are moving into positions of power as earlier Irish, Italian and Jewish groups did.

The alliances shift with issues: construction unions and the Board of Education may unite to slow down school decentralization, then divide to battle over whether to use public funds for building housing or buying textbooks.

Some sociologists have commented on the relatively minor role played here by the city's wealthiest and most powerful men and institutions, in contrast to the role of the Mellon family in rebuilding downtown Pittsburgh or the activist role of Kodak and Xerox in Rochester.

Part of the reason, of course, is that New York's size makes it difficult to effect any great impact on the city.

Urban experts add that New York suffers because many of its most influential men are essentially citizens of the world rather than of the city.

"To them the city is essentially a massive communications switchboard through which

human interaction takes place," in the words of Melvin M. Webber, professor of city planning at the University of California.

One indication of non-involvement in purely local civic affairs is that in a city that annually raises well over \$1-billion for national and international philanthropies, private contributions to the research branch of the New York Public Library—the Fifth Avenue landmark guarded by stone lions—have not kept pace with the rising costs so that this year the city had to add \$2.4-million above its normal allotment to keep the building open on a regular schedule.

Over the years, however, both rich and poor New Yorkers have formed hundreds of organizations to lobby for a better park system or cleaner air, to support nonprofit hospitals and other private charities and to bring important art to city museums.

Also, John D. Rockefeller 3d was the driving force behind the development of Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, and his brother, David, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, was the key figure in the development of the World Trade Center.

David Rockefeller, in an interview in his office near the trade center construction site, said the redevelopment of the downtown Manhattan business district showed that "the business community will get involved when it has a stake, as it did here—we turned around a deteriorating area in 10 years."

But then he added that "there is rather little business leadership on a citywide basis" and that the problem was to convince business that it had a stake in the total urban condition.

Edward Logue, who has been attempting to organize private participation in the plans of the state's Urban Development Corporation, agreed. "The business community here by and large has not found a way to effective citizenship at the local level," he said. "That's not true elsewhere—Buffalo, Syracuse, Boston and New Haven."

Mr. Heiskell said he hoped that the Urban Coalition was "the start of a change in the attitude of an awful lot of important people who don't give very much thought to the city."

The two-year-old Urban Coalition—a conglomerate of powerful men from business, labor, civil rights and religion—raised \$4-million last year for programs like ghetto-street academies.

"If the power leaders of New York saw eye-to-eye, they could have a great deal of influence in Washington and Albany," said James Felt, a prominent real estate man and president of the Public Development Corporation, a quasi-public agency that tries to attract new business to New York. "But I think too many people think of what's going on in the city almost entirely in terms of what effect it has on their own particular welfare."

#### CITY AND SUBURBS

From the viewpoint of many city residents the 500,000 commuters who come to work here each day, crowd its subways, litter its streets, receive police and fire protection and pay a tiny earnings tax before returning home to pay property taxes and try to improve their suburban schools.

Even 20 years ago, E. B. White called the city "New York of the commuter—the city that is devoured by locusts each day and spat out each night."

Do these eight-hour New Yorkers owe anything to the city? Some point out that they help corporations make money that is taxed by the city, that they help to support restaurants and theaters, and that the city would have to operate its subways at an even bigger loss if suburbanites didn't help pay the fare.

Mayor Robert J. Rooney of Mount Arlington, N.J., who comes to Manhattan each morning to design industrial power plants to be located in all parts of the world, puts it this way:

"I feel I'm a citizen where I live. The only reason I've been coming here for 20 years is

because of my occupation. I don't like the place—downtown is dirty, people are impolite. I don't see anything similar in our problems at all. The minute I get out of the city I don't think of it at all."

#### DISPERSAL THEORY

That kind of comment, common in the suburbs, is viewed as offering little hope of ever effecting two solutions which some urban experts propose for city problems—programs designed to encourage the migration of poor people into the suburbs and plans to consolidate cities and suburbs.

The dispersal theory is advocated by Daniel P. Moynihan, director of the President's Urban Affairs Council and a onetime candidate for president of the City Council. He favors programs that would include housing construction incentives designed to open the suburbs to lower economic classes.

"Efforts to improve the condition of life in the present caste-created slums," he said, "must never take precedence over efforts to enable the slum population to disperse throughout the metropolitan areas involved."

Other experts, like Herbert J. Gans, a Columbia sociologist and writer on suburban life, do not believe dispersal is practical at the moment.

"The suburbs have nothing to gain by helping the cities," he said. "It's easier to turn their backs as long as they can get to their jobs. The only things they'll do don't mean anything—take a few black kids for the summer or come into the city and paint a few slum houses."

#### HOW THE CITY GREW

Consolidation of city and suburbs is not new—that's how New York got this big. In 1898, the city annexed its suburban neighbors which were then Brooklyn, Queens, Staten Island and part of the Bronx.

The man who conceived the consolidation of "Greater New York," Andrew Haskell Green, hailed it as: "The simple remedy of it all . . . to make the city where many non-residential workingmen find employment the city of their residence."

No one talks of simple remedies anymore. They talk of decades of research, experimentation and commitment of money and men to bring New York and other cities a quality of life that Athenian citizens aspired to when each man spoke the oath of his city-state:

"We will ever strive for the ideals and sacred things of the city, both alone and with many;

"We will unceasingly seek to quicken the sense of public duty;

"We will revere and obey the city's laws;

"We will transmit this city not only less, but greater, better and more beautiful than it was transmitted to us."

#### PHILIPPINE CITY GRATEFUL FOR AMERICAN MILITARY AND CIVILIAN COURAGE

#### HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, too often we hear of the ugly American abroad, and too little of the many fine accomplishments of Americans in foreign lands. Recently, I learned of an event which merits the attention of our distinguished colleagues; one which I am sure will be as gratifying and as heartwarming to all as it is to me.

The U.S. Air Force maintains an installation in the Philippine Islands near

the city of San Fernando in the La Union Province. Wallace Air Station and its 848th aircraft control and warning squadron supports operational units of both the Air Force and Navy.

On March 29, 1969, San Fernando was swept by a fire which destroyed over 200 homes and razed the entire business district. Local food and medical supplies were also destroyed. A situation of critical and urgent need developed immediately among San Fernando residents who were left homeless.

Lieutenant Colonel Charles R. Porter, U.S. Air Force, commander of the squadron, was contacted by San Fernando officials during the fire, requesting assistance from the station. I wish to quote from several letters from Philippine officials which relate the magnificent response by Colonel Porter's command. Mayor L. L. Ducanay of San Fernando, notes in his letter:

The conflagration brought about untold losses and suffering to many of us, but we are left with the consolation that among your personnel are men who are ready and willing to sacrifice their very own, so that the properties and lives of their fellow men can be saved.

The selflessness and bravery of your men who came to our rescue will long be remembered by our people.

Mayor Ducanay extended the official commendation of his city to the men of Colonel Porter's command and closed his letter by noting:

It is thus my sincerest trust that we will somehow be given an opportunity to reciprocate your high sense of cooperation and esprit de corps.

A second letter, this one from the Honorable Juvenal K. Guerrero, Provincial Governor, Province of La Union, recounted the devastating proportions of the San Fernando fire and estimated 10 to 20 million pesos in damage:

In the midst of their misfortune, however, they, the fire victims, will be consoled by the fact that many kind-hearted sympathizers like you and your men responded spontaneously and generously to a distress call.

Your donations in cash or in kind, through the La Union Chapter of the Philippine National Red Cross, helped them greatly in their hour of need.

On behalf of the provincial Administration, I wish to thank you most profoundly for your help to the San Fernando fire victims. I join them in the powerful hope that God will reward you for your generosity.

Other letters received by Colonel Porter express the same sentiments.

This was surely a true demonstration of what we refer to—but too frequently dismiss from our everyday life—as the American spirit.

The unselfish and heroic effort by our men in the Air Force was brought even closer to me in that a defense contractor in San Diego, Calif., had men assigned to the Philippines who were also singled out for their courage in the face of grave danger to themselves.

Colonel Porter's letter to Mr. Robert C. Jackson, president of Ryan Aeronautical Co. in San Diego, Calif., who maintains a field support base at Wallace Air Station, staffed by 27 civilian technicians, offers yet another view of this same spirit of compassion and warm-hearted generosity:

The response by your men (Ryan Aeronautical Company employees) was immediate and overwhelming. Without their unselfish and single-minded determination, the disaster would have been considerably worse.

To say that they won the everlasting gratitude of our Filipino neighbors is a gross understatement.

Philippine-American relations in our community have reached a new high, due in a large part to your people's generous and public-spirited help during this episode.

Mr. Speaker, I offer these testimonials today, at a time when America seems somehow to be victimized by a ruthless campaign of smear tactics in some parts of the world.

These young American men serving thousands of miles from home have left an indelible memory in the minds and hearts of good friends in the Philippine Islands. They have achieved a measured accomplishment for the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I include the following letters and article as a part of this RECORD:

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES,  
PROVINCE OF LA UNION, MUNICIPALITY OF SAN FERNANDO, OFFICE OF THE MAYOR,

April 1, 1969.

THE BASE COMMANDER,  
Wallace Air Force Station, Poro Point, San Fernando, La Union.

SIR: In behalf of my constituents and the municipal officials of this municipality, please accept herewith our sincerest appreciation and gratitude for the invaluable assistance extended by your men in putting out the fire which totally burned down our commercial center in the morning of March 29, 1969.

The conflagration brought about untold losses and sufferings to many of us, but we are left with the consolation that among your personnel are men who are ready and willing to sacrifice their very own, so that the properties and lives of their fellowmen may be saved. The selflessness and bravery of your men who came to our rescue will long be remembered by our people, and I know that each of the fire victims will always have a good word for them.

I would thus highly appreciate it if you will convey to the men under your command my personal and official commendation and the indelible gratitude of the people of the Municipality of San Fernando, La Union. It is thus my sincerest trust that we will, somehow, be given an opportunity to reciprocate your high sense of cooperation and esprit de corps.

Very truly yours,  
L. L. DACANAY, Mayor.

[From the Pacific Stars & Stripes,  
April 3, 1969.]

AMERICANS RUSH TO THE AID OF PHILIPPINE TOWN HIT BY FIRE

CLARK AB, R.P.—Personnel from Clark, Wallace AS, the Voice of America and John Hay AB rushed to aid the citizens of San Fernando, La Union, Saturday when a massive fire destroyed nearly all of that city's business district.

The blaze reportedly broke out in a lumber yard shortly before 4 a.m. Saturday morning. City firemen began fighting the raging flames and soon had volunteer help from Wallace.

T. Sgt. John Chouinard was dispatched with a firetruck from John Hay AB shortly thereafter. Clark personnel arrived on the scene in a Douglas C47 Skytrain at 9 a.m. Firemen, disaster control specialists, an explosive ordnance specialist and a medic represented Clark's initial support.

Volunteers battled the flames for more than 10 hours before the fire was under control. The blaze claimed an estimated 10 million pesos in assets, including Mayor Lorenzo Decanay's home.

The flames surrounded an ammonia plant endangering the lives of those already stricken by the fire, but Clark's 6200th Civil Engineering Sq. came to the rescue. A bulldozer manned by S. Sgts. Bruce L. Killiom and Walter J. Coates was flown to the city Saturday afternoon in a 463rd Tactical Airlift Wing Lockheed C130 Hercules.

Airman 1. C. Patrick J. Thompson, a security policeman from Wallace, assisted in clearing buildings which were to be dynamited to control the flames.

Personnel from Wallace AS who aided in the blaze fighting included Lt. Col. Charles R. Porter, Wallace commander, and M. Sgt. Phillip Marino, first sergeant. Others from Wallace who were on the scene throughout were 1st Lt. Richard Mossey, weapons controller; 2nd Lt. James Rooney, base fire chief; S. Sgts. Dale Krueger, Gordon F. Bennett and Arthur Paris; Sgt. Arlie McMichaels; A. I. C. Creighton Donald Gastmier, and R. A. Gregory of Ryan Aeronautical at Wallace.

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE,  
APO San Francisco, April 4, 1969.

Mr. ROBERT F. JACKSON,  
Ryan Aeronautical Co.,  
San Diego, Calif.

DEAR MR. JACKSON: I would like to take this opportunity to advise you of the outstanding contributions made recently by men of your organization assigned to Wallace Air Station, Republic of the Philippines.

The occasion was a large fire in our neighboring community of San Fernando on 29 March. Virtually all of the business district burned and over 200 families were made homeless. Our station was called upon for help. The response by your men was immediate and overwhelming. Two must be especially singled out for their untiring and truly superhuman efforts to help contain the fire: Mr. Richard Gregory and Mr. Ernest Perez. Without their unselfish and single minded determination, the disaster would have been considerably worse. To merely say that they won the everlasting gratitude and admiration of our Filipino neighbors is a gross understatement.

As a result of the fire a serious food shortage developed. Mr. Lee Hensen, the manager of your unit here, was contacted for voluntary cash donations to purchase food for the victims. Within two hours he and his men contributed \$170.00; a truly generous response that went far toward relief of the immediate crisis. Foodstuffs acquired with these monies were delivered to the Philippine Red Cross and distributed on the spot.

Philippine-American relations in our community reached a new high, due in large part to your people's generous and public spirited help during this episode.

I must add that this demonstration by the Ryan personnel of this station, although the most dramatic, is but one in a continuous series since their arrival here. It is a distinct privilege to be associated with men such as Mr. Hensen and all the other fine individuals of Ryan. They are a real credit to their organization and a definite asset to our community.

Sincerely,

CHARLES R. PORTER,  
Lt. Col. USAF, Commander.

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES,  
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,  
San Fernando, April 15, 1969.

Mr. DONALD HENSON,  
Poro Point, San Fernando, La Union.

OUR DEAR BENEFACTORS: In the early dawn of March 29, 1969 a fire of devastating proportions razed the center of the business district and a portion of the residential sec-

tion on the northern side of the poblacion of San Fernando causing damage variably estimated at from P10 to P20 million. This is practically the same area which was destroyed by another conflagration some ten years ago and the fire victims have hardly recovered from their first misfortune when another one came falling down upon them. What a tragedy.

In the midst of their misfortune, however, they will be consoled by the fact that many kindhearted sympathizers like you responded spontaneously and generously to a distress call on their behalf. Your donations in cash or in kind, thru the La Union Chapter of the Philippine National Red Cross, certainly helped them greatly in their hour of need.

On behalf of the provincial Administration, I wish to thank you most profoundly for your help to the San Fernando fire victims. I join them in the powerful hope that God will reward you for your generosity.

Very truly yours,

JUVENAL K. GUERRERO,  
Provincial Governor.

### SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID POLICY

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, Members of this House have had occasions before to direct their thoughts to one of the most thorny problems facing the African Continent and indeed the world at large, namely: racialism in South Africa. This cancer in race relations has always found its abhorrent expression in the policy and practice of apartheid by the Government of South Africa.

I need not go into the shocking details of that policy since it is so well known. It would suffice to say that despite world condemnation, the South African Government persists in pursuing this policy and today none other than whites can lead a free life in that country or even travel to that land with rare exceptions. Currently, we have seen a clear example of that policy in the South African Government's refusal to grant a visa to Arthur Ashe, the United States leading tennis player, purely because of his race.

I have myself been a victim of that policy and, therefore, the spurious explanation and lame denials of the South African authorities about the circumstances which made it impossible for Ashe to play in that country are unfortunate and deplorable. In a country where people are classified by their race and color to perpetuate unequal treatment and injustice, where there are laws prohibiting mixed marriages and black and colored persons are forbidden to hold or address a gathering of more than five persons "unless with official permission" which is never granted, and where such laws as the group areas acts, the natives resettlement acts are designed to separate the races "territorially and residentially," one seriously wonders whether the South African Government is worthy of a place among decent nations.

Some have found it possible to defend

that government and its apartheid laws on all sorts of grounds, which, to all reasonable men, cannot be defended. When the group areas act, for instance, prohibits the occupation of land or premises by black people—the so-called "racially disqualified persons" and debars them from "attending any place of public entertainment, or partake of any refreshments ordinarily involving the use of seating accommodation as customer in a licensed restaurant, et cetera," I believe such prohibitions are wrong and they offend the dignity of any of the self-respecting men, black or white.

On similar grounds to those mentioned, there are separate amenities act regarding the attendance at churches, schools, hospitals, and other institutions by blacks in South Africa. The catalog of South Africa's discriminating laws can make a whole impressive volume of a book. The question we might ask ourselves is whether in this latter half of the 20th century such practices should be carried out in South Africa and in other places in the world.

It certainly is the conviction of many in this House that mankind would be much better off if these detestable practices are eliminated from among human societies. It is in this belief that I deplore the South African Government's refusal to grant a visa to Arthur Ashe. The persistent denial of fundamental human rights to millions of Africans and others living within the territory of South Africa is also outlined in the following summary of its main laws which affect race relationships:

#### LEGISLATION AND RACE RELATIONS: A SUMMARY OF THE MAIN SOUTH AFRICAN LAWS WHICH AFFECT RACE RELATIONSHIPS

(By Muriel Horrell)

##### PRINCIPAL LEGISLATIVE MEASURES AFFECTING RACE RELATIONS (1909 TO 1948)

###### Political rights

###### 1. South Africa Act of 1909

(Passed by the British Parliament but drafted by a National Convention in South Africa.)

At the time of Union the franchise differed in the four territories. All male citizens of the Cape who were literate and earned £50 a year or owned fixed property to the value of £75 qualified for the franchise on the common roll. In theory the same position obtained in Natal, except that the income or property qualification was £96; but in practice there was a difficult and restrictive procedure for the registration of non-white voters. In the Transvaal and Free State the franchise had been extended to white men only.

After much debate the National Convention decided to maintain the existing position, except that the right of non-whites to sit in Parliament, which had been implicitly theirs in the Cape, was withdrawn, and it was decided that no further Asians or Africans would be registered as voters in Natal: Coloured men retained the franchise there.

This arrangement in regard to franchise rights could be altered only by a two-thirds majority of both Houses of Parliament in joint session.

###### 2. Extension of the White Franchise

The influence of the Coloured vote was considerably diminished when white women were enfranchised in 1930, and when, the following year, the income and property qualifications for white men in the Cape and Natal were removed.

## 3. Representation of Natives Act of 1936

This Act, passed by the required two-thirds majority, provided that African voters in the Cape should be placed on a separate roll to elect 3 White members to the House of Assembly and 2 to the Cape Provincial Council. Africans throughout the country would elect 4 White Senators. An advisory Natives' Representative Council was created, under the chairmanship of the Secretary for Native Affairs, with 5 White official members, 4 nominated Africans and 12 elected African members.

African leaders became increasingly dissatisfied with purely advisory powers. In 1947 General Smuts proposed that the Natives' Representative Council should consist solely of African elected members and should be granted certain legislative, financial and administrative powers. These suggestions did not satisfy the aspirations of the Africans, who were pressing for full franchise rights; and they were dropped by the Nationalist Government in 1948. The Natives' Representative Council was abolished in 1951.

## 4. Establishment of Coloured Advisory Council

In 1943 the Government established an Advisory Council on Coloured Affairs, with 20 appointed Coloured members, to serve as a channel for the expression of the views of Coloured people. Its creation led to a serious political cleavage among the Coloured. Some accepted the move as a genuine attempt on the Government's part to improve their lot, while others interpreted the plan as evidence that, in spite of assurances to the contrary, the Government contemplated removing the Coloured from the common roll. The Council was abolished by the Nationalist Government in 1950.

## 5. Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946

The first part of this Act, dealing with land rights, is described below. The second chapter provided that Indian men in the Transvaal and Natal who possessed certain educational and financial qualifications would elect 3 White representatives to the House of Assembly and 2 members (who might be White or Asian) to the Natal Provincial Council. There would be 2 additional White Senators, 1 appointed and 1 elected, to represent Indians.

Indian leaders, who, like other non-whites, were demanding full franchise rights, rejected the form of representation offered them. The relevant chapter of the Act was repealed by the Incoming Nationalist Government in 1948.

Indian men in the Cape continued to qualify for the common roll franchise on the same basis as Coloured men. There were no Indians in the Free State.

*Africans in urban areas*

## 1. Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 as Amended in 1930

It was laid down in terms of this Act that each local authority, subject to a certain measure of Government control, was responsible for the Africans in its area. Local authorities were required to provide segregated areas for African residence, and to set up Native advisory boards and Native revenue accounts. They were empowered to establish machinery for the registration of service contracts, to control the influx of Africans, and to remove "surplus" persons not employed in the area. Greater uniformity between the provinces was brought about in regard to the pre-Union passed laws: in the two northern provinces these were somewhat simplified. Provision was made for curfew regulations, which might be extended by the Governor-General to any urban area.

Except in the Free State and in areas proclaimed under the Gold Law in the Transvaal, Africans could still buy plots within the towns.

## 2. Native Laws Amended Act of 1937

The acquisition of land in urban areas by Africans from non-Africans was prohibited except with the Governor-General's consent.

Local authorities had been slow to accept the responsibilities placed on them earlier: the new measure empowered the Government to direct them to set aside townships and to provide housing. Influx control was tightened. Local authorities could apply for their towns to be "proclaimed" as areas closed to the entry of Africans other than those in employment, those admitted to seek work, and bona fide visitors.

The 1937 Act provided that no new church, school, or other institution or place of entertainment catering mainly for Africans might in future be established in an urban area outside an African township except with the approval of the Minister of Native Affairs, given with the concurrence of the local authority concerned. Existing such institutions (established before 1938) were not affected.

*The reserves*

## 1. Natives Land Act of 1913

In this Act about 10½-million morgen of land were scheduled as Native Reserves. Whites were prohibited from acquiring land in these areas; and, unless the Governor-General gave permission, Africans might not acquire further land from White in rural areas outside the Reserves. The courts ruled, later, that this last provision could not be held to apply in the Cape.

## 2. Native Affairs Act of 1920 as Amended

Local councils had been established in African rural areas of the Cape from time to time from 1894 on. Those in the Transkei came together to form the Transkeian Territories General Council, established in 1903. The Native Affairs Act of 1920 provided for the extension of this system in areas where the Africans so wished. The councils were granted certain powers of local self-government.

## 3. Native Trust and Land Act of 1936

Provision was made for an additional 7¼-million morgen of land (the released areas) to be added to the Reserves. Parliament undertook to vote £10,000,000 over a ten-year period for land purchase, and made over to a corporate body, the S.A. Native Trust, all Crown lands in the released areas. Tribes and individual Africans, as well as the Trust, could purchase land in these released areas.

The Trust and Land Act made it clear that the provision of the 1913 Act, described above, did apply in the Cape.

Chapter IV of the Act aimed at controlling the numbers of Africans on White-owned farms. It had to be brought into effect in any area by special proclamation: in the event only one such proclamation was issued and that was soon afterwards withdrawn.

*Other African affairs*

## 1. Native Administration Act of 1927

The Governor-General was empowered to govern by proclamation in all African areas (he had previously possessed these powers in certain areas only). The Act made provision for special courts for Africans, and for the recognition of customary law in civil cases in these courts.

A section of this measure, later incorporated in the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1930, rendered it an offense to say or do anything likely to promote any feeling of hostility between black and white.

Power was given to the Governor-General to issue orders without prior notice requiring any tribe, section of a tribe, or African to move from one place to another, and not to leave any stated area for a specified period.

The Act dealt, further, with tribal organization, land tenure and marriage and succession. It gave the Government wide power to make regulations dealing, *inter alia*, with

the control of meetings and of African villages and settlements. Provision was made for exemptions from the pass laws.

## 2. Natives Taxation and Development Act of 1925

This measure brought about uniformity between the provinces. A general tax of £1 a year was to be paid by every adult male, and, in addition, a local tax was payable by those in rural areas who did not pay quitrent. The general tax receipt was made producible on demand.

A Native Development Fund was created (later called the S.A. Native Trust), into which was paid a fixed sum of £340,000 a year from the Consolidated Revenue Fund plus a proportion of the general tax paid by Africans. This proportion was gradually increased from one-fifth in 1925 to the whole amount in 1943. African education, as well as measures to promote their general welfare, was financed from this account.

## 3. Native Education Finance Act of 1945

In terms of this Act the financing of African education was placed on a new basis. Expansion would no longer be governed by the amounts derived from the African general tax. Instead, all funds to be made available would be drawn direct from the Consolidated Revenue Fund, the estimates being placed on the votes of the Union Department of Education.

*Asian affairs*

*N.B.*—At the time of Union the entry of Indians to the free State was prohibited. In the Transvaal, rights of occupation of land by Indians had been limited, and immigrants were required to qualify according to an education test and to register their thumb-prints.

Franchise rights had been withdrawn in Natal, and an onerous special tax of £3 imposed on ex-indentured workers and adult members of their families. Restrictions had been imposed on the granting of trading licenses.

## 1. Immigration Act of 1913

The Minister of the Interior was empowered (subject to an appeal to the courts) to debar anyone from entering South Africa on social or economic grounds. This measure was frankly aimed at limiting Indian immigration.

## 2. Indian Relief Act of 1914

This measure resulted from the Smuts/Gandhi agreement. It abolished the special £3 tax in Natal, and removed certain restrictions on the entry of wives of Indians resident in South Africa.

## 3. Land Tenure

A Class Areas Bill, restricting Indian residential and trading rights, it was introduced in 1924, but the Smuts Government fell before it was passed. It was re-introduced in a more drastic form soon after the Pact Government came into power but was dropped following vehement protest in South Africa and overseas.

A round-table conference held in 1927 between the governments of South Africa and India led to the Cape Town Agreement, in terms of which the repatriation of Indians was to be encouraged, but the standards of living of those who remained would be improved.

Certain progress was made in the field of education; but new controls were placed on the tenure of land by Indians in the Transvaal. A law passed in 1885, which in practice was not strictly enforced, had prohibited Indians from owning fixed property in the Transvaal except in specially demarcated areas. The Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act of 1932 reapplied the earlier law; authorized the Minister of the Interior to exempt further areas if necessary; and protected existing holders of trading licenses outside these areas. The provisions

were amplified in an amending Act, passed in 1936. A concession made in this measure provided that land in exempted areas might be alienated to Indians by local authorities if both Houses of Parliament agreed.

In 1943 the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Act was passed. This became known as the Pegging Act, for it pegged the existing trading and land position for three years pending investigations by a commission.

At the end of this period, in 1946, the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act was introduced. It provided that except in exempted areas, which were defined in a schedule to the Act, no Asian could acquire fixed property from a white person in the Transvaal or Natal except under permit. Similarly, non-Asians required permits if they wished to purchase from Asians within the exempted areas.

The second part of this measure, dealing with the franchise, is described on page 2.

#### Employment

##### 1. Masters and Servants Acts

A series of Masters and Servants Acts, passed in the four territories between 1856 and 1904, remained in force after Union. *Inter alia*, a breach of an employment contract either by an employer or an employee was rendered a criminal offence. Although these laws theoretically applied, in the main, to all races, they were held by the courts to be applicable only to unskilled work, performed for the most part, by non-whites.

##### 2. Native Labour Regulation Act, No. 15 of 1911

In this measure conditions were laid down for the recruitment of African labour. The Act was designed to prevent abuses; to protect the employee by providing for minimum standards of accommodation and for compensation for injuries; and to protect the employer against breach of contract by Africans, which was made a criminal offence.

##### 3. Mines and Works Act, No. 12 of 1911

The Mines and Works Act controls conditions of work and safety in mines and establishments using machinery. One section empowered the Governor-General to make regulations dealing, *inter alia*, with the issue of certificates of competency in skilled occupations. Largely as a result of pressure by white trade unionists, a regulation was made to the effect that these certificates were not to be granted to "coloured persons" in the Transvaal or Free State, and that any such certificates issued in the Cape or Natal would not be valid in the northern provinces.

##### 4. Mines and Works Amendment Act of 1926

The regulations under the 1911 Act, described above, were declared by the courts to be *ultra vires*. A mines and Works Amendment Act was then passed, limiting the granting of certificates of competency for many skilled occupations to "Europeans, Cape Coloured and Mauritius Creoles, or St. Helena persons".

##### 5. Apprenticeship Act of 1922, Reenacted in Amended Form as Act of 1944

The object of this Act was to provide for the registration, training, and conditions of service of apprentices. It did not make any discrimination on racial grounds, nevertheless in practice it operated to the disadvantage of non-whites since they lacked opportunities to obtain the prescribed educational qualifications and theoretical technical training. Moreover, white employers in many trades have been unwilling to accept non-white apprentices.

##### 6. "Civilized Labour" Policy Introduced in the Public Service, 1924

The object of this policy was to employ as many whites as possible, paying them at "civilized" rates even if they did unskilled work.

##### 7. Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924, Re-enacted in Amended Form in 1937

This provided for the registration and regulation of trade unions and employers' organizations, the establishment of industrial councils and conciliation boards, and the appointment of arbitrators. Most African men (but not women) were excluded from the definition of "employee". The effect was that they could not be members of registered trade unions, and African unions could not be officially recognized. Strikes by Africans could be held to be criminal offences under the Masters and Servants Acts or the Native Labour Regulation Act.

##### 8. Factories, Machinery and Building Works Act of 1941

This measure, which provided for the registration and control of factories and the regulation of hours and conditions of work, contained a section empowering the Governor-General to make different regulations for different classes of persons on the basis of race or colour in respect of the accommodations, facilities, and conveniences to be provided in factories.

##### 9. War Measures 9 and 145 of 1942

War Measure No. 9 of 1942 gave the Minister of Labour power to intervene in industrial disputes that were likely to impede the war effort, by the appointment of arbitrators. Once an arbitrator had been appointed, strikes and lock-outs in that industry were illegal. This measure was withdrawn after the war.

War Measure No. 145 extended the provisions described above to cover all industrial disputes in which African workers were involved. This, too, was originally intended to be a temporary measure, but in fact it remained in force for eleven years.

#### Housing

##### Loan Funds

Sub-economic loan funds were originally made available to local authorities for slum clearance schemes, but a rapidly increasing shortage of housing in urban areas prompted the decision, in 1936, to make such funds available for housing projects, the losses to be shared by the State and the local authorities. Various formulae for the allocation of losses and the determination of rentals were adopted at different times. In 1944 a National Housing and Planning Commission was established.

#### Immorality

##### Immorality Act of 1927

Extra-marital intercourse between Whites and Africans was prohibited.

#### GOVERNMENT POLICY AND LEGISLATION ON MATTERS AFFECTING RACE RELATIONS 1948 TO 1965

##### I. The apartheid policy

###### Early Definitions

When the Nationalist Government came into power in 1948 the country was in some doubt as to exactly what its leaders meant by their apartheid policy.

As propounded in 1948 it has undergone considerable change, and it is not the function of this work to analyse the various meanings that have been attached to the words "apartheid" or "separate development". It is sufficient to say that the legislation summarized below is all part of a conscious plan to implement the race policy commonly known by these expressions.

###### II. Population registration

##### 1. Population Registration Act, No. 30 of 1950

Basic to the rest of the apartheid legislation was the classification of the population into racial categories.

Definitions of various racial groups were incorporated in numbers of laws passed from 1911. These definitions did not always correspond with one another: they were made for the purpose only of the legislation con-

cerned. The system was not a rigid one. People could "pass" from one group into a more privileged one if their physical features made this possible.

The Population Registration Act of 1950 was designed to put an end to this, aiming at a rigid system of race classification based on appearance and general acceptance and repute, and providing for the compilation of a register of the population and the issuing of identity cards.

Race classification presented no problem in respect of about 99 per cent of the population; but there were numerous "borderline" cases who did not fit clearly into any category. Much humiliation, anxiety, and resentment has resulted from official investigations into such cases.

The Act defined White, Coloured, and Native people, and empowered the Governor-General to make further sub-divisions. This was done in 1959<sup>1</sup>, when the Coloured people were divided into Cape Coloured, Cape Malay, Griqua, Chinese, Indian, "other Asiatic," and "other Coloured".

##### 2. Population Registration Amendment Act, No. 61 of 1962

Until 1962, acceptability by the community was the main test used by officials engaged in race classification; but the Amendment Act of that year altered the definition of a "White" person, and made it obligatory for appearance and acceptance to be considered together.

##### 3. General Law Amendment Act, No. 80 of 1964

The revised and more exclusive definition of a "White" person, made in terms of Act 61 of 1962, was rendered retrospective to 7 July 1950. It was provided that race classifications made before 1962 would be deemed to have been made in terms of the 1962 definition (but such classifications may be altered by the authorities, after investigation, using the revised definition as the criterion).

##### 4. Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, No. 55 of 1949

Marriages between whites and non-whites were made illegal. Pending the completion of race classification the onus of deciding the race of persons wishing to marry was placed on marriage officers. If a mixed marriage, solemnized in good faith by a marriage officer, is subsequently declared invalid, any children born of such marriage before it is annulled will be deemed legitimate. If a person who is domiciled in South Africa enters into a mixed marriage while away from the country such marriage will be void within South Africa.

##### 5. Immorality Amendment Act, No. 21 of 1950

This measure extended to non-whites generally the provisions of the principal Act of 1927 which prohibited illicit carnal intercourse between Africans and Whites.

#### III. Representation on governing bodies

##### A. The Senate

In terms of the South Africa Act of 1909 as amended by Act 54 of 1926, the Representation of Natives Act (No. 12 of 1936), and the South-West Africa Affairs Amendment Act (No. 23 of 1949), the composition of the Senate was:

(a) 8 members nominated by the Governor-General, half of them being selected mainly on the grounds of their thorough acquaintance with the reasonable wants and wishes of the Coloured races in South Africa;

(b) 8 members from each of the four provinces, elected by the M.P.s and M.P.C.s of the province concerned by the system of proportional representation;

(c) 4 from South-West Africa, 2 of them elected by M.P.s and M.L.A.s, and 2 nominated by the Governor-General, 1 of the latter being selected on the grounds of his

<sup>1</sup>Footnotes at end of article.

knowledge of the reasonable wants and wishes of the Coloured races of the territory;

(d) 4 Whites elected by Africans of South Africa through a system of electoral colleges.

The total membership was, thus, 48. As mentioned earlier, the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946 provided for 2 additional White Senators, 1 appointed and 1 elected, to represent Indians. This provision was never implemented, Indian leaders standing out for full franchise rights, and it was repealed in 1968, soon after the Nationalist Government came into power.

In 1955, during the constitutional struggle which is described below, the composition of the Senate was altered in terms of Act 53 of that year. The membership was increased to 89, with 16 instead of 8 nominated members, and 65 instead of 32 elected members from South Africa, and (as before) 4 from South-West Africa and 4 elected by Africans. Elections (except of the African representatives) would be by majority vote on the "ticket" system.

The Separate Representation of Voters Act, No. 46 of 1951 (described below), provided for a further White Senator to be nominated by the Government on the ground of his thorough acquaintance with the reasonable wants and wishes of the Coloured people of the Cape, who were then removed from the common voters' roll.

Representation of Africans by 4 elected Senators was abolished in terms of the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, No. 46 of 1959.

The Senate Act, No. 53 of 1960, restored the system of proportional representation, and reverted to the pre-1955 position in so far as the 8 nominated members and the 4 representatives from South-West Africa were concerned. The additional seat created in 1951, for a Senator acquainted with the wishes of the Coloured people of the Cape, was retained.

The Act provided for the number of Senators to be elected from each province of South Africa to be determined by dividing the number of M.P.s and M.P.C.s from the province concerned by ten. There would, however, be a minimum of 8 elected Senators per province.

#### B. THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

In terms of the South Africa Act and Acts 54 of 1926, 12 of 1936, and 23 of 1949, the composition of the Assembly in 1950 was:

(a) 150 members elected by White voters (men and women) throughout South Africa, together with Coloured and Asian men in the Cape and Coloured men in Natal who could qualify for registration (see page 1);

(b) 3 White members elected by African men in the Cape;

(c) 6 members elected by White voters (men and women) in South-West Africa.

The provision made in 1946 for 3 White representatives of Indian male voters in the Transvaal and Natal was repealed in 1948, and African representation was abolished in terms of the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, No. 46 of 1959.

In 1951 the Government decided to remove Coloured men in the Cape and Natal, and Asian men in the Cape, from the common voters' roll. It introduced the Separate Representation of Voters Act, No. 46 of that year; but this measure was declared invalid by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court. This led to a prolonged constitutional struggle during the course of which the Government unsuccessfully tried the following expedients to attain its objective:

(a) High Court of Parliament Act, No. 35 of 1952. Declared invalid by the Appellate Division.

(b) South Africa Act Amendment Bill of 1953. Failed to gain a two-thirds majority at its Third Reading at a Joint Sitting.

(c) Appellate Division Bill of 1953. Withdrawn.

(d) Separate Representation of Voters Act Validation and Amendment Bill of 1954. Failed to gain a two-thirds majority.

Finally, Parliament passed three measures which gave the Government the powers necessary to attain its end constitutionally and to prevent the courts of law from interfering. These were:

(a) Appellate Division Quorum Act, No. 27 of 1955. Increased the Quorum in the Appellate Division from 4 to 5, with the proviso that in cases where the validity of any Act of parliament is in question the quorum shall be 11, judgment to be the decision of at least 6 of the judges. Five further judges of appeal were then appointed to bring the total to 11.

(b) Senate Act, No. 53 of 1955, described earlier, which increased the membership of the Senate in such a way that it proved possible for the Government to obtain a two-thirds majority at a Joint Session when the Separate Representation of Voters Act was validated. After this had been done, the number of Senators was reduced, in 1960.

(c) South Africa Act Amendment Act, No. 9 of 1956. This validated the Separate Representation of Voters Act, removed the entrenchment of voting rights, and provided that no court of law shall be competent to enquire into or pronounce upon the validity of any law passed by Parliament other than a law which interferes with the legal equality of the two official languages or with the procedure for the amendment of the constitution itself.

In its final form the Separate Representation of Voters Act, as amended by Act 30 of 1956, provided that the Coloured voters of the Cape (including Asians) should be removed from the common roll and placed on a separate roll to elect 4 White representatives to the Assembly and 2 to the Cape Provincial Council. Registered Coloured voters in Natal (there are none in the remaining provinces) would remain on the common roll until their death, but no further Coloured persons would be registered as voters there. A further White Senator would be nominated by the Government on the ground of his knowledge of the reasonable wants and wishes of the Coloured people of the Cape; and a Union Council for Coloured Affairs would be created.

The Constitution Amendment Act, No. 83 of 1965, increased the number of constituencies in South Africa from 150 to 160, and made certain changes in the method of delimitation. As before, there will be 6 further members from South-West Africa, and 4 elected by registered Coloured and Asian voters of the Cape.

#### C. Provincial Councils

Non-whites have never been represented in the Transvaal or Free State Provincial Councils. Until 1951, Coloured men could qualify for the franchise on the common roll in Natal, but since the 1951 Act was validated in 1956 no further Coloured voters have been registered there. Asian and African men in Natal lost their common-roll franchise rights at the time of Union (except that those then registered could retain the vote.) In terms of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946, Indians were to be placed on a separate roll to elect 2 representatives, who might be Whites or Indians, to the Natal Provincial Council; but this provision was repealed in 1948.

In the Cape, African men could qualify for the common roll until 1936, when they were placed on a separate roll to elect 2 white M.P.C.s. This representation was abolished in terms of the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, No. 46 of 1959. Coloured and Asian men who qualified for the vote remained on the common roll until the Separate Representation of Voters Act was validated in 1956 when they, too, were placed on a separate roll to elect 2 White M.P.C.s.

#### D. Further Measures Relating to Coloured Representation

1. Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act, No. 72 of 1965: Act No. 46 of 1951 provided that the election of M.P.s and M.P.C.s. to represent Coloured voters should take place not less than eight days before the polling day fixed for White voters. The 1965 Amendment Act stipulated that the existing Coloured representatives, and representatives elected in future, will hold office for a fixed period of five years from the time of their election.

2. Regulations governing participation of Coloured people in politics: In terms of Government Notice 1308 of 1965. Coloured teachers were prohibited from being members of the Nationalist, United Progressive, or Liberal Parties.

New regulation for rural Coloured areas were published in Government Notice 1375 of 1965. As previously (regulations of 1960 and 1961) it was provided that, with certain exceptions, it is an offence to hold or address a gathering of more than five persons in such areas unless with official permission. Among the gatherings previously exempted were meetings presided over by a Senator, M.P., or M.P.C., but the new regulations omitted this exemption.

#### E. Coloured Council

The Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1951 provided that a Union Council for Coloured Affairs would be set up, with 15 nominated and 12 elected members, to advise the Government on the interests of Coloured people and to carry out such statutory or administrative powers as might be assigned to it. This body was established in 1959.

Provision for a more representative council, with 46 Coloured members, was made in terms of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council Act, No. 49 of 1964. Of the members:

(a) 30 will be elected (18 from the Cape, 6 Transvaal, and 3 each from Natal and the Free State);

(b) 16 will be nominated by the State President (of whom 2 must be Malays, 2 Griquas, and the rest must represent the provinces: 8 from the Cape, 2 Transvaal, and 1 each from Natal and the Free State).

The Act provided for a general registration of voters, who were defined as Coloured persons, men and women, over the age of 21 years. (The qualifying age for White voters is 18 years.) Registration was not rendered compulsory.

The chairman of the Council will be elected by members from amongst their ranks. The Council will have general advisory powers, and, in addition, the State President may by proclamation confer upon it powers to legislate on finance, local government, education, community welfare and pensions (in so far as these matters affect Coloured people), and Coloured rural areas and settlements. No proposed law may be introduced except with the approval of the Minister of Coloured Affairs, granted after consultation with the Minister of Finance, and of the Administrator-in-Executive. The Council's Acts, which require the State President's assent, will have the force of law as long as and so far only as they are not repugnant to any Act of Parliament. Freedom of speech, and the cloak of privilege, will not be absolute at Council meetings.

There will be an Executive Committee with four members elected by the Council and the fifth (chairman) appointed by the State President.

The Act empowered the State President to extend the period of office of members of the Union Council for Coloured Affairs until such time as the first Representative Council assumes office.

In a statement made on 12 December 1961,<sup>2</sup> Dr. Verwoerd said he envisaged that

Footnotes at end of article.

the Council would eventually have its own civil service, and the taxes, direct and indirect, paid by Coloured people would be made available to it.

#### F. Indian Council

In August 1961 the Government established a separate Department of Indian Affairs (Indians had previously fallen under the Department of the Interior).

The Minister of Indian Affairs said on 8 February 1962<sup>3</sup> it had become clear that the repatriation scheme had failed. The Government had, accordingly, decided that it had no choice but to regard the Indians as permanent inhabitants of the country.

After his appointment, the Minister of Indian Affairs endeavoured to set up consultative committees throughout the country, with members appointed by Indians and representative of workers as well as of commercial interests. His plan was that from these bodies a central consultative committee would be constituted which might develop along the lines envisaged for the Council of Coloured Affairs. General support for this plan was not forthcoming, however.

In December 1963 the Minister held a conference in Pretoria to which prominent Indians were invited. They accepted his suggestion that a National Indian Council be established as an interim measure "until such time as it becomes expedient for the Government to improve the present pattern of representation,"<sup>4</sup> and, early in 1964, 21 members of the Indian community, from various walks of life, were nominated as constituting the first Council. Their meetings have been presided over by the Secretary for Indian Affairs, and they have merely advisory powers.

At the request of members, the name of the body was changed in 1965 to the South African Indian Council. An *ad hoc* committee was appointed to study the implications of the Government's suggestion that the council be converted into a statutory and elected body. Indians had been very much divided in opinion as to whether or not the establishment of the council should be supported.

#### G. Africans

1. Bantu Authorities Act, No. 68 of 1951: This act made provision for the establishment of Bantu tribal, regional, and territorial authorities, and for the gradual delegation to these authorities of certain executive and administrative powers in their own areas, including the levy of rates. In terms of this Act the Natives' Representative Council (established in 1936) was abolished.

African opinion appeared to be divided. Certain of the chiefs and their followers welcomed the measure, which would reinforce or re-establish tribalism and enhance the power of chiefs. Many urbanized Africans pointed out that, except to a very limited extent in the Transkei, there was no provision for the elective principle in the constitution of these authorities. The Act was likely to have the effect of dividing the African people into separate ethnic groups. The system envisaged was for local government only and could be no substitute for direct central political representation.

2. Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, No. 46 of 1959: It was stated in a White Paper accompanying the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Bill that the Government had decided to return to the basic aims, pursued between 1913 and 1936, of identifying each of the various African communities with its own land in the Reserves; and, secondly, of ensuring that Africans entered the "white" areas (i.e. the remainder of South Africa) as migrant labourers only.

In various speeches<sup>5</sup> the Prime Minister made it clear, firstly, that although large numbers of Africans would live in the towns as family units for numbers of years they

would be "interchangeable". Secondly, he said his party supported the policy that the white man should retain his domination over his part of the country, and he was prepared to pay a certain price for it, namely by giving the Bantu full rights to develop in their own areas. If it was within the powers of the Bantu their territories might develop to full independence, possibly eventually forming a South African commonwealth with white South Africa serving as its core and as guardian of the emerging Bantu states. The white guardian would meet his obligations on the basis of "creative self-withdrawal".

The Act abolished the Parliamentary representation of Africans. It recognized 8 African national units—North-Sotho, South-Sotho, Tswana, Zulu, Swazi, Xhosa, Tsonga, and Venda—and provided for the appointment of, initially, 5 Commissioners-General to represent the Government in African areas.

The constitution and powers of Bantu territorial, regional, and tribal authorities were more clearly defined; and it was laid down that representatives of territorial authorities would be appointed in urban areas.

3. Constitution Amendment Act, No. 9 of 1963: This Act stated that, notwithstanding the entrenched clause of the Constitution Act of 1961 (which clause provides that English and Afrikaans shall be the official languages and be treated on a basis of equality), an Act of Parliament which declares a Bantu area to be a self-governing area may provide for the recognition of one or more Bantu languages as additional official languages in that area.

4. Transkei Constitution Act, No. 48 of 1963: In terms of this Act, the "African" parts of the Transkei are to become a separate territory (certain towns or parts thereof and certain white farming areas are excluded). Its citizens are all Africans who were born in the Transkei or have been legally domiciled there for at least 5 years, and those outside the area who derive from or are members of tribes resident in the Transkei.

The Act provided for a Legislative Assembly composed of 64 chiefs and 45 elected members. All adult citizens qualify for the franchise. The Assembly elects a Cabinet, initially to consist of a Chief Minister who is also Minister of Finance, and 5 other Ministers holding the portfolios of Justice; the Interior; Education; Agriculture and Forestry; and Roads and Works.

The Republican Parliament retains control over defence; external affairs; internal security; postal and related services; railways; immigration; currency, banking, customs and excise; and the Transkeian Constitution.

Laws passed by the Legislative Assembly in relation to matters under its jurisdiction require the State President's assent. He may refer Bills back to the Assembly for further consideration.

A Transkeian Revenue Fund was created, into which is paid all taxes, levies, and rates paid by citizens, fees derived from the administration of matters assigned to the Assembly, an annual grant from the Republic equal to its expenditure on such matters in the year preceding the date of transfer, and such an additional sum as may be voted by the Republican Parliament.

5. Comments: It is clear that, for the near future, the Transkeian Legislative Assembly will have powers of local government only. It will have no say over the affairs of the many thousands of Transkeian citizens in urban areas. Africans outside the Reserves are to have no franchise rights in the areas where they live and work.

6. Transkeian Authorities Act, No. 4 of 1965: The Transkeian Authorities Act, passed by the Legislative Assembly in 1965, amended the Bantu Authorities Act so as to do away with district authorities (which had existed in the Transkei only). The duties of these

bodies were distributed between regional and tribal authorities, and the whole system was streamlined. Provision was made for a maximum penalty of R400 or 2 years or both for an official found guilty of bribery or corruption, and for the revision by Bantu Authorities of trials conducted by chiefs or headmen.

#### H. LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN URBAN AREAS

1. Municipal Council: Non-whites have no representation on municipal councils or other local authorities in the Transvaal or Free State.

Africans have never been entitled to vote in municipal elections in Natal; but Asians could register as voters until 1924, when, in terms of provincial ordinance, they ceased to qualify (although those whose names were on the voters' roll at the time could continue to vote and stand for election). Coloured people could qualify for registration until 1956, when the Separate Representation of Voters Act came into force; but no new Coloured names have been added to the roll since then because the relevant ordinance provides that municipal voters must either be registered as Parliamentary voters or be entitled to such registration.

In theory, members of all racial groups in the Cape have the municipal franchise on equal terms, vote on a common roll, and are entitled to stand for election. But in practice the terms of the franchise qualifications place Coloured and Asian citizens at a disadvantage, and virtually exclude Africans.

The establishment of management committees is described in the next section. On 27 February 1962 the Minister of Community Development said in the Assembly<sup>6</sup> that the rights of Coloured and Asian persons who were already registered as municipal voters at the date when a management committee was created would not be affected as long as they retained their qualifications; but the expansion of their franchise rights would have to be limited to their own group areas.

2. Consultative and management committees in Coloured and Asian group areas: The Group Areas Amendment Act, No. 49 of 1962, extended the provisions of the principal Act relating to local governing bodies in Coloured and Indian group areas.

It provided for the establishment of, initially, consultative committees; at a later stage management committees; and possibly, eventually, local authorities. A consultative committee will merely be consulted by the local authority having jurisdiction in the area concerned. A management committee will exercise such powers and functions as may be conferred on it, under the supervision and control of the local authority.

The provincial administrations were permitted to frame ordinances governing the administration of the Act in their areas. Natal decided on a pattern differing from that described above. As an initial stage there will be purely advisory local affairs committees, with nominated members. Later, some of the members will be elected. At a third stage of development, executive and financial powers will be conferred gradually on the committees; and, finally, independent local authorities will be created.

By the end of 1965, 18 Coloured management committees, 18 Coloured consultative committees, 4 Indian consultative committees, and 2 Indian local affairs committees had been established in the Cape, Transvaal, and Natal. Each had 5 members of the racial groups concerned, appointed by the Administrator, and consisting of members nominated (in varying proportions) by the Government, the province, the local authority, and, in some cases, by local rate-payers' associations. In a few towns plans were in hand for the election of some or all of the members of management committees.

3. Urban Bantu Councils: The Urban Bantu Councils Act, No. 79 of 1961, empowered an

Footnotes at end of article.

urban local authority to establish urban Bantu councils in Bantu residential areas under its jurisdiction, after consultation with the advisory board should one exist, and otherwise with the African community. A council must be set up if the advisory board so requests or if the Minister is satisfied that the Africans want one. No further advisory boards will be created.

Councils may have elected and selected members, the number of selected members not to exceed the number elected. The body may be established for a particular national unit, in which case only members of this group will vote. Otherwise all qualified Africans of the area may vote. Selected members will be chosen by and from the recognized representatives of chiefs in the area, subject to the approval of the Minister and the local authority.

Various defined powers may be assigned to urban Bantu councils; but they will have consultative powers only in regard to expenditure from the municipal Native Revenue Account, into which all moneys accruing to the councils will be paid.

The Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 76 of 1963, stipulated that these councils must exercise the powers assigned to them on behalf of and subject to the directions of the local authority concerned. Such assignments of powers may be withdrawn.

#### IV. Territorial and residential separation

##### 1. Elselen Line Policy

In January 1955 Dr. W. W. M. Elselen, then Secretary for Native Affairs, said that it was the Government's policy eventually to remove all Africans from the Western Province of the Cape, since this was the natural home of the Coloured people who should receive protection in the labour market. The Government planned, as a first stage, to remove foreign Africans, to "freeze" the existing position as regards to families, to send back to the Reserves all women and children who did not qualify to remain, and to allow only the controlled entry of migratory workers.

Since 1955 influx control has been applied very strictly in the Western Cape. Legislation relating to influx control is described on page 29.

##### 2. Natives Resettlement Act, No. 19 of 1954

This Act provided for the establishment of a Government-appointed Resettlement Board to undertake the removal of more than 10,000 African families from the Western Areas of Johannesburg, and to resettle them at Meadowlands and Diepkloof, further south adjoining the municipal African townships.

From 1959 onward the Resettlement Board also erected new housing in these townships for certain of the families removed (by the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board) from Alexandra Township.

In general, the new dwellings are better than those that the Africans concerned occupied previously; but transport costs are increased, and numbers of people lost freehold rights that they had possessed in the older townships.

##### 3. Group Areas Acts, Nos. 41 of 1950 and 77 of 1957, as amended

Before the Nationalists came into power various measures existed for the segregation of Africans<sup>7</sup> and of Indians,<sup>8</sup> but the Group Areas Act of 1950, which was re-enacted in consolidated form in 1957, was far more far-reaching than any previous legislation.

It imposed control throughout South Africa over inter-racial property transactions and inter-racial changes in occupation. These were made subject to permit. Coloured people in the Cape were for the first time brought within the scope of such control. Provision was made for the proclamation of "defined" areas, in which control is imposed, too, over

the occupation of any buildings which are erected, extended, or altered.

A Group Areas Board was appointed, to report to the responsible Minister<sup>9</sup> on the allocation of full group areas in the various towns and villages for members of different racial groups. When a group area is proclaimed for occupation by a particular group the Minister determines the date by which disqualified persons must move out; this must be not less than one year after the date of the proclamation, and at least three months' prior notice must be given. In the case of business premises at least twelve months' further notice must be given after the initial year.

In group areas proclaimed for ownership disqualified owners may continue to own their properties for the rest of their lives, but may not occupy them. They can bequeath them to other disqualified persons, but such an heir would be given one year within which to dispose of the property to a member of the racial group for which the area is designated.

Companies other than banks, mines, and large factories are given a group character according to the race of the persons holding the controlling interest. Disqualified companies may continue to occupy property in group areas but must dispose of ownership rights within 10 years unless temporary exemption permits are granted.

Except for African townships, African and Coloured Reserves, and mission stations, all parts of the country that have not been allocated to specified groups are controlled areas in which inter-racial changes in ownership and occupation are controlled by permit. Within the controlled areas, "defined" areas may be proclaimed.

In large metropolitan areas it may be laid down by proclamation that buildings in "defined" areas may be used for particular purposes only, e.g. trading. When this is done a trader may continue to conduct his business from the building but must move his home to the group area set aside for members of his race. The Deputy Minister of the Interior said,<sup>10</sup> however, that the general principle would hold good that trading activities should take place in the group areas of the traders concerned.

##### 4. Group Areas Amendment Act, No. 56 of 1965

This Act had two main features:

(a) The Minister of Planning was made responsible for the planning of group areas for Whites, Coloured, and Asians by the Group Areas Board, and for permit control up to the time that group areas are proclaimed. After proclamation, the development of the areas and permit control therein falls under the control of the Minister of Community Development. But so far as African areas are concerned, the responsibility rests with the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

(b) Departmental officials will carry out administrative inspections such as obtaining facts required for the planning of group areas; but the Act conferred very wide powers on members of the police to ascertain whether or not the provisions of the Act are being complied with.

##### 5. Community Development Amendment Act, No. 44 of 1965, and Group Areas Development Act, No. 69 of 1955, as amended

(a) One of the objects of these Acts is as far as possible to eliminate speculation in property values which may arise as a result of the proclamation of group areas.

A Group Areas Development Board (in 1965 renamed the Community Development Board) was established, its functions being to assist disqualified persons to dispose of their properties and to re-establish themselves elsewhere, and, on its own initiative or in co-operation with local authorities, to develop new townships for displaced groups.

When the Development Act is applied to

any area (in many cases *pari passu* with its proclamation as a group area) the Board arranges for a list of affected properties to be drawn up and for their "basic values" to be determined. The basic value is the market value of the land at the time when the group area was proclaimed, plus the estimated cost of the erection of the buildings at the time of the valuation, less depreciation.

The Board has a 30-day pre-emptive right to purchase an affected property at an agreed price. Should it not exercise this right the owner may sell to a qualified person. If he receives more than the basic value he must pay 50 per cent of the difference to the Board; while if he receives less, the Board pays him 80 per cent of the difference.

(b) The 1965 Act widened the functions of the Department of Community Development to include the provision of housing, slum clearance, urban renewal, etc., and it was empowered to exercise these functions outside as well as within proclaimed group areas (but not in African townships, African Reserves, or Coloured rural settlements).

The Board was rendered exempt from the provisions of by-laws, etc., relating to the type of building to be erected and materials to be used; and it may be exempted from restrictive conditions relating to the establishment of a township provided that its plan will not detract from the general appearance of the surrounding area. It may control the erection or alteration of any building in an area where a slum clearance or urban renewal scheme is being undertaken, and has preferential right to purchase properties offered for sale in such areas.

(c) In terms of the 1965 Act the Board may, with the Minister's approval, make payments in respect of any goodwill value which may be attached to any profession or business and is likely to be lost as a result of a group areas proclamation. Such payment will not exceed an amount equal to the net profit derived from the profession or business during the period of 12 months preceding the date on which the person was obliged to cease carrying it on, or preceding the date of the relevant proclamation, whichever amount is the greater.

##### 6. Occupation of land or premises

Late in 1956 a judge of the Eastern Districts Local Division of the Supreme Court decided that certain non-whites who had attended a cinema in the "white" part of a town had not occupied the premises within the meaning of the Act, for they had not been habitually or physically present over a period of time.

In terms of the Group Areas Amendment Act, No. 57 of 1957, the Government then took power to enable it to declare by proclamation that the provisions of the Act prohibited the occupation of land or premises by racially disqualified persons shall apply, also, to occupation by such persons of land or premises, either generally or in a specified area, for a substantial period of time, or for the purpose of attending any place of public entertainment or partaking of any refreshments at a place where refreshments are served, or as a member of or guest in any club.

Proclamations were issued under this enabling Section in 1957, 1958, 1960, 1964, and 1965. The latest, No. R26 of 1965, was to the effect that, in controlled or group areas (in effect, the whole country), no racially disqualified person may attend any place of public entertainment, or partake of any refreshments ordinarily involving the use of seating accommodation as a customer in a licensed restaurant, refreshment or tearoom or eating-house, or as a member of or a guest in any club (except as a representative or guest of the State, a provincial administration, a local authority, or a statutory body).

It was rendered an offense, not only to be present in such premises in contravention of the proclamation, but also to allow a disqualified person to be present.

Footnotes at end of article.

**V. Restrictions on the presence of Africans in certain areas and on their right to seek employment**

**1. Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, No. 52 of 1951**

In terms of this Act, in such areas as may be specified by proclamation no one may enter upon any land or enter any African location or village without permission. Anyone who has illegally occupied any land or building or has illegally entered any African location or village, or anyone who remains on land despite warning to depart, may be ordered by the magistrate to demolish any buildings erected by him and to move, together with his dependants, to such place as may be specified.

**2. Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act, No. 67 of 1952**

In terms of this Act all Africans in South Africa (men and women) who had attained the age of 16 years would, after certain fixed dates, be required to possess reference books (or identity documents in the case of foreign Africans) instead of a variety of documents that had to be carried formerly.<sup>11</sup> Certain previously existing pass laws which differed from province to province were repealed. But the Act introduced new restrictions on the free movement of African women and of many men in the Cape who until 1952 had not been required to carry documents which were producible on demand.

Furthermore, the system of exempting certain classes of Africans from the pass laws was in effect abolished.

**3. Native Laws Amendment Act, No. 54 of 1952**

The Native Laws Amendment Act of 1952 contained a concession, allowing any African born in South Africa to visit an urban area for up to 72 hours without obtaining a special permit. But it extended the system of influx control to all urban areas,<sup>12</sup> and it made this system applicable to African women as well as to men. The powers of the authorities to order the removal of Africans deemed to be "idle or undesirable" were extended.

The Act provided for the establishment of labour bureaux to control the movement of work-seekers, all of whom must register. Those in rural areas are not allowed to go to towns unless suitable vacancies exist there.

Special mention should at this stage be made of Section 10 of the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 as amended in 1952, 1955, and 1957. It provided that no African may remain for more than 72 hours in an urban or proclaimed area unless he or she:

(a) has resided there continuously since birth;

(b) has worked there continuously for one employer for not less than 10 years; or has resided there lawfully and continuously for not less than 15 years; and has thereafter continued to reside there and is not employed outside; and has not while in the area been sentenced to a fine exceeding R100 or to imprisonment for a period exceeding 6 months;

(c) is the wife, unmarried daughter, or son under the age of 18 years of an African in one of the categories mentioned above and ordinarily resides with him;<sup>13</sup>

(d) has been granted special permission to be in the area.

**4. Natives (Urban Areas) Amendment Act, No. 69 of 1956**

This Act enables an urban local authority to order an African to leave its area if it is considered that his presence is detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order. Should this be done the local authority, if so requested, will move the African's dependants and personal effects to his new place of residence, charging any costs to the municipal Native Revenue Account.

**5. Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act, No. 64 of 1956**

The Prohibition of Interdicts Act enabled the Government to direct, by proclamation, that when specified types of removal orders are issued to Africans no court of law may issue an interdict which will have the effect of suspending their execution. Application for such interdict may be made only after the removal has taken place.

During 1957 and 1958 this Act was applied to orders issued to Africans convicted of being unlawfully in an urban area, to illegal squatters, to those required to leave Native Trust Land in the Reserves, and to those required to move from "white" rural areas.<sup>14</sup>

**6. Native Laws Amendment Act, No. 36 of 1957**

This Act contained the "church clause", which is described on page 40. But it dealt, too, with influx control and with the powers of local authorities.

Further limitations were placed on the categories of Africans who qualify to remain in urban areas (this is dealt with on page 34); increased powers were granted to magistrates and native commissioners to order Africans who have failed to obey regulations to leave urban areas; and further classes of officials were empowered to demand the production of documents by Africans. The definition of an "undesirable" person was extended. Increased restrictions were placed on the entry of Whites to African townships.

The Minister was empowered to prohibit Africans from entering specified classes of work in any urban area. The Governor-General was given the power to prohibit African business and professional men (as well as contractors and casual labourers, as previously) from working in urban areas, including African townships, unless they have been licensed to do so.

The Act provided that the senior officer in every municipal Native Administration Department must report not only to the local authority (as stated in previous legislation) but also via the local authority to the Secretary for Native Affairs<sup>15</sup> any irregularity which may occur in his department, or any other occurrence on which he may deem it advisable to report.

The Minister was empowered, without consultation with a local authority concerned, to vary or amend draft regulations for the control of African townships submitted for his approval, or to reject them. Amendments made by him may, however, not introduce any new principle.

The power to permit African work-seekers to remain in urban areas for longer than 72 hours was removed from municipal influx control officers and vested in labour bureaux officials.

**7. Revised Native Labour Regulations, 1959**

Revised Native Labour Regulations, published in 1959,<sup>16</sup> tightened regulations governing the employment of Africans in urban areas. For the first time these regulations were made applicable to African women employees.

It was not rendered essential for unemployed African women to register, but such women cannot legally enter urban employment unless they have done so. Furthermore, it became necessary for all women in towns to obtain written proof of their authority to be there in order to safeguard themselves against arrest.

**8. Employment of Alleged Petty Offenders on Farms**

Because so many petty offenders against influx control regulations, tax laws, etc., are unable to pay fines imposed by the courts they have to serve prison sentences, and it is impossible to find employment for all of them in public works. With the object of providing employment and of keeping minor offenders away from hardened criminals, the authorities have devised various schemes for

hiring prison labour to farmers. So far as is feasible these schemes are under official supervision and inspection.

In 1947 the Native Commissioner in Johannesburg became perturbed about the large numbers of Africans who were brought before him for alleged contraventions of the pass laws. With Government approval he devised a scheme which gave them the option of accepting rural employment as an alternative to prosecution.

This scheme was elaborated and widely extended during 1954. Farmers, especially in the Transvaal, were invited to apply for such labour. Unemployed Africans arrested on suspicion of having committed minor technical offences were not forced to go to work on farms; but if they did not do so they were returned to the police and might have to face prosecution. Thereafter they were liable to re-arrest unless they were accepted for urban employment or left the area.

Various abuses crept into the system. Men who accepted work on a farm were sent there without being allowed an opportunity of returning home first, and the relatives were often ignorant of their whereabouts. Some of the men misunderstood the arrangements; numbers deserted at the first opportunity. During 1959, especially, there were numerous allegations of ill-treatment by farmers or "boss-boys", several of whom were found guilty by the courts. Eventually, after an official inquiry, the scheme was abandoned.

Africans who were endorsed out of urban areas may, however, have no alternative but to seek farm employment; and farmers may still hire prison labour.

**9. Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 76 of 1963**

The main provisions of 1963 Amendment Act were as follows:

(a) It tightened the provisions of previous laws relating to the compulsory residence of urban Africans in African townships.

(b) It enabled the Minister to limit the number of domestic servants who may be accommodated on the premises of an urban private employer to one per household, and stated that at a later stage the Minister may prohibit any servants from living in. Exemptions may be granted by local authorities.

(c) It eased previous provisions relating to the entry of Africans to urban townships, but strengthened the powers of authorized officers to eject persons whose presence is considered to be undesirable.

(d) It increased the Minister's power of control over regulations made by local authorities, and over resolutions passed by them.

(e) It made it clear that urban Bantu councils will exercise their powers subject to the directions of the local authority concerned.

Provisions of this Act that dealt with foreign Africans and with the rights of African widows are described below.

**10. Better Administration of Designated Areas Act, No. 51 of 1963**

The State President was empowered to extend the provisions of legislation affecting Africans in urban and proclaimed areas to any other area where communities of Africans live and have acquired interest in land. Such laws will be administered by the adjoining local authority if one exists, or by a body vested with the powers of a local authority in the area concerned, or, in the absence of any such authority, by the Bantu Affairs Commissioner.

**11. Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 42 of 1964**

(a) The term "prescribed area" was substituted for "proclaimed area". All existing proclaimed areas (including most towns and certain peri-urban areas), and all other urban areas, automatically became prescribed areas, in which the Bantu (Urban Areas) Act, the Bantu Labour Regulation Act, the Ban-

Footnotes at end of article.

tu Services Levy Act, the Urban Bantu Councils Act, the Bantu Building Workers' Act, and regulations issued under these Acts, are in force.

(b) The definition of an "authorized officer" (who, *inter alia*, may demand the production of documents by Africans), was widened to include further categories of officials.

(c) Further powers relating to influx control under Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act<sup>17</sup> were transferred from municipal influx control officers to labour bureaux. Africans who are not work-seekers and merely want to visit a town for longer than 72 hours must now obtain permission from a labour bureau, as most persons not of working age who want to come to live in a town (men over 65 years of age, women over 60 years, and children under 15 years), and women who want to join husbands who qualify to remain in prescribed areas. In considering applications, the labour bureau must give regard to the availability of accommodation in a Bantu residential area.

(d) It was laid down that, in order to qualify to remain with a man who is entitled to be in a prescribed area, his wife, unmarried daughters, and sons under the age of 18 must not only ordinarily reside with him (as stated in a previous Act), but must initially have entered the area lawfully.

(e) Provisions dealing with labour bureaux previously contained in regulations, were incorporated in the Act, with certain changes, described below.

(f) The Act stated that no one may employ an African in a prescribed area unless the latter has permission from a labour bureau to enter such employment. The labour bureau machinery was, thus, extended to include casual labourers, independent contractors, and Africans who qualify to remain in a prescribed area under Section 10(1)(a) or (b) of the Urban Areas Act. These Africans may, thus, be ordered to leave if the labour bureau refuses to register or cancels their contracts of service, or if they are declared medically unfit for employment. Such an order issued to a "qualified" African must be confirmed by the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner. If it is confirmed, and if the African cannot find employment and accommodation for himself and his family anywhere else, he must be provided with a residential site in a Reserve.

(g) Certain classes of Africans may be exempted from the labour bureaux machinery, e.g., chiefs and headmen, certain ministers of religion, teachers, government officials, professional persons, and registered owners of land.

(h) If the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development approves, a labour officer may cancel a service contract, or refuse to register a contract, if he is satisfied that the African's presence in the area is likely to impair the safety of the State or the public, or to threaten the maintenance of public order.

(i) The State President was empowered to make regulations prescribing the documents to be produced by African women wishing to take up employment.

(j) The grounds on which Africans may be deemed "idle or undesirable" (and then be ordered out of a prescribed area) were again widened and, for the first time, were extended to Africans who qualify to remain in a prescribed area under Section 10(1)(a), (b), or (c) of the Urban Areas Act.

(k) Additions were made to the provisions governing removal orders which may be served on Africans who unlawfully remain in prescribed areas.

(l) Provision was made for the establishment of aid centres to which Africans may be taken by the police (instead of to police

cells) if the Africans are suspected of having contravened laws and regulations relating to service contracts, reference books, or presence in prescribed areas. Courts may be held at the centres.

(m) The Minister was empowered to make regulations for the establishment of youth centres for the reception of Africans over 15 and under 21 years of age who are ordered by a competent authority to go there for the purpose of rehabilitation.

(n) It was rendered an offense for any person (or organization) other than a practising attorney or advocate to accept any money or reward for helping an African who is in difficulties over influx control, employment, making representations to authorities, detention, removal orders, or related matters.

(o) The Minister was empowered to exempt specified classes of Africans from curfew regulations.

(p) Better protection was given to Africans against the withholding of wages and against malpractices by recruiting agents.

(q) It was laid down that before inspecting any African township or premises where Africans are accommodated, a competent Government official must consult the urban local authority concerned. Such officials were empowered, after consultation with the local authority, to convene or address any meeting of the advisory board or urban Bantu council.

Other provisions of the Act are dealt with in relevant sections of this pamphlet.

## 12. Bantu Labour Act, No. 67 of 1964

This measure consolidated laws relating to African labour and repealed the Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911 as amended.

### VI. Presence of Africans in rural areas

#### 1. Removal Orders

Various proclamations published in 1957<sup>18</sup> widened the Government's powers (conferred on it in 1936) to cancel an African's right to occupation of land owned by the Trust, and to order Africans to move off land to be reserved for commonages or other purposes. The terms of the Natives (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act were applied to such orders.

#### 2. Native Trust and Land Amendment Act, No. 18 of 1964

This Act amended Chapter IV of the principal Act of 1936. It dealt with:

(a) labour tenants, who work for a farmer for a fixed number of weeks a year in return for the right to grow crops and run stock on a portion of the farm;

(b) squatters maintained by certain farmers as labour pools, or renting land from a farmer but working elsewhere.

The object of the Act was to discourage these systems and to encourage farmers to employ full-time labourers. It provided that the number of labour tenants an individual farmer may employ will be determined by labour tenant control boards composed of officials and local farmers, or by divisional councils in the Cape. The Minister stated<sup>19</sup> it would be assumed that 5 tenants were the normal number required per farm.

Farmers were required to register squatters annually, and it was provided that the registration fee would be progressively increased. Squatters could not be registered unless they had been continuously resident on the land concerned since 31 August 1936.

The Act removed a previously binding obligation on the Government to find alternative land for Africans who were displaced. With certain exceptions it enabled the authorities to offer them employment instead.

#### 3. Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 42 of 1964

(a) Further machinery was provided for the abolition of labour farms (where a farmer accommodates Africans until he needs their services) and for the gradual

abolition of the labour tenant system. It was stipulated that only Africans over the age of 15 years, born in the Republic or South-West Africa, may enter into labour tenants' contracts. (It would appear that members of the African's family will not be required to work for the farmer unless they themselves enter into contracts.)

No labour tenant contract may be entered into for a period in excess of three years. If no period is expressly stipulated the contract will be deemed to have been entered into for one year. Contracts will not be registered if the farmer did not previously employ labour tenants. The Minister was empowered to declare that in any specified area no labour tenants shall be employed.

The definition of a "dependant" of an African on a farm, who may live with him there, was widened.

(b) The Minister was given power to establish Bantu labour control boards which will have jurisdiction in respect of all farm labourers and domestic servants as well as labour tenants. This will not apply in the Cape, where divisional councils control these matters. In areas where there is no divisional council or control board, Bantu Affairs Commissioners will have power to act. Boards may be directed by the Government to consider the availability of non-African labour.

(c) The relevant authorities were empowered to issue a second removal order to an African convicted of being in an area unlawfully if, on his arrival at the first place to which he has been removed, there is no suitable accommodation or employment.

(d) The Minister was empowered to prohibit a farmer from allowing Africans to congregate or reside on his land if, in the Minister's opinion, their presence is undesirable in view of the situation of the land, or if they are causing a nuisance to persons living in the vicinity. Gatherings connected exclusively with religious services or church functions may not be prohibited.

### VII. Foreign Africans

#### 1. Aliens Control Act, No. 30 of 1962

Before 1963, Africans entering South Africa to seek work (other than recruited mine or other labourers) were usually not in possession of travel documents, but this was condoned if they reported to a passport control officer and were issued with temporary immigration permits.

The Act of 1963 made it an offence for an African to enter South Africa without a travel document issued by his own country and recognized by the South African Government. If convicted of such an offence an African is liable to a maximum penalty of 6 months. Whether or not he is tried and convicted he may be arrested and deported; should he be deported any unexpired sentence of imprisonment will be terminated.

#### 2. Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 76 of 1963

The Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1963 tightened control of the presence and employment of foreign Africans in South Africa, other than those recruited for work on the mines or in other specified industries. All the rest now need the written permission of the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development, or an officer authorized thereto by him. Conditions may be imposed.

Foreign Africans wishing to enter the country must obtain prior permission. If this is granted their travel documents will be endorsed at the border by passport control officers stating the area in which their presence is authorized and the purpose and period of their visit. If the African is entering to take up employment, details of his service contract will be entered on his travel documents.

Foreign Africans who were already in South Africa on 30 June 1963 were required to obtain passports from their home countries before 31 December 1965.

Footnotes at end of article.

### 3. Policy decisions on Africans from the High Commission Territories

(a) It was decided in 1963<sup>20</sup> that on entering into a service contract with a foreign African an employer must undertake to return the worker to his home on the completion of the contract. In no case may such an African be employed for longer than two years. He may be considered for further service if he returns to his home and then re-applies.

(b) A decision made in 1965 was that foreign Africans would no longer be issued with reference books (instead, they must be able to produce passports). They will no longer pay South African taxes, but must possess proof that they have paid the taxes imposed in their home countries.

(c) Fewer permits are being given to foreign Africans to work in prescribed areas.

(d) Foreign Africans who have entered South Africa without proper travel documents may be allowed to enter employment in order to earn the money necessary for the fare back to their homes, provided that the employer deposits with the authorities a sum of R20 towards this fare. This sum may be deducted from wages paid. (No deposit is required in the cases of Africans from Basutoland, Swaziland, Bechuanaland, or Portuguese East Africa.)<sup>21</sup>

### 4. Gratuities for certain Government employees

In terms of the Railways and Harbours Amendment Act, No. 6 of 1965, and the Pension Laws Amendment Act, No. 102 of 1965, gratuities may be paid to foreign Africans who started work in a Government department (including the Railways) before 1955, thereafter completing at least ten years' service, and whose service are terminated because of the expiration or cancellation of their permits to live and to work in the area concerned.

### VIII. Indian immigration

Immigration Regulations Act, No. 43 of 1953

The Immigration Regulation Act amended an earlier measure of 1913 in terms of which the wives and minor children of Indians permanently resident in South Africa were permitted to come from India (and, later, from Pakistan) to join them. The new Act provided that no woman born outside South Africa who contracted marriages overseas to South African Asians after 10 February 1953, nor their minor children, would be permitted to enter the country unless special permission was granted. Women who had already contracted such marriages, and minor children born to them before 10 February 1954, would not be debared from entry until 10 February 1956.

### IX. Separate amenities

#### 1. Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, No. 49 of 1953

During 1952 several Africans appealed successfully against convictions for using facilities reserved for Whites: they had used those facilities in a protest against discrimination. Their appeals succeeded on the ground that if separate facilities were provided for various groups, these must be substantially equal.

The Government then introduced the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, which empowered persons in charge of public premises or vehicles to reserve them, or portions thereof, for the use of persons belonging to a particular race or class. No such action can be ruled invalid on the ground that provision is not made for all races, or that the separate facilities provided for various races are not substantially equal.

#### 2. Native Laws Amendment Act, No. 36 of 1937

(a) The "Church Clause": An amendment made in 1937 to the Natives (Urban Areas)

Act provided that any institution to be established after the beginning of 1938 in the so-called white part of a town (i.e., outside non-white townships), and which would cater mainly for Africans, required the approval of the Minister of Native Affairs and of the local authority concerned. The word "institution" included churches, schools, places of entertainment, hospitals, and clubs.

This section was amended in 1957 (there was much controversy about the suggested Bill, which was redrafted twice.) The new provision relating to churches stated that if the local authority concerned concurs, if the church concerned has been afforded reasonable time to make representations, and if the Minister has considered the availability or otherwise of alternative facilities, he may direct that the attendance of Africans at any church or religious service in the white part of a town shall cease as from a date specified. He may do so only if in his opinion the Africans are causing a nuisance or if he considers it undesirable for them to be present on the premises in the numbers in which they ordinarily attend.

(b) Schools, hospitals, clubs, and similar institutions: If schools, hospitals, clubs, and similar institutions which admit Africans were established in their present premises before 1938 they may continue to operate unless the number of Africans attending them has increased since that date. If so, or if such institutions were established after 1938, they may continue only with the approval of the Minister given with the concurrence of the local authority concerned. Conditions may be imposed.

In either case, provided the local authority concurs, the Minister may direct that no Africans (other than employees) may attend if he considers that they are causing a nuisance or that it is undesirable that they should be present in the numbers in which they ordinarily attend. The Minister may make a similar order without consulting the local authority if he is of the opinion that the institution is being conducted in a manner prejudicial to the public interest.

(c) Places of entertainment: On grounds similar to those mentioned above, and again if the local authority concurs, the Minister may direct that no Africans shall attend any place of entertainment in the white part of a town.

#### 3. Motor Carrier Transportation Amendment Act, No. 44 of 1955

The principal Act, passed in 1930, authorized the Government-appointed National Transport Board to stipulate that certain motor vehicles may be utilized for the conveyance of a stipulated class of person only. In terms of the amending measure, the board may require local authorities and others operating transport services to reserve vehicles or portions thereof for members of specified racial groups.

#### 4. State-Aided Institutions Amendment Act, No. 46 of 1957

The measure conferred power on the boards of cultural institutions such as art galleries, museums, public gardens, zoos, and libraries, subject to the approval of the Minister of Education, Arts, and Science, to determine during what hours and subject to what conditions the public, or any group of persons, or persons belonging to a particular race or class, may visit the institution concerned.

#### 5. Broadcasting Amendment Act, No. 49 of 1960

A separate Bantu Programme Control Board was set up, within the S.A. Broadcasting Corporation, to control the broadcasting of programmes especially designed for Africans. (Africans, can, of course, tune in to the general programmes too.)

#### 6. Control of Welfare Organizations Working on Behalf of Africans

During April 1957 the (then) Native Affairs Department sent a circular<sup>22</sup> to local authorities and welfare organizations stating

its policy that Africans should conduct their own voluntary social, social welfare, and recreational services. The control of such services by committees of whites, or by mixed white-non white committees, could not be approved. Whites could serve on separate advisory or fund-raising committees; and white officials could, if asked, serve on the African committees in an advisory capacity.

As a result, considerable re-organization was necessary in numerous welfare organizations, and work which had involved fruitful inter-racial co-operation was hampered.

#### 7. Racial Separation in Scientific and Professional Organizations

When opening a conference of the S.A. Library Association during November 1962 the Minister of Education, Arts, and Science announced that the Government expected scientific and professional organizations to fall in with its policy of having separate branches for the various racial groups. The Library Association decided to comply.

Some weeks later letters were sent by the Minister to scientific or professional bodies that receive Government subsidies informing them that they were expected to provide for separate nonwhite societies, amending their constitutions if necessary to make this possible. The non-white bodies could affiliate to the national societies and could send representatives to specific executive meetings. In this way channels could be created for the exchange of views, and for knowledge gained at congresses and conferences of white scientists to be transmitted to non-whites. Unless the organizations concerned complied with this policy they would not continue to qualify for financial assistance from the Government, the Minister said.<sup>23</sup>

According to various reports<sup>24</sup> the organizations concerned had about 14,000 white members at the time, but only about 15 non-whites from South Africa. The latter, whose fields of interest differed, were far too few in number to establish separate professional bodies.

Some of the organizations concerned decided to forgo their subsidies rather than comply with the Minister's requirements; but one or two agreed to exclude non-whites. Following representations made by delegations, the Minister agreed to a compromise: for the time being such scientific societies as wished to do so could continue to accept non-white members, but would try to help them eventually to form their own associations.

#### 8. Proclamation R26 of 1965

(Racial separation in clubs, places of entertainment, etc.)

#### 9. Separation in sporting bodies

On 9 February 1962 the Minister of the Interior said<sup>25</sup> that as far back as 1956 his predecessor had stated that whites and non-whites should organize their sporting activities separately; that there should be no inter-racial competitions within South Africa's borders; and that the mixing of races in teams to take part in competitions in South Africa or abroad should be avoided.

A few weeks later the Minister amplified his statement.<sup>26</sup> He said that mixed teams would not be allowed to compete in international competitions held outside the country's borders, but separate white and non-white teams might do so provided that the organizers were not trying thereby to make the Government abandon its policy of separate development.

It would be in accord with the Government's policy, the Minister continued, if non-white associations were to exist and develop alongside the corresponding white associations. The latter could act as co-ordinating organizations between the two bodies at top level and serve as representatives to international organizations. One or two members of a white executive committee could attend meetings of the non-white com-

Footnotes at end of article.

mittee when requested, to maintain liaison; or one or more members of the non-white body could attend meetings of the white committee in an advisory capacity when matters affecting non-whites were being discussed.

In 1964, as a result of these decisions and the repercussions, the invitation to South Africa to participate in the Olympic Games in Tokyo was withdrawn, a tour of South African athletes to Europe was cancelled, and the Football Association of South Africa was suspended from the international controlling body. The Government has regulated South African participation in overseas events through the issue or refusal of passports; e.g. in table tennis.<sup>27</sup>

The terms of Proclamation R26 of 1965 are given on page 28. If non-white spectators are now to be admitted to sporting contests that are open to the public in white areas, or vice versa, official permits must be obtained.

#### 10. Racial Zoning of Beaches

In accordance with their own and/or the Government's wishes and the recommendations of various commissions and committees, some local authorities in coastal areas have zoned beaches for members of the various racial groups. Others, particularly in the Cape, have been unwilling to do so, in spite of the provisions of provincial ordinances of 1955 and 1964 which empowered the Administrator to direct them to implement racial zoning and, if his instructions were not obeyed, to have the necessary work carried out at their expense. Legislation on this matter is likely in 1966.

#### X. Separation in employment

##### 1. Civilized labour policy

In 1948 the Government re-affirmed the "civilized labour" policy for the Public Service and Railways. This policy, originally introduced by the Pact Government in 1924, was that so far as possible the employees other than labourers should be persons who drew adequate pay to enable them to maintain "the standard recognized as tolerable from the usual European standpoint". The effect was that white workers were employed in numbers of lower skilled posts, and were paid at far higher rates than were received by non-whites doing similar work in private sectors of the economy.

##### 2. Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, No. 48 of 1953

This measure re-defined the term "employee" in the Industrial Conciliation Act to exclude all Africans;<sup>28</sup> prevented registered trade unions from having African members; and prohibited strikes by African employees,<sup>29</sup> sympathetic strikes by workers of other racial groups, lock-outs, or the instigation of such strikes or lockouts.

The Act provided for the setting-up of separate industrial conciliation machinery for certain categories of African workers. It did not prohibit African trade unions but denied them official registration and status, thus placing them at considerable disadvantage when negotiating with employers or collecting subscriptions.

##### 3. Industrial Conciliation Act, No. 28 of 1956

In terms of this Act no further "mixed" trade unions (catering for both White and Coloured or Asian members) may be registered; machinery was created for the splitting of existing such union along racial lines; and it was laid down that any mixed unions which continued to exist must create separate branches for white and non-white members and hold separate meetings.

Furthermore, provision was made for "job reservation" that is, for specified types of work to be reserved for persons of a specified racial group. This section of the Act has,

since, been used firstly to safeguard the position of White workers; and in the second place to protect Coloured workers against African competition.

##### 4. Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act, No. 41 of 1959

In 1959 further restrictions were placed on the operation of remaining mixed trade unions. *Inter alia*, they may not extend their interests unless they do so in respect of one racial group only. It was rendered illegal for employers to collect trade union dues from Africans.

The Government's power to prohibit strikes in essential industries and services were extended to the canning industry; and the procedure for effecting job reservation was streamlined.

##### 5. Effects of these measures

(a) Trade unionism: In 1961 roughly 31.7 per cent. of the economically active White workers were members of trade unions, 19.2 per cent. of the Coloured, 19.1 per cent. of the Asians, and only 1.9 per cent. of the Africans (even if peasants are excluded from the number of African workers). Trade unionism was, then, not highly developed among non-whites.

As a result of dissent among white trade unionists, mainly over the question of co-operation with non-whites, early coordinating bodies split, and two right-wing organizations that supported the Government's policies were formed—the Co-ordinating Council of S.A. Trade Unions in 1947, and the S.A. Federation of Trade Unions in 1950. In 1957 they joined the Federal Consultative Council of S.A. Railways and Harbours Staff Associations to form the S.A. Confederation of Labour.

When the clauses of the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 that are described above were first published, a new body called the Trade Union Council of S.A. (Tuca) was formed to unite as many workers as possible in an endeavor to prevent any interference with the collective bargaining system. The right-wing unions that support government policy did not join it, but nevertheless, in order to obtain as much support as possible its was considered necessary to confine membership to registered unions—thus excluding African ones. A few unions that disagreed with this policy broke away: together with certain African unions they formed the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu).

Sactu aligned itself with non-white political movements. This policy was opposed by some of the African trade unions, which formed themselves into the Federation of Free African Trade Unions of S.A. (Fofatusa). After the Suppression of Communism Act (described in a subsequent chapter) was passed in 1960, the Government "banned" most of the leaders of Sactu, forcing them to resign from their unions. In consequence, the activities of this body have been severely hampered.

From 1963 Tuca changed its policy and invited affiliation from all unions. For a time it maintained a loose liaison with Fofatusa, some African unions being members of both bodies. As Tuca increased its organizational work among African workers, the membership of Fofatusa declined, and, early in 1966, the latter body decided to disband.

At the end of 1963, the membership of registered trade unions was 344,752 Whites, 90,143 Coloured, and 31,739 Asians.

In mid-1965, the right-wing Confederation claimed to have about 189,500 members, all white. Tuca had 191,063 members, possibly about 22 per cent. of them non-white, including 2,012 Africans. Fofatusa had about 13,000 African members; and the strength of Sactu (mainly African) was unknown.

The Government states that the machinery set up under the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act has been successful in preventing many stoppages of work and in

persuading numerous employers to raise the wages of African workers.

(b) Job reservation: Numbers of industries (e.g. engineering) and of individual employers have avoided the introduction of job reservation by increasing the wages payable for categories of work in which whites had feared non-white penetration. Employers may still use non-white labour in these occupations provided that they pay these workers at the same rates as whites earn.

Job reservation determinations have protected whites from non-white competition in specified types of skilled work in the building industry in urban areas, excluding non-white townships (although Coloured workers in the Cape may continue in certain of these occupations); in the trade of barman in public bars for whites in Durban and Pietermaritzburg; in the posts of firemen in Cape Town; in the driving of heavy vehicles in certain industries on the Free State goldfields and of vehicles in the Durban and Springs sanitary departments; in skilled work in the wholesale meat trade in Pretoria and on the Witwatersrand; and in the operation of lifts in certain types of buildings in Johannesburg, Pretoria, and Bloemfontein.

Other determinations have regulated the proportion of Whites and Coloured (including Asians) who may be employed in the clothing and motor vehicles assembly industries, to operate buses in Cape Town, as traffic policemen and ambulance drivers in Cape Town, as drivers of certain forms of motor transport in Durban, and as waiters, wine stewards, pages, and bedroom attendants in the Western Cape, Pietermaritzburg, Durban, and other Natal coastal towns. (This last determination applies to the employment of Africans, too.)

Numerous temporary exemptions from the terms of these determinations have been granted when adequate numbers of white workers were not available.

Acting under laws and provincial ordinances relating to separate amenities, the Road Transportation Board in the Cape has ruled that taxi-owners in that province may transport passengers of their own racial group only, and that the drivers employed must when possible be of this same group.

##### 6. Nursing Act, No. 69 of 1957

The Nursing Act, which replaced an earlier measure, stipulated that the Nursing Council (the body that deals with the registration, training, and discipline of nurses) must consist of white persons only. Provision was made for advisory boards to be elected by non-white nurses. The Council must keep separate registers of nurses according to their race, and may prescribe different qualifications for registration and different uniforms.

The Nursing Association was required to set up separate branches for members of each racial group, and to arrange separate meetings. The controlling board must consist of white persons, elected by white nurses; although non-whites may elect advisory committees.

It was rendered an offence to employ a white nurse or student-nurse under the supervision of a non-white nurse (except in cases of emergency).

##### 7. Factories, Machinery, and Building Works Amendment Act, No. 31 of 1960

This Amendment Act enabled regulations to be made governing the separation in any factory of workers of different races or classes.

##### 8. Unemployment Insurance Amendment Act, No. 41 of 1949, as amended by Act 9 of 1957 and Act 37 of 1965

The principal Act, No. 53 of 1946, enabled all persons earning up to R1,500 a year to become contributors to the Unemployment Insurance Fund except for domestic servants, public servants, agricultural workers, African mine-workers, and those employed in rural areas (other than in factories). Then,

in 1949, Africans earning less than R364 a year, and casual and seasonal workers, were excluded.

The 1957 Amendment Act extended the upper income range to R2,500. It provided for the addition of prevailing cost-of-living allowances to basic wages in cases where there had not been consolidated. The level below which all Africans are excluded was, thus, fixed at R546.

In 1965 the upper income range was increased again, to R2,860. The definition of a seasonal worker was amended to enable further classes of persons so employed to become contributors.

#### 9. Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 42 of 1964

Section 66 of this Act provided that no African may carry on any trade or business as a hawker, pedlar, dealer, or speculator in livestock or produce, or any street trade or business which the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development may specify, in a prescribed area<sup>20</sup> outside a Bantu residential area, unless he has the permission of the local authority. Local authorities may not grant such permission unless, at their request, the Minister has authorized them to do so. He may direct that no such trading be permitted in specified portions of a prescribed area, or may impose other conditions.

#### 10. Laws dealing with border industries

The Government rejected the recommendation of the Tomlinson Commission of 1951-5 that, subject to certain safeguards white entrepreneurs be encouraged to establish industries in the African Reserves (or "homelands"). It accepted the complementary recommendation that such enterprise be fostered in white areas bordering on the Reserves which possess, or can be provided with, the necessary infrastructure, but which happen to be undeveloped.

Various Income Tax Acts have provided for concessions to industrialists who establish themselves in such areas. Act 88 of 1965 allowed for these concessions to be extended to any "economic development areas", i.e., any area in which, in the opinion of the Minister of Finance, economic development should be encouraged.

Since 1961 other inducements, besides tax concessions, have been offered to industrialists. Various Government Departments have provided roads, railways, power, and water in selected border areas, and housing for white employees. The Industrial Development Corporation has made financial loans available and has constructed factory buildings for lease or sale. The Department of Bantu Administration and Development has employed African contractors to build new villages just across the borders in the homelands. A school to train African textile workers has been established near East London by the Department of Bantu Education. In general, the wage structure is lower in border areas than it is in the cities.

By mid-1965, new concerns in border areas employed about 42,000 persons, of whom 33,000 were Africans. Another 85,000 persons (including nearly 62,000 Africans) were employed in previously existing undertakings in these areas. As at 31 January 1965, the Industrial Development Corporation had given financial assistance to 48 concerns, totalling R22,513,126. During 1964 tax concessions in respect of new investments in border areas were approved in 33 cases, an amount of some R27,000,000 being involved.

During 1965 the Government decided that the inducements mentioned above would be extended to White, Coloured, and Indian industrialists in selected retarded areas where unemployment existed, and to establish an Indian Investment Corporation to assist Indians to establish business enterprises in which they would employ workers of their own racial group. (The establishment of corporations to assist Africans and

Coloured people in the Reserve is dealt with in a subsequent chapter.)

#### 11. Railways and Harbours Amendment Act, No. 8 of 1965

Section 58 of Act 6 of 1965 provided for the creation of a provident fund for non-white railway and harbour workers.

In terms of this Act and the Pension Laws Amendment Act, No. 102 of 1965, gratuities may be paid to Africans who started work in a Government department before 1955, thereafter completing at least ten years' service, and whose services are terminated under laws and regulations governing influx control.

#### XI. Separation in education

##### 1. Bantu Education Act, No. 47 of 1953

In terms of the Bantu Education Act the control of African education was transferred from the provinces to the Union Department of Native Affairs (and later to the newly established Department of Bantu Education). No schools may be established or conducted unless they have been registered. The Minister was given very wide powers to make regulations.

During the following year the Government decided that the State should continue to pay into the Bantu Education Account an amount equivalent to its expenditure in 1953, that is R13,000,000 a year. Any excess expenditure over this amount would be met by African taxpayers themselves.<sup>21</sup> (As described below, this policy has, since, been slightly amended.)

It was, further, decided that subsidies to teacher-training schools run by missions would be terminated in 1955, and that those paid to mission-run primary and secondary schools would be reduced progressively until 1957, after which they would cease. Churches could rent or sell their schools to the Department, or could close them. If, however, they wished to retain control of schools on an unsubsidized basis they would have to apply for the registration of these institutions as private schools; the decision whether or not to grant registration would be made by the Minister of Bantu Education.

At the time when the Bill was introduced Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, then minister of Native Affairs, said,<sup>22</sup> "Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live". Later, he added that in terms of the apartheid policy there was no place for the Bantu within the white community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within their own areas, however, all doors were open. Education should, thus, stand with both feet in the Reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of a Bantu society.

Most Africans have resented the conception of "Bantu" education. They feared that the facilities provided for them would be inferior, and they strenuously opposed the introduction of a separate type of education, with new syllabuses.

Since the Act was passed the school enrolment has doubled—from 883,896 in Government and aided schools in 1953 to 1,770,371 in 1963. The average annual increase in primary school enrolment from 1955 to 1962 was 8.48 per cent, whereas the increase in the African population was 2.53 per cent. Each year, thus, a higher proportion of the school-age population is being catered for. In 1962, 61 per cent of the estimated number of children in the 7 to 14 years age group were enrolled in primary classes.<sup>23</sup>

The teacher-training programme has been extended, but in order to staff all the new schools emphasis was placed at first on training teachers for the Primary Lower Certificate (Standard VI plus 3 years' training). The better-qualified teachers have, thus, had to be spread more thinly. It is intended to abolish this certificate and to have as minimum qualification the Primary Higher Certificate (Form III plus 2 years' training).

The main difficulty has been lack of money, due to the pegging of the amount contributed from the Consolidated Revenue Fund. Africans have themselves contributed in many ways (described below), but nevertheless there have been insufficient teachers to staff schools, and inadequate supplies of books and equipment. For these and other reasons (e.g., a general spirit of unrest in many schools) the matriculation results deteriorated steadily from 1953 to 1960: since then there has been a slight improvement.

There has been considerable controversy over the decision to use the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction throughout the primary school: before 1953 most schools began introducing one of the official languages as the medium after Standard II.

The matriculation and university examinations written by African candidates are the same as those written by whites; but far too few African candidates are presenting themselves. Only 725 Africans passed in 1963, as against 397 in 1960 and 554 in 1954. Of the 1,339 full-time students who wrote the examination in December 1965, only 61.7 per cent passed, and only 24.1 per cent reached the standard required for admission to a university.

Salary scales for teachers were improved to some degree in 1963 (there is still no pension scheme), and it was decided that university colleges (described below) should be financed from the Consolidated Revenue Account instead of the Bantu Education Account. Since 1964 a sum of R1,000,000 a year has been paid into the latter fund for this purpose, and it was re-imbursed for the amount spent until then. The salaries and expenses of the Minister of Bantu Education and his staff, and the cost of subsidizing special schools for handicapped children, are now charged to the Consolidated Revenue Account.

Since the Transkei was granted partial independence, in 1963, education in that territory has been separately financed, partly from an annual grant of R11,000,000 from the Republic's Consolidated Revenue Account. The annual allocation to the Bantu Education Account has not been decreased in consequence.

Nevertheless, the funds available are still inadequate. Africans contribute in the following ways:

(a) the capital costs of lower primary schools in urban areas are recovered gradually by adding an amount of up to 20 cents a month to the rentals of houses or sites;

(b) African school boards must raise half the capital costs of all other schools, and must pay for maintenance and cleaning (partly for this purpose, and partly to provide money for replacements of furniture and equipment, parents are called upon to make regular contributions to school funds);

(c) in 1965, about 2,000 teachers (out of a total of 26,795) were being paid privately by school boards or parents;

(d) in primary schools, African pupils are supplied with readers only, and must themselves pay for all other textbooks, stationery, etc. Post-primary pupils must pay for all their own books and other requisites. (In 1965 the Transkeian Government decided to supply free text-books in its territory.)

(e) most of the high schools are situated in the Reserves, thus many parents in urban areas have to pay boarding fees.

#### 2. Transkei Education Act, No. 2 of the Legislative Assembly, 1964

In 1964, the Transkeian Government decided that all community schools in its area (established or maintained by Bantu Authorities, tribes, or communities) would become Government schools. School boards would be disestablished, but school committees retained.

It was decided, later, that all privately paid teachers in the Transkei would become Government employees. In Standard III (instead of after Standard VI, as in the Repub-

11c) either English or Afrikaans, as selected by parents, would gradually be substituted for the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction—every school has selected English. New syllabuses are being compiled to replace those of the Bantu Education Department. The examination at the end of Standard II has been abolished.

3. Bantu Special Education Act, No. 24 of 1964

The control of special education for handicapped African children was transferred from the Department of Education, Arts, and Sciences to the Department of Bantu Education in 1961.

The 1964 Act empowered the Minister of Bantu Education to establish special schools, to grant subsidies to private schools of this nature, or to take over the management of private schools.

4. Coloured Persons' Education Act, No. 47 of 1963

The Coloured Persons' Education Act provided for the control of the education of Coloured persons to be transferred from the provinces to the Department of Coloured Affairs. (The transfer of control of provincial schools was effected early in 1964.) The Department conducts its own examinations.

The Act provided that the management and control of State-aided schools may be transferred to the Department after consultation with the governing bodies concerned. All private schools at which more than 14 pupils are enrolled must be registered with the Department and must comply with prescribed requirements.

An advisory Education Council for Coloured Persons, and ten Regional Education Boards, were established in 1964.

5. Indians Education Act, No. 61 of 1965

Couched in somewhat similar terms to those described above, the Indians Education Act provided for the control of Indian education to be transferred from the provinces to the Department of Indian Affairs. For the time being the provinces, or the Department of Education, Arts, and Science, will continue to conduct examinations.

6. Vocational Education Amendment Act, No. 25 of 1958; Special Education Amendment Act, No. 45 of 1960; Higher Education Amendment Act, No. 20 of 1963

The purpose of these measures was to place Coloured educational services of the types mentioned under the control of the Minister of Coloured Affairs, Indian services under the Minister of Indian Affairs, and services for Africans under the Minister of Bantu Education. Primary and secondary schools for Whites remain under the control of the provinces, while other types of education for Whites fall under the Department of Education, Arts, and Science.

7. Extension of University Education Act, No. 45 of 1959

This Act provided for the establishment of separate university colleges for Africans, Coloured students, and Asians. The African colleges were to be financed from the Bantu Education Account<sup>24</sup> and the rest from general revenue. (As mentioned above, it was subsequently decided that the Bantu colleges, too, would be financed from general revenue.) Each college has a (white) Council and Senate and a (non-white) advisory Council and advisory Senate; but the latter bodies will gradually assume increased responsibility. The Minister was given wide powers of control of members of staff. The examination, degrees, and diplomas are those of the University of South Africa (unless this institution provides no courses in the subjects concerned).

White students were prohibited from attending non-white university colleges. As

from dates determined by the Government no new non-white students might enroll at the universities that previously accepted them. (The University of South Africa, which conducts correspondence classes only, was excluded, as was the Natal Medical School.) The Ministers concerned were empowered to make arrangements for the post-graduate training of non-white students at a place other than a university college.

In October 1959 the Government prohibited further non-white enrollment at a university without the consent of the responsible Minister.<sup>25</sup> A year later the prohibition became absolute in large numbers of faculties and departments in which courses had been commenced at the non-white colleges.<sup>26</sup>

Strict regulations were issued for the control of students.<sup>27</sup>

8. University College of Fort Hare Transfer Act, No. 64 of 1959

In terms of this measure the control of the University College of Fort Hare was transferred from its multi-racial Governing Council to the Minister of Bantu Education.

The Minister was empowered to dismiss existing members staff; and he subsequently decided to dispense with the services of the principal and seven senior staff members. Others resigned, and there was for some time considerable unrest among the students. Coloured and Asian students are gradually being eliminated.

9. Establishment of new colleges

New university colleges have, since, been established for the Coloured and Indian groups at Bellville, Cape, and in Durban respectively. An African college in Natal serves the Zulu and Swazi people, while another in the Northern Transvaal caters for the Sotho, Venda, and Tsonga peoples. The students admitted to Fort Hare are mainly of Xhosa origin.

A medical school for non-whites was opened in Durban in 1951.

10. National Study Loans and Bursaries Act, No. 89 of 1964

This measure provided for the establishment of a national fund to assist matriculated students of any race who wish to study at a university, university college, training college, technical college, or vocational school. The State contributed an initial amount of R500,000, and it was laid down that companies that make donations to the fund may deduct these from their taxable incomes up to a maximum amount of one per cent of these incomes.

XII. Increased contributions demanded from Africans towards the cost of services

1. Natives Taxation and Development Act, No. 38 of 1958

This Act provided that as from 1 January 1959 every male African of the age of 18 and over must pay basic general tax at the rate of R3.50 a year, instead of R2 as previously. As from 1 January 1960 men earning more than R360 a year became liable to pay further amounts, on a sliding scale, and for the first time women became liable to pay general tax.

If an African pays normal income tax the amount due is deducted from the general tax payable by him, except that all men must in any case pay the basic general tax.

The general tax payable by Africans is substituted for the provincial personal tax paid by members of other racial groups; but Africans in the lowest income groups pay more than do Whites with the same incomes; no reduction is made for Africans with family responsibilities, as it is for persons of other racial groups; and Africans become liable to pay the general tax on reaching the age of 18, while others are exempt from personal tax until attaining the age of 21 years.

Furthermore, Africans pay further direct taxes which members of other racial groups (who on an average have higher incomes) are not called upon to pay, for example local tax

and general or tribal levies in many rural areas, and contributions to the cost of education.

2. Native Laws Amendment Act, No. 36 of 1957

It was laid down in this Act that sums up to 20 cents per month may be added to the rentals of African housing schemes in urban areas towards the costs of lower primary schools.

XIII. Housing

1. Native Building Workers' Act, No. 27 of 1951

This Act was introduced with the object of speeding up the provision of housing for Africans in urban areas. Previously the skilled building work had been done by Whites, and the comparatively high level of their wages forced up the costs of housing projects, and, thus, of rentals payable and/or losses borne by State and local authorities.

The Act of 1951 provided for the training and employment of Africans as skilled building workers in African townships at lower rates of pay than those stipulated for builders of other races. It prohibited the employment of Africans on skilled building work in other parts of urban areas.

2. Native Services Levy Act, No. 64 of 1952

It was decided in 1952 that employers of adult male Africans in the larger towns who did not supply approved accommodation for them would be required to contribute a sum of up to 25 cents a week to a Services Levy Fund, which would be used for providing main water, sanitation, and lighting installations and roads to, and in approved cases within, African townships. Up to 5 cents out of every 25 cents might be used for subsidizing transport services. Employers were prohibited from deducting these contributions from the men's wages.

3. Native Transport Services Act, No. 53 of 1957

The Transport Services Levy Act supplemented the Native Services Levy Act. It transferred from the (then) Native Affairs Department to the Department of Transport control of the portion of the services levy which might be used for subsidizing transport services (up to 5 cents per employee per week), and provided that the compulsory contribution from employers might be increased to 10 cents per week.

4. Housing Act, No. 10 of 1957

The 1957 Housing Act was largely a consolidating measure, but made provision for a special Bantu Housing Board. Under this Act, the Native Services Levy Act, and related legislation, the Government and local authorities have made remarkable progress with the provision of housing for Africans in urban areas: particularly since 1952. In latter years housing schemes for Coloured and Indians have been very much expedited.

5. Slums Amendment Act, No. 55 of 1963

This measure increased the powers of the Government to ensure that the duties of local authorities under the Slum Clearance Act are carried out.

6. Removal of Restrictions in Townships Amendment Act, No. 32 of 1963

This Act widened the powers of the State and local authorities to have any restrictive conditions (e.g. prohibiting occupation by non-whites) removed in cases where the authorities require the land for public purposes.

7. Group Areas and Community Development Acts

See page 24.

8. Expropriation Act, No. 55 of 1965

This measure amended a large number of previous Acts, and repealed certain others, so as to bring the provisions relating to expropriation into line in each. It dealt with cases in which property that is required for

township development or for other public purposes may be expropriated by the Minister concerned or officials to whom this power has been delegated, or Administrators, or local authorities to which an Administrator delegates the necessary power.

#### 9. Housing Amendment Act, No. 49 of 1965

In this Act the definition of a local authority, as contained in the principal Act, was amended to include:

(a) a board of management of a rural Coloured area;

(b) a "specified" area, in terms of the Bantu Resettlement Act of 1954, which is controlled by the Bantu Resettlement Board (Meadowlands and Diepkloof in Johannesburg);

(c) a management board established in an African area as a local authority for the purposes of the Housing Act (there is such a board in respect of Evaton).

The National Housing Commission will, thus, be empowered to lend money to these bodies as well as to other local authorities for the erection of housing schemes. Before making a loan to a Coloured board of management the Commission must consult the Secretary for Coloured Affairs, to ensure that the board is in a financially viable position.

The Housing Commission, like the Community Development Board, has been exempted from the provisions of restrictive by-laws and conditions relating to the establishment of a township (see page 27).

Economic and sub-economic (subsidized) housing schemes are provided by the Commission, the Board, or by local authorities with the aid of loans, for people who cannot meet their own needs. The income limits for sub-economic housing as fixed by the State are R80.00 a month for whites and R50.00 a month for non-whites. (A few local authorities, notably Johannesburg, themselves contribute further subsidies in respect of non-white sub-economic housing schemes.)

Nearly all the houses built for Africans during the past decade have been financed from economic loan funds: that is, the Africans must themselves, over a period of years, repay the interest on the loans plus the capital costs (except for capital costs of services financed from the Native Services Levy Fund).

In certain areas sites have been provided on which Africans who want to have houses of a better type may build for themselves. These plots are on a leasehold basis only in townships in "white" areas, but may be purchased in townships in the Reserves. The Bantu Investment Corporation grants 90 per cent loans to approved owners of plots in the latter areas only.

Whites, Coloured, and Asians whose incomes are above the limits set for economic or sub-economic housing schemes may obtain individual loans through the Housing Commission if their incomes are between R55.80 and R180.00 a month.

#### XIV. Development of African and Coloured Rural areas

##### 1. Five-Year Plan for the Development of African Reserves

The Government announced that it proposed spending R114,342,269 during the five-year period commencing from 1961-1962 on the development of the African Reserves. This money was to be allocated as follows:

For development of rural townships to serve border industries and to house other workers who are moved off the land.....	R75, 949, 500
For staff accommodation, stores, and workshops.....	2, 122, 900
For roads and bridges.....	3, 349, 650
For irrigation, dams, and boreholes.....	10, 891, 240
For contour banks, grass strips, afforestation, fencing, and fibre	

cultivation.....	R21, 828, 143
For dipping tanks and auction pens for stock.....	200, 836
	114, 342, 269

In addition, Parliament votes money annually for the purchase of land to fulfill the promise made in terms of the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 that 7¼-million morgen of land would gradually be added to the existing Reserves, and for the acquisition of further land for the resettlement of Africans removed from Black spots (isolated African settlements, surrounded by white farms), from small and "badly situated" Reserves, and from parts that jut out into white areas. It was officially estimated in 1960 that the areas to be cleared totalled 728,537 morgen; but the final plan for consolidating the Bantu areas has not yet been formulated.

In mid-1965 the total area of the African Reserves was:

	Morgen
Scheduled areas (in the main, the Reserves that existed in 1913).....	10, 729, 435
Land acquired by Africans between 1913 and 1936 in areas recommended by various commissions for "release" to them.....	1, 440, 137
Acquired by the Trust since 1936.....	4, 935, 842
Acquired by Africans since 1936 in "released" areas.....	433, 868
Total.....	17, 539, 282

This is approximately 58,014 square miles, or 12.3 per cent of the area of South Africa.

##### 2. Bantu Investment Corporation Act, No. 34 of 1959

This measure provided for the establishment of the Bantu Investment Corporation of S.A. Ltd., with a board of directors appointed by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development<sup>28</sup> to promote and encourage the development of Bantu enterprise in the Reserves.

It was provided that, using an initial share capital of R1,000,000 (owned by the S.A. Native Trust) and moneys invested with it by Africans, the Investment Corporation would provide financial, technical, and other assistance and expert advice to African businessmen in the Reserves, and would promote the establishment of new undertakings within these areas.

By 1964 the Corporation's share capital had been increased to R3,000,000. By February 1965 it had granted 427 loans to African businessmen and small industrialists, to the value of R1,573,678; had established four savings banks in which Africans had invested nearly R1,000,000; had trained African officials to advise traders; had arranged numbers of business courses and discussion meetings; was establishing a tourist resort; had opened depots for the sale of handicrafts; and had made numbers of housing loans in townships in the Reserves.

##### 3. Bantu Homelands Development Corporation Act, No. 86 of 1965

(a) The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development was empowered to establish a non-profit-making development corporation in respect of the "homeland of each national unit", with the object of planning and promoting economic development and the general welfare and advancement of the homeland and its peoples. These corporations may themselves undertake projects and/or may stimulate and help Africans to do so.

In his Second Reading speech on the Bill<sup>29</sup> the Minister said that the corporations would have power to call for tenders and to employ agents to develop specific projects, e.g. a mine, in accordance with the Government's

rules and principles. Such agents would be allowed a reasonable return on their capital, but would not be permitted to keep all the profits.

(b) A corporation will be managed by a board of directors appointed by the Minister. Members of the Senate, Assembly, or a provincial council may not be included. The Minister said that the directors would all be white.

(c) A corporation may raise or borrow money (including "white" money) with or without security and/or interest, and may accept donations. All the shares will be held by the S.A. Bantu Trust.

(d) A corporation may exercise its powers in an urban area which is surrounded by a homeland, but not in an urban area which is not intended for occupation or ownership by Africans.

##### 4. Transkeian Development and Reserve Fund Act, 1964

In terms of Act 3 of 1964 passed by the Legislative Assembly, a Transkeian Development and Reserve Fund was created, with the object of encouraging and promoting the economic development of the territory and of creating a reserve on which to draw in lean years or in the event of an emergency. The Legislative Assembly paid R1,000,000 into the fund from its current budget. This fund is controlled by the Transkeian Secretary for Finance.

The Republican Government Notices R1190 and R1358 of 1965 provided for the establishment of a Xhosa Development Corporation (under the Bantu Homelands Development Corporation Act). A sum of R1,000,000 to form its share capital was voted in the Republic's Supplementary Estimates.

##### 5. Transkeian Trading Amendment Act, 1964

Act 5 of 1964 passed by the Transkeian Legislative Assembly removed a restriction, contained in an earlier proclamation, to the effect that a license for an African trader, butcher or baker would not be granted if the proposed business was within two miles of another business of the same type. But it added that a license holder may not take out another such license in respect of premises situated within 20 miles of his existing business. The object is to prevent the establishment of monopolies.

##### 6. Racial zoning of towns in the Transkei

Following recommendations made by a committee appointed by the Republican Government, the provisional future of towns in the Transkei was decided upon. In terms of Proclamation R336 of 31 December 1965, 10 of the smaller towns were reserved completely for African citizens of the territory, and parts of a further 13 towns (including Umtata and Butterworth) were so reserved. Except with the Minister's permission, no one but the Transkeian Government, the S.A. Bantu Trust, the Bantu Investment Corporation, the Xhosa Development Corporation, or a Transkeian citizen may acquire an interest in land in a reserved area, unless by inheritance or donation. The occupation of premises for professional or business purposes in such areas is controlled. Existing local authorities will, for the time being, continue to administer the reserved areas.

Towns omitted from the investigation, and apparently to remain "white", were Port St. Johns, Umzimkulu, and Matatiele.

In the light of past Ministerial statements, it would appear that the intention is gradually to extend the reserved areas in the 13 towns which have, so far, been partially divided, until eventually they become completely "black". Whites and Coloured people living in reserved areas will not be ejected, but if they wish to dispose of their properties they will be able to do so only to Transkeian citizens or the bodies mentioned above.

An Adjustment Committee has been appointed to value white properties offered for sale, to estimate the value of traders' goodwill, and to determine whether compensation should be paid for real losses experienced. The Bantu Investment Corporation has taken over numbers of white business concerns.

In terms of various proclamations of 1965 and 1966, certain towns in the Transkei have been deemed no longer to be prescribed areas for the purposes of the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act.

#### 7. Border industries

See page 50.

#### 8. Coloured Development Corporation Act, No. 4 of 1962, and Amendment Act, No. 12 of 1963

In terms of this Act a Coloured Development Corporation was established to encourage and promote the advancement of Coloured people in the fields of industry, trade, and finance in Coloured group areas, mission stations, and reserves. (All the directors, appointed by the Government, are white.)

The Amendment Act enabled the Corporation to promote the advancement of Coloured people in Coloured areas in the fields of mining, fishing, and any other activities which may be stipulated by proclamation.

By the end of September 1964 the Corporation had granted 61 loans to Coloured businessmen, to the value of R774,102. It had established the Spes Bona Savings and Finance Bank, Ltd., at Athlone, Cape Town, in which, by mid-1965, Coloured people had deposited about R10,000; had acquired a quota in the crayfish export market on behalf of Coloured fishermen; and had been granted concessions for diamonds and quartzite mining in certain Coloured reserves in Namaqualand. In most cases the mining will be carried out by white companies, a share of the profits being payable to the Corporation.

This Act repealed the Preservation of Coloured Areas Act of 1961, the Coloured Persons Communal Reserves Act of 1961, and the Mission Stations and Communal Reserves Act of 1909. It dealt with existing Coloured reserves (about 2,000,000 morgen in extent) and with areas which may be proclaimed as reserves. State or other land on which Coloured settlements exist, and land which before 1961 had been allocated to Coloured people or was a recognized Coloured area, mainly occupied or owned by them, may be so proclaimed.

The Coloured reserves are being re-planned, and registered occupiers will be able to purchase agricultural lots or residential stands, and to lease grazing areas. The title deeds or leases granted will be subject to conditions relating to beneficial use.

Occupiers will elect advisory boards. At later stages (unless those exist already) boards of managements will be established, initially with 6 elected and 3 appointed members under the chairmanship of a person designated by the Minister. Finally, the Minister may direct that all the members shall be elected. These boards will have defined powers of local self-government; but the Minister may direct them to make or repeal regulations on matters within their competence, and he will retain power to make regulations on various matters, including the control or prohibition of meetings, qualifications of voters, collection and utilization of rates, conditions relating to land ownership, etc.

If rates are in arrear the board of management may call upon the person concerned to pay the sum owing, plus interest on it, within one month. Should he fail to do so he will be guilty of an offence and liable to a fine not exceeding R25. If a convicted person still fails within the following six months to pay or to make suitable arrangements for payment the

rates may be recovered by the seizure and sale of his movable property.

#### 10. Meetings in Coloured rural areas

New regulations for rural Coloured areas, replacing earlier ones issued in 1960 and 1961, were promulgated in terms of Government Notice R1375 of 1965. They provide for the declaration of Coloured areas, certificates of occupation, the election of advisory boards and boards of management and the powers of these bodies, the levying of rates, etc.

Section 118 deals with meetings in Coloured rural areas. There are three differences from previous regulations in this regard.

(a) It is again provided that, with certain exceptions, it is an offence to hold or address a gathering of more than five persons unless with permission. Previously the Coloured Affairs Department or a magistrate could grant permission. Now the written approval of the Secretary for Coloured Affairs must be obtained.

(b) There were previously restrictions on the types of religious services that were exempt from these provisions. Now any meeting held for the purpose of bona fide religious service is exempt.

(c) The previous regulations exempted meetings presided over by a Senator, Member of Parliament or Member of a Provincial Council. Such meetings are no longer exempt.

#### XV. Other matters affecting Asians and Africans

##### 1. Immigration Amendment Act, No. 8 of 1960

In terms of the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913, Asians may not move from the province where they are domiciled unless they are in possession of permits granted by the Department of the Interior (the Department of Indian Affairs has since taken over these powers in respect of Indians). Asians are prohibited immigrants in other provinces, and there is a total ban on their residence in the Free State.

Until 1960, although the responsible Minister could permit an Asian to visit a province other than the one in which he lived, he had no power to authorize a permanent change of residence. The Act of 1960 granted this power, but stipulated that an Asian who is allowed to settle in another province will lose his right of domicile in the province where he lived originally.

##### 2. Indian Laws Amendment Act, No. 68 of 1963

Distinctions previously made between "Indian immigrants" and "passenger Indians" were removed; and certain types of Indian marriages, the validity of which had been in doubt, were validated. Various provisions of earlier laws which had become anachronistic were repealed.

##### 3. Indian Laws Amendment Act, No. 43 of 1964

The main purposes of this Act were to straighten out administrative difficulties in regard to the voluntary repatriation of Indians, the dissolution of Indian marriages, and the practice of not registering Indian child marriages.

##### 4. Native Laws Amendment Act, No. 46 of 1962

The Native Laws Amendment Act of 1962 provided, *inter alia*, that the State President may make regulations for the registration, annulment, or dissolution of African customary unions.

##### 5. Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 76 of 1963

This Act made it possible for a partner to an African customary union to claim damages for loss of support in the event of his or her spouse's death as the result of negligence or an unlawful action by a third person.

#### XVI. Liquor

##### 1. Liquor Amendment Acts, Nos. 72 of 1961 and 89 of 1962

The Liquor Amendment Act of 1961 removed restrictions on the sale of liquor from bottle-stores to non-whites. Local authorities, Bantu Authorities, employers who provide housing for African workers, and private associations or persons may be granted licenses to sell liquor in African townships. It is an offence for non-whites to be in possession of liquor on private premises unless they have obtained the owner's consent. The penalties for contravention of the Act (e.g. for making concoctions or being drunk in a public place) were increased.

A further Amendment Act, passed the following year, made it possible, subject to various conditions, for Coloured persons and Asians to be licensed to sell liquor from premises in their group areas or in areas predominantly occupied by them.

Section 94 of the principal Act, passed in 1928, was not repealed. This renders it an offence for anyone except a licensed dealer or employer to supply liquor to Africans.

In urban African townships liquor licenses have been granted almost exclusively to the local authorities concerned: they must spend 20 per cent of the profits on social, social welfare, or recreational services for Africans and pay the remaining 80 per cent to the Government Department of Bantu Administration and Development for use in the general interests of Africans.

##### 2. Bantu Beer Act, No. 63 of 1962

In terms of the Bantu Beer Act it is no longer an offence to be in possession of Bantu beer. Licensed liquor dealers may acquire supplies from local authorities for sale to the public; and employers who house 25 or more African workers may be authorized to brew beer for free supply to these employees, or may purchase supplies from the local authority for sale to them. Subject to these exceptions, local authorities may be granted the exclusive right to brew and sell Bantu beer in their areas. If local authorities so wish, home brewing may be allowed; but no one may sell beer unless he has been licensed to do so. Any profits made by local authorities must be utilized for services provided in the interests of Africans.<sup>40</sup>

##### 3. Bantu Laws Amendment Act, No. 42 of 1964

It was rendered an offence to sell Bantu beer powder to anyone other than a local authority or those licensed or authorized to sell this powder (bottle-stores, authorized associations of persons, local authorities, etc.). A Bantu beer research fund was provided for.

##### 4. Liquor Amendment Act, No. 88 of 1963

(a) This Act laid down that no person may supply liquor to any person in his employ as, or as supplementing, the employee's wages.

(b) Employers may supply liquor *gratis* to any African of the age of 18 years or over, bona fide employed by him and for the personal consumption of the employee.

(c) It was rendered lawful for an African to supply liquor *gratis* for consumption by any other African who is a member of his household or his bona fide guest. (Except for employers, Whites, Coloured, or Asians, are still not entitled to offer drinks to Africans.)

(d) Restrictions on the sale of methylated spirits to Coloured people and Africans were removed in terms of Government Notice 1510 of 1962. The 1963 Act abolished all restrictions on the purchase and possession by Africans of methylated spirits and yeast.

<sup>40</sup>Footnotes at end of article.

## 5. Aviation Amendment Act, No. 12 of 1965

In terms of this Act it became lawful for non-whites to be served with liquor in the transit lounge of the Jan Smuts International Airport.

## XVII. Measures for the Control of Activities Deemed Undesirable

## 1. Suppression of Communism Act, No. 44 of 1950

When the Nationalist Government came into power it determined to control the activities of persons whom it considered were fomenting unrest, mainly among non-whites. Its first action to this end was to pass the Suppression of Communism Act.

In this Act the term "communism" was very widely defined, to include not only the doctrine of Marxian socialism, but also any doctrine or scheme which aims at bringing about any political, industrial, social or economic change within South Africa by the promotion of disturbance or disorder, or by unlawful acts or omissions, or which aims at the encouragement of feelings of hostility between black and white, the consequences of which are calculated to further the achievement of doctrines or schemes such as those mentioned.

The Communist Party of S.A. was declared unlawful and the Governor-General was empowered to declare any other organization unlawful if he was satisfied that it was furthering the achievement of any of the aims of communism as described above.

The Minister of Justice was given power to direct that a list be prepared of the members of any organization declared unlawful; persons concerned would be given reasonable opportunity of showing why their names should not be included. Persons so listed, those deemed by the Minister to be promoting the aims of communism, or those found guilty by the courts of contravening the terms of the Act, could be prohibited by the Minister from holding public office or belonging to specified organizations, from attending gatherings, or from leaving defined areas. Such persons who were not South African citizens could be deported.

The Minister was empowered to ban publications and to prohibit gatherings if he considered that these were furthering or were likely to further the aims of communism.

According to available information, by the end of January 1966 the names of 429 persons had been listed, while another 49 people had succeeded in having their names removed from the list. There were about 490 banning orders in force (including in this total were 82 listed persons). Of the banned and listed persons, 12 had died and about 190 had left the country.

## 2. Control of Meetings in African Rural Areas

Unrest among non-whites mounted in 1952 and 1953 leading, on the one hand, to the Defiance Campaign and, on the other, to tragic rioting in Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg, Kimberley, and East London. The Government introduced measures to bring the Defiance Campaign to an end and to suppress political action.

Proclamations 276 of 1952 and 198 of 1953 provided that any person who, without the permission of the chief or headman and the written approval of the local Native Commissioner or Magistrate, holds, presides at, or addresses any meeting in an African rural area at which more than 10 Africans are present, or who permits such meeting to be held on premises under his control, is guilty of an offense and liable to maximum penalties of R600 or 3 years. Certain gatherings are excluded, for example bona fide religious services, sports gatherings, entertainments, weddings, funerals, and administrative meetings of kraals or statutory bodies.

Government Notice No. 2753 of 1952, applying to all other areas, contained similar

provisions but empowered the Governor-General to bring them into force in specific areas and thereafter to suspend them.

These measures were later replaced by Government Notice 2017 of 1953, which provided that the Governor-General may by proclamation impose control in any area over the holding of meetings or gatherings of Africans. Action subsequently taken in the Transkei is described on page 80. Proclamation 2017 has been brought into force in various other areas when there has been unrest.

## 3. Public Safety Act, No. 3 of 1953

The Public Safety Act provided that if in the opinion of the Governor-General any action or threatened action by any persons is endangering public safety or the maintenance of public order, or if any circumstances have arisen that constitute such a danger, he may, should the ordinary law of the land be inadequate to deal with the situation, proclaim a state of emergency either in the country as a whole or within a specified area. Such a proclamation will not remain in force for longer than 12 months, but a further proclamation may then be issued.

If a state of emergency is proclaimed, emergency regulations may be issued which may suspend the provisions of any laws except those concerning defense, the operation of legislatures, and industrial conciliation. The maximum penalties for contraventions are R1,000 or 5 years.

## 4. Criminal Law Amendment Act No. 8 of 1953

Firstly, this measure increased the maximum penalties for persons convicted of offenses committed by way of protest, or in support of any campaign against any law, or in support of any campaign for the repeal or modification of any law. These penalties are now R600, or 3 years, or 10 lashes, or a combination of any two of these.

Secondly, it was rendered an offence to advise, encourage, or incite anyone to commit an offence by way of protest against a law or in support of any campaign against any law. Maximum penalties for such incitement are R1,000, or 5 years, or 10 lashes, or a combination of any two of these. The penalty imposed for a second or subsequent conviction must include whipping or imprisonment.

And, thirdly, the Act rendered it an offence to solicit or accept any financial or other assistance for organized protests or resistance against the law of the country. The penalties for such offences are as laid down for incitement, and the money or other articles received may be confiscated. Further, any postal matter containing or suspected of containing money or other articles to assist protest campaigns may be opened and the contents seized if the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs considers the suspicion to be justified, unless the addressee or sender, who will be notified, proves within 90 days that the suspicion is unwarranted.

Convicted persons who are not South African citizens may be deported. Others may be prohibited from being within defined areas. Maximum penalties for infringements of such prohibition orders are R400, or 12 months, or both.

## 5. Riotous Assemblies and Suppression of Communism Amendment Act, No. 15 of 1954

During 1953 and early 1954 certain persons appealed successfully against orders issued under the Suppression of Communism Act which prohibited them from attending gatherings. The Appellate Division held, in one case,<sup>1</sup> that before the Minister issued such an order the person concerned should be notified and permitted to show why the order should not be issued.

The Government then amended the Act. The Minister was empowered to prohibit listed persons or those convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act from being members of specified organizations or from attending gatherings of any description without giving them the opportunity of making representations in their defence and without furnishing his reasons. He was given similar powers in respect of persons deemed by him to be furthering the aims of communism except that, in these cases, if asked to do so he would furnish the person concerned with a statement setting out such of the reasons for his action as, in his opinion, could be disclosed without detriment to public policy.

It was rendered an offence for recordings of speeches made by persons banned from attending meetings to be played at such meetings. Listed persons and those convicted under the Act were prohibited from standing for election to Parliament or to a Provincial Council unless with the Minister's permission.

Under the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1914 the Minister was empowered to prohibit public gatherings in places to which the public had access in specified areas and for specified periods. The new measure enabled him also to prohibit any particular gathering, or all gatherings, in any public place for specified periods.

## 6. Criminal Procedure and Evidence Amendment Act, No. 29 of 1955, and Criminal Procedure Act, No. 56 of 1955

After the Defiance Campaign ended, non-white leaders, assisted by certain groups of whites, began planning a Congress of the People, which was held in 1955. During this period the Government introduced further security legislation.

The Criminal Procedure Act increased the Government's powers of control of activities deemed undesirable. The new laws increased the powers of judges, magistrates, or justices of the peace to issue search warrants authorizing the police to enter premises, to attend private as well as public meetings, and to conduct searches, if there are grounds considered reasonable for believing that an offence is being or is likely to be committed on the premises, or that in consequence of the meeting security or the maintenance of law and order are likely to be endangered. Members of the police were empowered to proceed without a warrant if they considered that a delay in obtaining one would defeat the objects of the search. Penalties were laid down for wrongful, malicious, or unreasonable search.

## 7. General Law Amendment Act, No. 62 of 1955

This Act provided, *inter alia*, that no court shall issue any rule *nisi* operating as an interim interdict against the Government or a provincial administration or an official thereof acting in his official capacity unless notice of the intention and of any supporting affidavits have been served on the Government, provincial administration or official concerned.

## 8. Native Administration Amendment Act, No. 42 of 1956

During this period the Government took greater powers, too, to control the activities of Africans in the Reserves.

Early in 1956 Mr. J. H. Saliwa was issued with a banishment order under Section 5(1)(b) of the Native Administration Act of 1927. He was required to move from Glen Grey to the Pietersburg district. This order was set aside with costs by the Appellate Division on the ground that prior notice should have been given, on the principle of *audi alteram partem*, before Mr. Saliwa was required to move.

The Native Administration Act of 1956, introduced shortly afterwards, gave the Government power to serve banishment orders

<sup>1</sup>Footnotes at end of article.

without prior notice. If an African, after obeying such an order, so requests, the Minister will furnish him with reasons for its issue.

According to available information it would appear that since 1948 about 144 banishment orders have been served. Some 15 Africans died in banishment, others have absconded, and numbers of orders have been withdrawn or suspended. In December 1965, 36 were apparently still in exile, of whom one had been banished for 15 years and five for 11 years. They were on Bantu Trust farms or in Reserves many miles from their homes.

#### 9. Control of entry to African rural areas

Proclamation No. 52 of 1958, as amended, enabled the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development to impose control by permit over the entry of persons to, or their departure from, African areas where there has been unrest.

In areas to which Parts I and III of the proclamation have been applied it is an offense for an African not resident there to enter without a permit; for an African to fail to report the unlawful presence of any other African; to make a verbal or written statement likely to interfere with the authority of the State or a chief; or to threaten anyone on account of his loyalty to the State or to any of its officials or to any chief or headman. If Part II of the proclamation is applied it becomes an offense to leave that area without a permit.

Parts I and III have, since, been applied for various periods in Sekhukhuneland, Metz, Peddie, and in Reserves near Zeerust, Pietersburg, Letaba, and Potgietersrus. For a time Part II was applied in the Metz area, after the Mamathola tribe had objected to their removal there.

#### 10. Possession of dangerous weapons

Proclamation 135 of 1958 may be applied to any African area determined by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. It was immediately applied in Sekhukhuneland where there had been serious disturbances.

It provides that, unless required by law or authorized in writing by a senior official, no African may, outside the boundary of the plot where he resides, carry or use any firearm, spear, assegai, axe, klerie, loaded or spiked stick, or dagger or knife with a blade longer than 3½ inches. Walking sticks used by old or infirm persons are excluded, and axes used for bona fide domestic purposes.

#### 11. Native Laws Amendment Act, No. 36 of 1957

Various boycotts and stoppages of work were organized in the period 1957 to 1959. Again the Government introduced new restrictive laws.

One section of the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1957 provided that if, in the opinion of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, the holding of any meeting, assembly or gathering (including a social function) to be held in the white part of a town and to be attended by an African is likely to cause a nuisance, or is undesirable in view of the situation of the premises or the number of Africans likely to attend, the Minister may (provided the local authority concerned does not object) prohibit the holding of such a meeting in the urban area generally or in specified premises or parts of the town, or he may prohibit any person from arranging such a meeting.

#### 12. Criminal Procedure Amendment Act, No. 9 of 1958

*Inter alia*, the 1958 Criminal Procedure Amendment Act contained a retrospective provision enabling certain presumptions to be made when a document seized by the police is produced in any criminal proceedings and the court is satisfied that it was found on the premises of a stated associa-

tion or in the possession of one of its members. If, for example, the name of an accused person appears on the document as a member of the association concerned, it will be presumed that he is a member unless the contrary is proved.

#### 13. Prisons Act No. 8 of 1959

Certain progressive measures were included in the revised Prisons Act of 1959; but a section that caused concern rendered it an offence without the consent of the Director of Prisons to sketch or photograph a prisoner or prisoner; or to publish or divulge any false information about the behaviour or experience in prison of any prisoner or ex-prisoner, or about the administration of any prison, knowing this information to be false, or, without taking reasonable steps to verify it.

#### 14. Emergency Regulations, 1960

Early in 1960 the African National Congress planned a series of organized demonstrations against the pass laws, to commence on 15 April 1960. The Pan-African Congress anticipated this by arranging for its followers to take more drastic action on 21 March, presented themselves at police stations without their passes and inviting arrest.

In the atmosphere of extreme emotionalism and tension that resulted outbreaks of violence were inevitable, and these occurred throughout the country. The tragedies at Sharpeville and Langa took place at this time.

On 30 March<sup>42</sup> the Governor-General invoked the provisions of the Public Safety Act and proclaimed a state of emergency throughout most of the country, including all the large towns. This state of emergency was not brought to an end until 31 August.

Far-reaching emergency regulations were promulgated. The following were among the main provisions:

(a) Wide powers were given to magistrates and commissioned officers in the forces to prohibit gatherings, to search persons or premises, to seize documents, and to take action considered necessary (including the use of force) to prevent danger to the public safety or to maintain order. Noncommissioned officers, too, were given the last-mentioned powers.

(b) Magistrates and commissioned officers were empowered to arrest anyone without warrant, and to hold this person in detention, if this was considered desirable in the interests of public order or of the person concerned; or if the person was committing or suspected of intending to commit an offence with intent to disturb the public order; or if the person was thought to have information relating to such an offence. Any peace officer might without warrant arrest anyone who committed an offence against the emergency regulations. Persons so detained were not allowed to consult with their legal advisers unless special permission was given. It was rendered an offence to disclose the names of detained persons without the Minister's consent.

(c) Africans found without reference books, or illegally in an urban area, or in an urban area without fixed places of employment or adequate means of livelihood, could be arrested without warrant and tried in the gaols.

(d) It was made an offence to utter, issue, or distribute any subversive statement, which was defined as a statement likely to subvert the Government's authority; to incite others to resist or oppose measures taken under the emergency regulations; to cause feelings of hostility towards others; or to cause alarm.

(e) It was also made an offence to threaten anyone with harm unless he took a certain course of action; and to incite anyone to stay away from or retard his work, or to protest against any law with intent to exact

concessions or to achieve any political or economic aim.

(f) The Minister of the Interior was empowered to order any newspaper or periodical to cease publication if he considered that it had systematically published matter of a subversive nature. He could order any association considered by him to be subversive to discontinue its activities.

Questioned in the Assembly during February 1961,<sup>43</sup> the Minister of Justice said that 98 Whites, 36 Coloured persons, 90 Asians, and 11,503 Africans had been detained under the emergency regulations.

#### 15. Unlawful Organizations Act, No. 34 of 1960

The Unlawful Organizations Act provided that if the Governor-General was satisfied that the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order was seriously threatened or likely to be threatened in consequence of the activities of the Pan-African Congress or the African National Congress, he might declare such bodies, including all their subsidiary branches and committees, to be unlawful organizations. Immediately after the Act was promulgated the A.N.C. and P.A.C. were declared to be unlawful organizations.

The Act provided, further, that if the Governor-General is satisfied that the public peace or order is likely to be threatened by the activities of any organization which in his opinion has been established for the purpose of carrying on directly or indirectly, any of the activities of any body declared unlawful under the Act, he may declare this new organization to be unlawful.

The Congress of Democrats was banned in September 1962, and, as described below, other bodies were banned later.

Anyone who performs any act calculated to further the aims of an organization declared unlawful or who continues as a member is guilty of an offence, and liable upon conviction to a term of imprisonment not exceeding ten years.

#### 16. Defence Amendment Act, No. 12 of 1961

This measure conferred power on the Minister of Defense to order persons to evacuate or to assemble in any specified buildings or area in time of war or during operations for the prevention or suppression of internal disorder.

The Governor-General previously possessed powers to authorize certain officials to commandeer vehicles or materials in times of war or internal disorder. The 1961 Act enabled him to take such action during operations for the prevention or suppression of internal disorder.

#### 17. Police Amendment Act, No. 53 of 1961

The Police Amendment Act provided, *inter alia* for the establishment of a reserve police force—a citizen unit to assist in performing ordinary police duties when regular members are required for more urgent tasks.

#### 18. General Law Amendment Act, No. 39 of 1961

At the beginning of 1961, various non-white groups planned demonstrations and a "stay-at-home" to take place unless the Prime Minister called a national convention by 31 May.

The Government again took increased powers. The 1961 General Law Amendment Act introduced the 12-day detention clause. This empowered the Attorney-General, if he considered it necessary in the interests of public safety or the maintenance of public order, to direct that a person who had been arrested should not be released on bail or otherwise for 12 days. (As mentioned on page 90, this provision was amended in 1965.)

New offences were specified in connection with meetings banned under the Riotous Assemblies Act (originally passed in 1914, and, after various amendments, consolidated as

Act 17 of 1956). It was rendered an offence to encourage the holding of such a meeting (as well as to convene or address it, as formerly).

#### 19. Indemnity Act, No. 61 of 1961

Numbers of those who had been detained under the emergency regulations instituted against the Government for unlawful detention. The Indemnity Act was then introduced. It provided that no civil or criminal proceedings shall be brought in any court of law against the Government or persons acting under its authority in respect of acts or statements committed, ordered, or issued in good faith on or after 21 March 1960 (the date of Sharpeville) with intent to prevent or suppress disorder, to restore order or public safety, to preserve life or property, or to terminate a state of emergency.

#### 20. Emergency Regulations for the Transkei

In 1960 and 1961, and to a lesser extent after that, there was much unrest in the Transkei. Numerous outbreaks of violence took place. It appeared that the main reason for the unrest which led to these troubles were the opposition of very many Africans to the Bantu Authorities and land rehabilitation systems.

Special regulations for the administration of the Transkei were gazetted towards the end of 1960.<sup>44</sup> Many of these remain in force at the time of writing, in 1966, the most important being those described below.

(a) The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development may prohibit any person from entering or being in the Transkei, or from leaving it.

(b) With certain exceptions (e.g. church services, etc.) no meeting or gathering of more than 10 Africans may be held unless official permission is given. Conditions may be imposed. Officials, members of the Police and Defence Forces, and chiefs and headman may order persons present at an unlawful meeting to disperse, and, if this order is not obeyed forthwith, may use force to exact compliance.

(c) Persons suspected of committing an offence under the regulations or any law, or of intending to do so, or of possessing information about an offence, may be arrested without warrant and held in custody until the authorities are satisfied that they have fully and truthfully answered all relevant questions put to them. They may not consult with a legal adviser unless with the Minister's consent.

(d) Any chief so authorized by the Minister may order any African to move, with his household and property, from one place to another within the chief's area of jurisdiction, and force may be used to compel compliance. Appeal lies only to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner.

(e) It is an offence to be present at an unlawful meeting; to make any statement or perform any action likely to have the effect of interfering with the authority of the State, one of its officials, or a chief or headman; to threaten anyone with loss or violence; to boycott official meetings or to boycott persons with the object of causing them loss; and for an African to disobey a lawful order given by a chief or headman or to treat a chief or headman with disrespect.

(f) No interdict may be issued for the stay of any order under the regulations, nor may any civil action be instituted arising out of the operation of the regulations.

Further regulations, applied for some seven months to the eastern districts of the Transkei, rendered it an offence for persons not resident there to enter without permits.

It is not clear how many people have been detained without trial under these emergency regulations. On 27 January 1961 the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said<sup>45</sup> that by then 361 had been

so held; and on 23 May 1961<sup>46</sup> the Minister of Justice added that 218 had been detained for periods longer than three months. Later, he gave figures relating to 1963,<sup>47</sup> from which it appeared that the number of detainees declined at some stage during 1962, rose again to a peak of 140 in April 1963, then dwindled to 1 at the end of that year.

Further information was given by the Minister of Justice on 29 January and 11 June of 1965.<sup>48</sup> It transpired that 86 persons were detained during 1964, and another 117 during the first five months of the following year. The average period of detention, for the 76 people who had been held during 1964 and released by the end of that year, was 54 days; and 7 of them had been held in solitary confinement for periods averaging 47 days (one was held in isolation for as long as 132 days).

It is not publicly known how many people have been forced to move their homes under the provisions of sub paragraph (d) above.

#### 21. Welfare Organizations Amendment Act, No. 75 of 1961

It was laid down in the principal Act of 1957, as amended, that the registration of a welfare organization (without which it cannot collect money from the public) may be cancelled by the National Welfare Board on various grounds, for example if it has not functioned for two consecutive years. The Amendment Act of 1961 empowered the Minister of Social Welfare to cancel a certificate of registration on any other ground besides those specified in the Act.

When explaining this clause in the Assembly<sup>49</sup> the Deputy Minister said the Government was concerned that welfare organizations should not be used as a cover for activities which had quite a different object. Certain "communist organizations," he added, would like to exploit welfare organizations for their own purposes.

#### 22. General Law Amendment Act, No. 76 of 1962

After the disturbances of 1960 order was restored for a time through use of powers contained in legislation described above. But then, after the A.N.C., P.A.C. and Congress of Democrats had been forced underground, new organizations were formed to plan campaigns against the *status quo* in South Africa; they included *Umkonto we Sizwe* (the Spear of the Nation), composed in the main of extremist ex-A.N.C. leaders; Poqo, related to the P.A.C.; the Yu Chi Chan Club, which appeared to have mainly Coloured members; and, later, the African Resistance Movement (or National Committee for Liberation), whose members were largely young White people. Acts of sabotage were carried out, the Paarl riots took place, and there was violence in the Transkei. Once more the Government introduced a series of new laws to contain the situation.

Various provisions of the General Law Amendment Act of 1962 have been dealt with earlier.

Further provisions were as described below.

(a) The Act created the offence of sabotage, providing that penalties on conviction would be those laid down for the offence of treason, which may include the death penalty. If a sentence of imprisonment is imposed this must be for at least 5 years.

(b) It extended the Government's powers to issue special regulations when a state of emergency is proclaimed.

(c) It widened the State President's powers to declare unlawful any organization which he considers is carrying on, directly or indirectly, the activities of any organization declared unlawful under the Suppression of Communism or Unlawful Organization Acts, or any like activities.

(d) The Act empowered the Minister of Justice to include numbers of new restrictions in banning orders served on persons, under the Suppression of Communism Act,

e.g. they can be prohibited from attending social as well as political or business gatherings, and required to report regularly to the police, or to resign from specified organizations. It was rendered an offence for banned or listed persons to change their places of residence or employment without informing the police.

(e) It was rendered an offence, too, without the Minister's consent or except for the purpose of proceedings in a court of law, to record, reproduce, or disseminate any speech or writing, or recording thereof, made anywhere, at any time, by a person who has been prohibited from attending gatherings.

(f) The Act introduced the system of house arrest, empowering the Minister to order persons not to leave specified premises or areas at all, or during specified hours (e.g. from 6 p.m. to 7 a.m. during the week, at week-ends, and on public holidays). Such persons may also be prohibited from performing any specified act, or from communicating with anyone or receiving any visitor except a lawyer—unless the lawyer concerned has been banned.

Full details have not been published, but it would appear that, by the beginning of 1966, at least 40 orders of house arrest had been issued. Some of the persons concerned had been allowed to leave the country permanently, under exit permits.

(g) The Minister's powers to prohibit gatherings, or to prohibit persons from attending gatherings, were extended and set out more expressly. In terms of these powers, he banned the holding of public gatherings other than religious services on the Johannesburg City Hall steps and on the Grand Parade, Cape Town.

(h) Certain presumptions were introduced relating to documents produced in court which indicate that someone has been absent from the Republic.

(i) The maximum penalties for various offences under the Suppression of Communism Act were increased.

#### 23. General Law Further Amendment Act, No. 93 of 1962

The General Law further Amendment Act provided that anyone who commits an offence by placing any placard, poster, writing, sign, drawing, or any other mark on the property of any other person or of the State, thereby defacing such property, shall be liable on conviction to imprisonment for a period not exceeding 6 months in lieu of or in addition to any other penalty which may be imposed. Besides this he may be required to pay the cost of restoring the property.

#### 24. General Law Amendment Act, No. 37 of 1963

The main provisions of the Amendment Act of 1963 were as follows:

(a) The State President was empowered to declare that any organization or group of persons which has been in existence since 7 April 1960 is or was in fact an organization which has been declared unlawful. Any act or omission proved in court with reference to the stated organization will be deemed to have been proved with reference to the unlawful organization concerned.

(This enabled the Government to equate Poqo with the banned P.A.C. and the Spear of the Nation with the banned A.N.C.)

(b) Additional presumptions were included with reference to absence from the Republic.

(c) Persons convicted of certain offences of a political nature may be held in continued detention after the completion of their prison sentences should the Minister of Justice consider that they are likely, if released, to further the achievement of any of the statutory objects of communism. (This provision remains in force for 12 months at a time, but has been extended annually by resolution of Parliament.)

At the time of writing, in early 1966, Mr. Robert Sobukwe, former leader of the P.A.C.,

is the only person who has been detained under this clause. He has been held in special quarters on Robben Island since 1963, when he completed a 3-year sentence for inciting others to support a campaign for the repeal of the pass laws.

(d) Section 17 of the 1963 Act introduced the system of 90-day arrest, empowering commissioned police officers to arrest without warrant and detain for up to 90 days on any particular occasion persons suspected of committing, intending to commit, or having information about specified types of political offences. On the expiration of 90 days such persons could immediately be re-arrested, and this process could be repeated. Detained persons would be visited weekly by a magistrate, but otherwise no visitors were allowed except with special permission. No court of law had the power to order the release of detained persons, and such persons were denied access to courts of law.

The Act provided that Section 17 would be in operation for such periods, not exceeding 12 months at a time, as the State President might determine. It was in force from 1 May 1963 to 11 January 1965, but may be invoked again should the Government so decide.

It would appear that most of those detained were held in solitary confinement, and were denied reading matter (except Bibles) and writing materials.

According to the Minister of Justice,<sup>50</sup> 1,095 persons were detained under the 90-day clause—102 Whites, 58 Coloured, 73 Indians, and 857 Africans. Of these, 134 were detained for more than 90 days, and another 13 for more than 180 days.

Of those detained, 272 were convicted of various offences, 210 were discharged, and 93 were awaiting trial or on trial at the time the Minister spoke, in January 1965. Of the 520 detainees against whom no charges were laid, 241 gave evidence for the State.

(e) A further provision of the 1963 Act was that bail may be refused when court records are transmitted for review, or conditions may be imposed.

(f) Preparatory examinations may be dispensed with should an attorney-general so decide.

(g) Provisions of the law relating to the seizure of postal articles were tightened.

(h) The Minister may declare any place or area to be a protected place, and unauthorized persons will then commit an offence if they enter without permission.

#### 25. Explosives Amendment Act, No. 21 of 1963

The maximum penalties for certain offences under the principal Act were increased. A minimum penalty of not less than 3 years was introduced for persons found guilty of wilfully causing an explosion resulting in injury to others.

#### 26. Defence Amendment Act No. 77 of 1963

The Defence Amendment Act widened the Government's powers to use members of the Defence Force to assist the police in the prevention or suppression of internal disorder.

In recent years, and particularly since 1962, very greatly increased amounts have been spent on the Defence Vote. The Minister of Finance said on 21 March 1962<sup>51</sup> that South Africa should look to its defences, against aggression from outside, but also against lawlessness and subversion from within.

#### 27. General Law Amendment Act, No. 80 of 1964

(a) Provisions of this Act dealing with recalcitrant witnesses amended those of the Criminal Procedure Act, No. 56 of 1955. It was now laid down that if a person present in court is required to give evidence in any criminal proceedings and refuses to do so, he may be sentenced by the court to impris-

onment for a period not exceeding 12 months at a time.

(b) The Criminal Procedure Act previously provided that if any person, known to the prosecution to be an accomplice in criminal proceedings, voluntarily submits to being sworn as a witness for the prosecution and answers all lawful questions to the satisfaction of the court, he will be freed and discharged from liability to prosecution, even though in his evidence he may have incriminated himself.

In terms of the 1964 amendment, a person produced as a witness for the prosecution who in the opinion of the prosecutor is an accomplice will be compelled to be sworn and to give evidence, even though it might tend to incriminate him. As before, if his evidence satisfies the court he will be discharged from liability to prosecution.

(c) The Act tightened the provisions of the law relating to the offences of having obtained training in sabotage, or information which could be of use in furthering the aims of communism or of an unlawful organization, or having taken steps to these ends, or having advised or assisted others to do so.

(d) It laid down that persons under 90-day detention will not be entitled to copies of statements made by them while being detained.

The provisions outlined in sub-paragraphs (a) and (b) above were invoked in various trials during 1964 and subsequently, of alleged saboteurs, communists, and members of unlawful organizations. Most of the witnesses concerned had been under 90-day (or, as described on page 89, 180-day) detention.

#### 28. Police Amendment Act, No. 74 of 1965

This measure added a Sub-Section 6(4) to the Police Act of 1958, empowering any policeman, at any place within a mile of the border between the Republic and another state, to search without warrant any person, premises, vehicle, aircraft or receptacle of any nature, and to seize anything found. If a woman is to be searched, the search must be made by a woman.

The Minister of Justice said in the Assembly on 7 June 1965 that it was essential for the police to have these powers in order to combat the infiltration of trained saboteurs into the Republic.

#### 29. Railways and Harbours Amendment Act, No. 6 of 1965

Section 12 of this Act empowered the Railways Administration to deny access to a harbour to any ship—

(1) which has the nationality of any state which the Minister of Transport has declared, by notice in the *Gazette*, to be denying South African ships access to its harbours;

(2) which is owned by or on charter to nationals of any state;

(3) if any present or past member of the crew has been convicted of any offence under South African or South-West African law while the ship was in the Republic territorial waters (i.e. within 6 nautical miles of low-water mark) or its fishing zone (within 12 miles);

(4) if the official in charge of the harbour is satisfied that the ship has at any time, within the 12-mile limit, been engaged in activities constituting an offence under South African or South-West African law.

#### 30. Sea Fisheries Amendment Act, No. 27 of 1965

Similar provisions to those described above, but relating to fishing harbours, were contained in the Sea Fisheries Amendment Act.

#### 31. Official Secrets Amendment Act, No. 65 of 1965

In terms of this measure the words in italics were added to Section 3 (2) of the principal Act:

"Any person who has in his possession or

under his control any sketch, plan, model, article, note, document or information which relates to munitions of war or any military or police matter and who publishes it or directly or indirectly communicates it to any person in any manner for any purpose prejudicial to the safety or interests of the State, shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding R1,500 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding seven years or to both such fine and such imprisonment.

#### 32. Prisons Amendment Act, No. 75 of 1965

This extended the restrictions contained in the principal Act of 1959, *inter alia*, to render it an offence to sketch or photograph fugitives who have escaped from lawful custody, or to publish sketches or photographs of persons which were made before their arrest, or of fugitives, or of persons who died or were executed while in custody.

The definition of a prison (which may not be sketched or photographed, or about which false information may not knowingly be published or divulged) was extended to include the seashore adjacent to a prison and the sea beyond this to a distance of one nautical mile from the low-water mark.

#### 33. Suppression of Communism Amendment Act, No. 97 of 1965

(a) The prohibition on recording, publishing, or disseminating the writings or speeches of persons who have been prohibited from attending gatherings, except with the Minister's consent or for the purposes of proceedings in a court of law (see page 73), was extended to include writings or speeches made anywhere, at any time, by former residents of South Africa who were under banning orders when they left.

(b) In terms of previous legislation it was an offence to carry or display anything whatsoever indicating that the person doing so had in any way been associated with an unlawful organization. The new measure rendered it an offence to be in possession of anything of this nature.

#### 34. Criminal Procedure Amendment Act, No. 96 of 1965

(a) This Act included the "180-day detention clause." It provided that whenever in the opinion of the attorney-general there is any danger of tampering with or the intimidation of any person likely to be able to give material evidence for the State in criminal proceedings of a serious nature,<sup>52</sup> or that any such person may abscond, or whenever the attorney-general deems it to be in the interests of such persons or of the administration of justice, he may issue a warrant for the arrest and detention of such person at a stated place.

The witness will be detained, in accordance with regulations made by the Minister, until the conclusion of the criminal proceedings concerned, or for six months, whichever may be the shorter period.

The Act provided that a detained person will be visited by a magistrate in private at least once a week. Otherwise, no one other than a State official acting in the performance of his duties will have access to him, except with the consent of and subject to conditions determined by the attorney-general or a State official to whom this power has been delegated.

No court will have jurisdiction to order the release of a detained person, or to pronounce upon the validity of regulations made by the Minister or any decisions made in regard to visitors.

Should a person detained refuse to give evidence, when called before the court, he may be dealt with as a recalcitrant witness, liable to be sentenced to successive terms of 12 months imprisonment. Regulations for the detention of State witnesses were gazetted in terms of Government Notice R1396 of 1965.

Footnotes at end of article.

According to the Minister of Justice,<sup>23</sup> from 1 September 1965 to mid-January 1966, 23 persons had been detained, of whom 4 had been released. Their evidence was required in connection with 6 criminal cases. Two of them had refused to give evidence when they were brought before the courts.

(b) The "12-day detention" clause was repealed (see page 79). Instead, the Amendment Act provided that whenever any person has been arrested on a serious charge<sup>24</sup> the attorney-general may, if he considers it to be necessary in the interest of the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order, issue an order that such person shall not be released on bail or otherwise before sentence has been passed or the person concerned has been discharged.

If, however, no evidence has, within 90 days, been led in court against a person who has been refused bail, the latter may apply to a judge in chambers to be released on bail. The judge, who will hear the application in private, will have the discretion to grant or refuse it.

#### XVIII Control of publications

##### 1. Suppression of Communism Act, No. 44 of 1950, as Amended by Act 76 of 1962 and Act 97 of 1965

It was mentioned earlier that the Suppression of Communism Act empowered the Minister of the Interior to ban any periodical (including a newspaper) if he considers that it promotes the spread of communism, is published by an unlawful organization, or serves mainly as a means for expressing the views of such an organization or views calculated to further the achievement of any of the objects of communism.

A periodical named the *Guardian* was banned, but it had been registered under various names and was able to re-appear without delay under another of these. This process took place several times as the new papers were, in turn, banned.

An amendment to the Act made in 1962 prevented a newspaper from registering under more than one name by providing that, unless special exemption is given, any registration will lapse unless the paper concerned is published at least once a month.

No new newspaper may be registered unless the proprietor deposits with the Minister of the Interior such amount, not exceeding R20,000, as the Minister may determine, or unless the Minister certifies that he has no reason to believe that it will at any time be necessary for him to prohibit the paper.

The 1965 amendment empowered the State President to ban a periodical or other publication which is deemed by the authorities to be a continuation or substitution, whether or not under another name, of one that has been prohibited.

##### 2. Press Code of the S.A. Newspaper Press Union

In 1960 the Government introduced a Publications and Entertainments Bill. This, in amended form, finally became law in 1963; but in the meanwhile, during 1962, the S.A. Newspaper Press Union (the association of newspaper proprietors) drew up its own code of conduct. Individual employers may decide whether or not to accept it. A Board of Reference is provided for, composed of two managerial nominees under the chairmanship of a retired judge. Its function is to try to ensure that newspaper reports are accurate and not offensive to decency. Editors or journalists who are considered to have infringed the code may be reprimanded by the Board, an such reprimand will be published in other papers.

The final clause of the code states, "While the Press retains its traditional right of criticism, comment should take cognisance of the complex racial problems of South Africa, the general good and the safety of the country and its people".

##### 3. Publications and Entertainments Act, No. 26 of 1963

Provision was made in this measure for the establishment of a Publications Control Board, appointed by the Minister of the Interior, to examine any publication or film submitted to it under the Act, and to make enquiries about any entertainment which the Board has reason to believe may be undesirable.

A "publication" is defined to include any documents made public, illustrations, sound recordings, etc., but to exclude newspapers published by members of the Newspaper Press Union. Wide grounds are set out on which the Board may declare a publication to be undesirable.

It was rendered an offence to publish, distribute, or import a publication that has been declared undesirable, or, except under permit, to import a publication with a paperback in cases where the net selling price to the importer is 50 cents or less.

The board reaches its decision in private and need not hear evidence, and although there is an appeal to the courts, such procedure is expensive and lengthy and the courts are expressly forbidden to consider "the work as a whole", as they do in Britain.

Further provisions of the Act relate to the powers of the Board to censor films and to prohibit entertainments.

##### 4. General Law Amendment Act, No. 76 of 1962, as amended by Suppression of Communism Amendment Act, No. 97 of 1965

These Acts render it an offence, without the Minister's consent or except for the purposes of proceedings in a court of law, to publish any speech or writing made anywhere, at any time, by a person who has been prohibited from attending gatherings or by former residents of South Africa who were under banning orders when they left.

##### 5. Official Secrets Amendment Act, No. 65 of 1965, and Prisons Amendment Act, No. 75 of 1965

See page 88.

##### 6. Copyright Act, No. 63 of 1965

The Copyright Act empowered the State President to make regulations authorizing, or prohibiting, the circulation, presentation, or exhibition of any work or production.

Section 50 (3) states: "The circulation, presentation, or exhibition of any work or production in pursuance of authority granted in terms of such regulations shall not constitute an infringement of copyright in such work or production, but the author shall not thereby be deprived of his right to a reasonable remuneration, which shall, in default of agreement, be determined by arbitration."

The object is to prevent overseas authors from prohibiting the performance of their works in South Africa on ideological grounds.

#### FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Proclamation 46 of 1959.
- <sup>2</sup> The Star of that date.
- <sup>3</sup> Senate Hansard 3 of 1962, cols. 503-520.
- <sup>4</sup> Department of Information Press Release 226/63(P) of 11 December 1963.
- <sup>5</sup> Assembly, 20 May 1959, Hansard 16 cols. 6215-6; 24 March 1959, Hansard, 9 cols. 3076-8; White Paper report.
- <sup>6</sup> Hansard 6 cols. 1639, 1641.
- <sup>7</sup> e.g. Natives Land Act of 1913. Native Trust and Land Act of 1936, Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, as amended.
- <sup>8</sup> Pre-Union legislation in the Transvaal and Free State, Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Act of 1943. Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation of Indians Act of 1946.
- <sup>9</sup> At first the Minister of the Interior. From 1962 the Minister of Community Development, and, since 1965, the Minister of Planning.
- <sup>10</sup> Senate, 8 February 1961, Hansard 3 col. 735.

<sup>11</sup> The fixed dates were, later, determined as 1 February 1958 for men and 1 February 1963 for women.

<sup>12</sup> Previously this control was applied only if an urban local authority so requested.

<sup>13</sup> This sub-Section was amended in 1964. See page 33.

<sup>14</sup> Proclamations 79, 283, 345, and 380 of 1957 and 95, 116, and 268 of 1958.

<sup>15</sup> Now the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development.

<sup>16</sup> Government Notice 63 of 9 January 1959.

<sup>17</sup> See page 29.

<sup>18</sup> Nos. 12, 13, and 236 of 1957.

<sup>19</sup> Assembly, 22 February 1954, Hansard 4 col. 911.

<sup>20</sup> Department of Information circular 126/63(K).

<sup>21</sup> Announcement in the Star 15 March 1966.

<sup>22</sup> No. 1176/313 of 11 April 1957.

<sup>23</sup> As reported by Minister of Justice, Assembly, 5 March 1963, Hansard 7 cols. 2140-1.

<sup>24</sup> Sunday Times, 24 February, and Rand Daily Mail, 25 February 1963, and Assembly, 13 May 1964, Hansard 16 cols. 5958-9, 5964.

<sup>25</sup> Assembly Hansard 3 col. 839.

<sup>26</sup> The Star, 31 March 1962.

<sup>27</sup> See *Survey of Race Relations in South Africa*, 1964, page 344.

<sup>28</sup> Most Africans had been excluded from this definition in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Acts of 1924 and 1937; but certain of them did still qualify until 1953.

<sup>29</sup> Such strikes were already illegal in terms of War Measure 145 of 1942.

<sup>30</sup> See page 33 for definition.

<sup>31</sup> Exchequer and Audit Amendment Act, No. 7 of 1955.

<sup>32</sup> Assembly Hansard 10 of 1953, cols. 3576, 3585; Senate Hansard of 7 June 1954.

<sup>33</sup> Information given in the *Bantu Education Journal*, April 1963.

<sup>34</sup> From 1963 the African colleges, too, were financed from the general revenue account.

<sup>35</sup> Proclamations 221 and 222 of 18 October 1959.

<sup>36</sup> Proclamation R434 of 23 December 1960.

<sup>37</sup> Government Notices 2049 of 18 December 1959; R59 of 15 February 1960; R1444 of 23 September 1960; and R554 of 5 April 1962.

<sup>38</sup> All the directors selected by the Minister were white.

<sup>39</sup> Assembly, 7 June 1965, Hansard 19 Cols. 7336-8, 7369-71.

<sup>40</sup> Original clause as amended by Act 79 of 1961.

<sup>41</sup> That of Johnson Ngwevela.

<sup>42</sup> In terms of Proclamations No. 90 and 91 of 1960.

<sup>43</sup> Hansard 2 cols. 698-9, Hansard 4 col. 1346.

<sup>44</sup> Proclamations R400 and 413 of 1960.

<sup>45</sup> Assembly Hansard 1 cols. 224-4.

<sup>46</sup> Assembly Hansard 18 cols. 6939-40.

<sup>47</sup> Assembly, 24 January 1964, Hansard 1 col. 263.

<sup>48</sup> Assembly, Hansard 1 col. 256, and Hansard 19 Col. 7873.

<sup>49</sup> 13 June 1961, Hansard 20 col. 7943.

<sup>50</sup> Assembly, 29 January 1965, Hansard 1 cols. 252, 256-7, 265, 267.

<sup>51</sup> Assembly, Hansard 9 cols. 2933, 2944.

<sup>52</sup> As listed in the amended Second Schedule to the Act, Part II bis.

<sup>53</sup> Assembly, 28 January 1966, Hansard 1 cols. 244-5.

<sup>54</sup> See note 52.

MOISE TSHOMBE—CHRISTIAN  
MARTYR

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the free world was saddened by yesterday's announcement that Moise Tshombe, the

kidnaped former Premier of the Congo, died in a Communist Algerian prison cell where he had been illegally detained for 2 years.

Mr. Speaker, early reports would have us believe that Tshombe died of an apparent heart attack. If so, it was a broken heart because he had been forsaken by the Christian leadership and free people, the world over, who could have done something in his behalf but failed or were too frightened over possible personal consequences.

Moise Tshombe, 1919-69, a true Christian martyr who gave his life in the nonending battle of free men against communism.

I insert a news article on the death at this point.

[From the Evening Star, (Washington, D.C.), June 30, 1969]

**TSHOMBE DIES AT 49 IN ALGERIAN JAIL, HEART ATTACK BLAMED**

(By Richard Mowrer)

MADRID.—Moise Tshombe, 49, the flamboyant former premier of the Congo, is dead in an Algiers prison after what the Algerian press service called an apparent heart attack.

Tshombe was a political exile in this country when kidnaped and flown to Algiers at gunpoint two years ago today.

The announcement today that 11 doctors signed a death certificate as to the cause of death yesterday was greeted with skepticism here, with a series of coincidences being cited.

Tshombe's death came on the eve of the ninth anniversary of the former Belgian Congo's independence. It also coincides with his kidnaping. And Tshombe's arch rival and the present ruler of the Congo, Gen. Joseph Mobutu, it is recalled, previously had sentenced his political antagonist to death in absentia for "high treason."

After Tshombe's kidnaping, Mobutu demanded the African leader's extradition. The Algerian government refused, choosing instead to hold him captive without trial, although he had committed no offense within the jurisdiction of the Algerian government.

Mobutu caused a stir last year when he referred, at a press conference, to "the late Mr. Moise Tshombe." On an earlier occasion Mobutu had said of his rival: "For us he is a dead man." However a message from Tshombe subsequently received by his family said: "I am in good health and being well treated."

Tshombe's kidnaping was carried out by Francis Joseph Bodenan, a Frenchman who spent 12 years in prison for complicity in a double murder.

Tshombe was lured into boarding a chartered British executive jet scheduled to fly from Mallorca to Ibiza, islands in the Spanish Balearics in the Mediterranean. Near Ibiza, possibly in Spanish air space, the plane was hijacked and forced to fly to Algiers.

Who or what organization was behind the plot has never been clarified, although the Algerian government apparently was innocent of the initial plot.

Three weeks after the kidnaping the Supreme Court in Algiers ordered Tshombe to be extradited to the Congo—and almost certain death. At the hearing, Tshombe blamed the U.S. CIA for his predicament. News photographers were allowed to take pictures of Tshombe before he was returned to jail under guard but only press representatives of the Communist countries were allowed to keep their film. Western reporters had their film confiscated.

Algeria's President Houari Boumedienne, however, refrained from confirming the

court's extradition order. A technical reason may have been that extradition for offenses is prohibited by Algerian law.

Another reason may have been the temptation to try to persuade the Congo to break off relations with Israel and back up the Arab cause at the United Nations and elsewhere.

Although Boumedienne refrained from sending Tshombe to the Congo, he made no move to return him to Spanish territory. The Spanish government, for its part, lodged no protest. The two Spanish policemen acting as bodyguards for Tshombe and who were on the hijacked plane were quickly released by the Algerians.

When Generalissimo Francisco Franco's foreign minister, Fernando Maria Castiella, visited Algeria officially in April, a parliamentary representative in the Cortes, Manuel Fanjul, tabled a motion asking that Castiella take advantage of his Algerian trip to request Tshombe's return to Spain. Nothing came of it.

The United States, reportedly influential in the Congo, also did nothing. Nor did the United Nations.

The kidnaping was technically committed on British territory, since a British aircraft was involved. But the British government did not intercede. No country, in fact, offered Tshombe asylum should he be released.

Tshombe became known as "the rubber man" of African politics by showing remarkable political resiliency in rebounding from utter defeat after the fall of Katanga in 1963 to become premier of the Congo in July 1964. The man with the moon face and toothy grin inspired no in-between emotions among Congolese. He was either loved or hated.

Moise Kapenda—which stands for "Moses Beloved"—Tshombe was born in Musumba on Nov. 10, 1919. His father was a rarity, a wealthy African businessman in an economy controlled by Belgians.

Tshombe was often known to boast: "I am a rich man. I am the only Congolese who does not need to be in politics to make a living. No one can buy me."

Raised as a Methodist with a high school education, Tshombe toured Europe before coming home to run the family's interests, marry the daughter of a tribal chief and father 10 children.

He served on several tribal and provincial councils in the 1950s, and when Belgium was ready to grant its colony independence, Tshombe was premier of Katanga, the Congo's richest province.

Soon after independence, the Congolese army mutinied. Tshombe waited 10 days for President Joseph Kasavubu and Premier Patrice Lumumba to restore order, then declared independence for Katanga.

Backed by Belgian mining firms and an army led by white mercenaries from South Africa and Rhodesia, Tshombe withstood worldwide pressure and United Nations' efforts to end his secession for 30 months.

It was during the first outbreak of violence, in September 1961, that U.N. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld was killed in a plane crash in Northern Rhodesia, now Zambia. Hammarskjöld was flying to a border town for cease-fire talks with Tshombe.

While a U.N. investigating committee said it found no proof to support rumors the plane had been shot down, it added it was unable to determine the cause of the crash.

Six months after Hammarskjöld died, the Katanga government announced the death of Lumumba, who then became a hero to many African youths. Some Congolese said Tshombe was responsible for Lumumba's assassination, but Tshombe maintained Lumumba had escaped after being taken into custody in January 1961 and was shot by villagers.

Five months after Tshombe capitulated in

January 1963, he left the Congo to go into exile in Europe for the first time, living mostly in Spain. But he returned triumphantly as premier in June 1964 after Simba tribesmen rebelled in the northeast provinces.

Many said the Western powers, including the United States, had convinced President Kasavubu that Tshombe was the only person who could unite all Congo factions and put down the rebellion.

Tshombe's troops, again led by white mercenaries, succeeded in crushing the Simba rebellion, but in the fall of 1965 a simmering feud between Kasavubu and his premier broke into the open. Again Tshombe went into exile, never really returning to the limelight until he was kidnaped to Algiers.

## INDEPENDENCE DAY OF SOMALI

**HON. ADAM C. POWELL**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, we take this opportunity to send warm felicitations to the President, Dr. Abdirashid Ali Shermarke of Somali and Somali's Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Yusuf O. Azhari, on the occasion of the ninth anniversary of Somali's independence.

Mr. Speaker, on July 1, 1960, just 9 short years ago, the newly independent areas formerly known as British and Italian Somaliland joined together to form the free and independent Somali Republic. Geographically and historically, the ties between these areas—and the Somali areas presently not included in the Somali Republic—are strong indeed, for they are one people, one land, one nation.

This is not to say that there are no tribal or linguistic differences among the Somali. English, Italian, Arabic, and various native dialects are all spoken and in the past intertribal disharmony has often been great. But the vast Somali plateau, bordering the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden and extending far inland, is truly a single geographic entity. Forces for disunity, however, continue to exist. That the two former states were colonies of different nations, with different languages and different legal and educational systems should not be forgotten. Somali is to be congratulated for having so successfully coped with these and other forces which often hinder effective unification in newly independent nations.

Somali has long been of importance to the world's great civilizations. It has served as a meeting place for east and west, north and south, and has certainly been a vital link in the trading patterns of the world. The ancient Egyptians established trade routes through the Wedi Hammamat to the land of Punt, fabled in history as a source of exotic ornaments and spices. Some anthropologists even link the ancient Somali to the pre-dynastic rulers of Egypt.

Later, Arab traders frequented Somali's coast, and records exist of Chinese and other eastern fleets visiting Somaliland. The Somali were known for their hospitality to travelers, and the

name of the country is thought to have come from the custom of welcoming travelers with refreshments of beverages made with milk—"Somal." The Somalis quite successfully maintained themselves against many aggressive invaders, until in the 19th century both the British and Italians extended their "protection." Unfortunately, this "protection" caused the Somalis more hardship than any they had endured while "unprotected." Later, both British and Italian troops fought fiercely over the land of the Somalis during the Second World War. Thus, it was with great relief and elation that the new, independent Republic of Somali was formed on July 1, 1960, for now the destiny of the Somalis is in their own hands and not that of any alien powers.

There is a promising future ahead for this developing nation. The possibility that large oil deposits may be discovered is good; agricultural diversity and industry are being encouraged. Somali continues to be the world's largest exporter of incense, and its potential as a major supplier of fish for the Near East is only awaiting development.

It gives me great pleasure to offer my congratulations and best wishes to the Government and people of the Somali Republic on this national day celebration commemorating the ninth anniversary of the formation of their Republic. I would like to commend them for their dedication to democratic institutions, the diligent efforts that they have made to modernize their economy, and their dedication to the peace of our world. For all these things, the Somalis deserve our recognition and congratulations.

#### GAS SUPPLY AND GOVERNMENT OFFSHORE POLICY CHANGE

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 1, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, a position seldom heard or expressed these days is a viewpoint explaining the oil exploration and investment situation.

I include the statement of J. Ben Carsey, past president of the American Association of Petroleum Geologists, which appeared in their May 1969, bulletin:

**TWO IMPORTANT MATTERS: GAS SUPPLY AND GOVERNMENT OFFSHORE POLICY CHANGE**

The President's Page often is used for better communication with Association mem-

bers, through discussions of matters of current interest and importance. Two such matters are reviewed here.

The first is the United States future gas supply, which was discussed at some length in a paper in the Fuels Symposium given in April 1968 at the Association's 53rd annual meeting in Oklahoma City. (The entire symposium was published jointly in February 1969 by the AAPG and the Colorado School of Mines.) Part of this paper is based on the findings of the industry's Potential Gas Committee. This committee is sponsored by the Colorado School of Mines Foundations, Inc., and its purpose is to prepare estimates of the potential natural gas supply in the United States. Represented on the committee are producing, transmission, and distributing companies, as well as state geological surveys and independent geologists. Observers include representatives of the Department of the Interior, the Federal Power Commission, the American Petroleum Institute, The American Gas Association, and the Independent Natural Gas Association of America.

Another committee, similarly staffed but sponsored by Denver University, is the Future Requirements Committee which is studying United States gas demand. The studies of both committees indicate that currently we are discovering about 19 trillion cu ft of gas per year. In 1967, we consumed 18.4 trillion cu ft. However, the discovering rate is decreasing while the consumption rate rises 3 to 5 percent each year. It is estimated that, in 1985, the demand will be 32 trillion cu ft.

The author of the above-mentioned Fuels Symposium paper presented the inescapable conclusion that, if the discovery rate is not increased above that of the last 5 years, by 1985 the ratio of gas reserves to gas production will have decreased to a 6-year supply. Only a few years ago, when large pipelines were being built to the north and east, this ratio was about 20:1. Presently it is 12:1, or less.

This impending decrease in natural gas reserves can be lessened, or possibly corrected, if the incentive to explore for new gas is increased. The cost of exploration and production has risen materially during the past few years, whereas federal regulation has held the average wellhead gas price at a relatively constant level. Some increase in the gas price should be permitted by regulatory bodies as an incentive to increase exploration. With this incentive, I feel confident that the geologist could, and would, do the job of finding the required reserves.

The second matter of importance is a major government policy change in offshore areas. This change was announced by David S. Black in a speech before the Gulf Coast Association of Geological Societies, Jackson, Mississippi, in October 1968. Mr. Black stated that the Department of Interior is planning to increase the size of its technical staff so that it can gather—prior to offering offshore tracts for lease—data which will enable the Department to determine the market value of the tracts prior to leasing. The data that are being gathered include the collection of well surveys and samples; the collection of geophysical data could follow.

Petroleum geologists are well aware that competing companies do not evaluate the same tracts in the same way. Thus, each company may have a very different opinion of the true value of any particular tract. This fact indicates that it is impossible to establish a reliable market-value figure on undrilled leases prior to competitive bidding. Numerous offshore tracts have been purchased at very high prices, but have not paid out. Other leases must, therefore, produce at a large profit to compensate for the nonprofitable ones.

As practiced in the past, competitive bidding has brought incredibly large sums of money in bonuses to the federal government. Some persons believe, and with reason, that more money is being poured into federal leases than will ever be recovered from the leases by the companies. Should the federal government arrive at unrealistic figures for the market value of leases prior to bidding, it might be impossible for companies to make profits and, therefore, they will not bid. This would retard the development of the offshore areas at a time when we need to find additional reserves.

Petroleum geologists can help to remedy this situation by keeping the public informed—through talks to local clubs and civic groups, and through articles written for the local press and business journals. The recent unfortunate events in the Santa Barbara Channel gave the petroleum companies much adverse publicity and, therefore, hurt the offshore development program. Forgotten in the drama of excitement and eye-catching headlines are the great technological contributions by the geological and geophysical professions in the development of techniques for finding offshore petroleum. The huge investments by companies—including immense sums paid into federal and state governments for bonuses and royalties—have gone unnoticed, and rarely are mentioned. Similarly unheralded are the great strides made by the engineering and producing branches of industry in the realm of offshore technology. We of the industry must publicize our contributions and our progress, rather than sit in silence as regulations are being made that may retard the industry, and as headlines are written which could harm our image in the public eye.

As a geologist, as a scientist, and as one who has served as president of our Association, I deeply believe that if government officials—whether in the realm of gas regulation or in the realm of offshore development—could see and understand our viewpoint, they would not take steps that might harm or undermine the free enterprise system. Therefore, I ask you to talk, to write, and to inform the public and its officials; for without incentives to explore, the industry will be hurt, the national economy will feel the gradual squeeze, and challenges of geological exploration may become a memory of the past. It is your profession and mine; it is our future; please think about it, and act to preserve it.

J. BEN CARSEY,  
Past President.

HOUSTON, TEX., February 28, 1969.