

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

## HON. GAYLORD NELSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, at the commencement exercises of Winona State College in early June, the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. MONDALE) spoke to graduating seniors on the environment they will inherit.

What the Senator had to say concerns us all, and it is this: that mankind, with his command of technology, now has the power to effect irreversible change on the environment; change that, no matter how much he may wish it, man has no power to overturn.

In Denver, a 2-mile-deep well, originally drilled to dispose of pesticide wastes, is now suspected of causing man-made earthquakes. They cannot be stopped.

In Lake Erie, a half-century of abuse has raised the specter of what a somber Department of the Interior report calls a "biological cataclysm" that could rapidly exhaust the free oxygen in the lake.

As Senator MONDALE says, we are indeed, "a nation bedazzled by technology and addicted to crash solutions. But this kind of mentality will no longer serve us, if we are to build an environment worthy of man in this place, in this age."

I ask unanimous consent for inclusion of the Senator's remarks in the RECORD.

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

## ENVIRONMENT AND THE FUTURE

(Address by Senator WALTER F. MONDALE at Winona State College commencement, Friday, June 13, 1969, Winona, Minn.)

Americans have always had a curious love-hate relationship with their environment. Unlike the original inhabitants of the continent, the American Indians—who were bound to their land in a marriage of love—the white settler viewed the charms of a virgin continent with lust in his eyes and rape in his heart.

Thus, while the pioneer might have admired the purple mountain's majesty, his first thought was to gouge as many minerals out of her as rapidly as possible. A forest was something to be cut down; a river a convenient dumping ground; a buffalo herd an early exercise in genocide. And, once the forests where he lived were gone; the rivers unfit to drink; the buffalo reduced to bleached bones, there were always plenty more where they came from, out in the West. Now the frontier is gone, but the frame of mind it induced in a people is with us to this day.

What the Indians' religion and mores instilled in him as an article of faith we are only now beginning to dimly perceive—that we are not outside our environment, much less the master of it. We are in fact inseparable from it, and each action of man upon the physical world produces an equal—and sometimes opposite—reaction upon man himself.

The reaction is sometimes immediately visible, and dramatic, such as when a man-made chemical wipes out all life in a river.

Other reactions are more subtle, more profound.

Your generation and mine are the inheritors of both the physical issue of this early violence practiced on the land and, more important, of the frame of mind that produced it—for it endures even in the 20th century.

Thus, physically, because of an attitude that, as one critic put it: "looks upon one-half the continent as a mine to be stripped of resources as rapidly as possible—and the other half as a dump to get rid of the wastes"—we find that—

We pour some 130 million tons of carbon monoxide, sulphur and other dangerous pollutants into the air each year, and that every metropolitan alrshed in the country is polluted, to one degree or another;

We find many major rivers, and one of the Great Lakes, are for all practical purposes denuded of the free oxygen needed to support marine life;

We find the earth's biosphere—that thin, fragile envelope of air, water and land that sustains all life—we find it laden with 500 million pounds of DDT, a persistent and nearly immortal pesticide.

And we find our daily lives increasingly dominated by the works of man; the outdoor heritage that is a part of our very makeup we find increasingly crowded, less wild and more like the artificial environment we have created.

These conditions we can see with our own eyes. They are reported daily in the media and discussed in the halls of Congress and in every forum across the nation.

They are different in degree, but not in kind, from the careless stewardship of resources that our ancestors practiced. But now, because of his mastery of the physical sciences, and because of the heedlessness of his problem-solving techniques, man is able to induce changes in his environment of quite a different order, changes that may occur with terrifying suddenness and be, in fact, irreversible.

For instance—

At the Rocky Mountain arsenal in Denver, where the pesticide residues once stored above ground in settling ponds threatened domestic water supplies and wildlife, a two-mile deep well was drilled to place these dangerous liquids below the water tables used for drinking and irrigation.

This "solved" one environmental and economic problem—disposing of a poisonous man-made substance—but it may well have created a worse one. For, one month after the Army began to pour millions of gallons of waste down this hole, Denver was shaken by its first earthquake of the century, and has since been shaken by scores more, none, so far, heavy enough to cause loss of life or property damage on a vast scale.

Scientific opinion, consulted after the well was drilled, is divided. Some geologists see no relationship between the original quake, whose epicenter was in the Arsenal region; others believe that some several hundred—million gallons of poison water pumped down the hole has lubricated a fault under the city, allowing slippage and quakes.

Whatever the scientific merit of both arguments, it is impossible to pump the water out.

Lately the arsenal has been in the news again, for it was from here that enough nerve gas to wipe out several billion people was to depart by rail for the Atlantic Coast, where it was to be put aboard freighters, hauled out to sea, and dumped. An outraged public has temporarily halted this; the nerve gas, at last report, now resides in the open under one of the flight paths for a commercial airport.

At that, the nerve gas would be but one of some half a million substances presently dumped in the ocean. These include pesticides, radioisotopes and chemicals, only a fraction of which have ever been tested for their long-term effect on man and the ecology that supports him.

Here again, man responds recklessly, with little to guide him. Some 70 percent of the earth's photosynthetic oxygen is produced by micro-organisms suspended in the oceans' surface water. What these chemicals' effect on these organisms is, no one precisely knows. What would happen to marine life, if a tanker loaded with herbicides for use against foliage in Vietnam crashed upon the ocean rocks, such as the Torrey Canyon did with its cargo of oil—no one knows.

Another example:

Man has lived on the shores of Lake Erie for millenia, with no noticeable effect on the Lake itself. But over the past 50 years, with the use of the Lake as a dumping ground for solid and liquid wastes, man has managed to artificially "age" the lake by an estimated 15,000 years; in other words, the lake is 15,000 years nearer "death"—a process that happens to all lakes sooner or later than if he made wise use of this resource.

And now, according to Department of Interior scientists, who are not given to rash statements, "It is possible that . . . Lake Erie may face a sudden biological cataclysm that will exhaust, for a time, most of the oxygen in the greater part of the lake . . . (this) could come with explosive suddenness."

The lake has come to its present state because pollution has grown geometrically, while knowledge of its effects has grown only arithmetically. For 50 years now man has been adding great quantities of phosphorous to the lake. Phosphorous stimulates the growth of algae, which blooms in great quantities during the spring and fall. The algae dies fast and sinks to the bottom of the lake, fouling it with organic matter.

Meantime, even more phosphorous—which most sewage treatment plants being built today do not remove—is poured on top of the dead algae on the lake bottom. Now, there is grave danger that the process is self-generating and that the "biological cataclysm" of oxygen exhaustion could take place with terrifying swiftness.

And so, near the Continental Divide in Colorado; in the sea around us; in the Great Lakes; man is tinkering with profound forces which may well prove to be beyond his ability to counter, once set in motion.

The same forces that have brought Erie near death are at work on Lake Superior, greatest of the Great Lakes, and the world's largest body of still relatively unpolluted water. Because the lake is big, and because population is less concentrated on its shores, we still have time to save it, if we act promptly.

But doing so will take more than just money. It will take a conscious decision by private industry, government and the citizens of Minnesota to cease using the Lake as a dumping ground and sewer, and to begin looking upon it as the unique, priceless natural resource that it really is. Whether or not this will be done in time remains to be seen.

The truth of the matter is, our ability to pollute our environment has outrun our knowledge of pollution's effects and how to stop it.

I was shocked to learn, when I first came to the Senate some years ago, of the primitive state of research in lake pollution. It is no exaggeration to say that we now know more about the composition of the lunar surface than we do about what causes a lake to die—and how to prevent it.

For three years now, I have had legislation before the Congress to fund at least a beginning in lake research. Last year the measure passed both houses, only to die because of differences in the two bills. This year the bill is contained in the omnibus water pollution control act, and I am hopeful of passage.

Once the legislation is passed the really hard work will begin; the fight to obtain adequate funding. And herein lies much of our present problem with pollution control.

Although we are ready, willing and able to fuel the engines of war—last year at 97 percent of the amount the Pentagon requested—the Nation is far less willing to spend the money to clean its own nest.

Over the past five fiscal years—  
We provided less than half the amount requested at the federal level for grants to build sewage treatment plants;

We provided just over 60 percent of the amount requested for air pollution control;

And we provided less than a third of the amount requested for water and sewer grants.

Although federal spending for all natural resources purposes—pollution control, parks, recreation areas—has been climbing gradually we are actually spending a smaller percentage of the total federal budget now, in fiscal 1970, than we did five years ago.

The result is, as far as the environment is concerned, we are just barely managing to hold our own, if that.

We often talk about a pollution problem, or a park problem, or an air problem. But what we have in this country, really, is a war problem.

This year the federal government will spend just over 300 million dollars to help build sewage plants and to control air pollution. I have not been around Washington so long that I look upon this amount as a pittance, but compared to defense spending, that's just what it is.

Three hundred million dollars would run the Vietnam war for 4 days and 8 hours. It represents less than one percent of what we will spend this year on wars, past, present and future.

We are willing to pick up the tab—\$50 million a few weeks ago—for a submarine that sank immediately upon launching.

We were willing to pick up \$23 billion, according to Senator Symington, for 43 separate missile systems once deemed vital to the national security that were abandoned prior to deployment or rapidly became obsolete.

But we are not willing to pick up the tab to clean our rivers, our lakes, our air. And it is not only government that is at fault:

Private business each year spends billions of dollars—as they should—to advertise their products. They spend hundreds of millions more in research to bring forth new products. But, with very few exceptions, they are very unwilling to spend money to find out how to dispose of the products once they're discarded, or to clean up the wastes produced by their manufacture.

I really cannot believe that a nation which next month will land men on the moon cannot devise an auto exhaust control system that will clean up the air. I cannot really believe that a nation that each year produces 5 million cars cannot devise a means of disposing of their corpses, once they're worn out.

I am convinced that we will never build a livable environment in this nation—to say nothing of building a decent society, with decent housing and no hungry children—until we re-order our priorities.

I believe this very deeply, and I do not believe this makes me either a neo-isolationist or a pacifist. I believe arms are necessary for survival in the age in which we live. But I am no longer prepared to hand the military a blank check each year.

We are a nation bedazzled by technology and addicted to crash solutions. We are a pragmatic people, one whose first response, in facing any dilemma, is to look for an instant answer.

But this kind of mentality will no longer serve us, if we are to build an environment worthy of a man in this place, in this age.

This generation does not have the excuse of environmental ignorance that could perhaps justify the past excesses we have visited on the continent. We now know the effects of our actions. We can see, smell and touch the products of unwise resource management. They are all around us.

Until we act on this knowledge . . . until we somehow engineer into the very structure of government a system of determining the long-term effects of scientific change on the environment, we are, in a very real sense, playing Russian Roulette with our destiny.

There is this, and more:  
We hear a great deal nowadays about alienation; about a feeling of powerlessness that afflicts the poor and middle class alike.

I wonder if part of the reason for this public unhappiness, isn't a belief, on the feeling, which Paul Goodwin called "the part of many of us, that somehow we have lost control over our own destiny.

A case in point:  
The Mississippi flows past Winona here, and within the next few years, if present plans go through, radioactive wastes from a nuclear power plant upstream will be dumped in the river.

A million people in Twin Cities will be ingesting these materials with their drinking water.

Many of us fought this, both in Minnesota and Washington. We have not so far prevailed.

The public institutions charged with protecting the public interest in this and other matters are vast, unresponsive and remote. They contribute, in a very real sense, to the unease we feel, as individuals, over controlling our own destiny.

I am aware of all the legalisms that allowed this decision to be made; but that does not make it right. If a people do not have the right to influence a decision this basic, then they do not have much say in control of their own lives.

In the last speech he ever delivered, Adlai Stevenson summed up what I have attempted to say here today, in these words:

"We travel together, passengers on a little space ship, dependent on its vulnerable supplies of air and soil, preserved from annihilation only by the care, the work, and I will say the love, we give our fragile craft."

#### BEN S. GILMER SPEAKS ON THE UNIVERSITY AND THE NATURE OF CONFLICT

#### HON. ROBERT G. STEPHENS, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, recent campus disorders, and reactions to these disorders have their roots in a deep emotionalism. It is indeed a pleasure to read a balanced, reasoned examination of the situation by Mr. Ben S. Gilmer, president of American Telephone & Telegraph Co., delivered at the recent commencement exercises of the University of Georgia. Mr. Gilmer, a native of Alabama, was formerly the head of Southern Bell Telephone Co. He has had a

distinguished career in the field of public utilities.

Mr. Gilmer has accurately noted that what began as an idealistic impulse, has concluded in perspectives and tactics that became self-defeating. The politics of due process, with the public welfare as its goal, has been perverted into the politics of violence, creating a new authoritarianism, making tolerance and understanding increasingly difficult.

What is alarming is not so much the breakdown of tradition, but the desire to avoid the responsibilities and risks of participation. To ascend nobly above the "murgy establishment" is all too easy. Positive reform should be the real test of the dissident student, not merely his capacity to voice complaints.

I think this speech will be of interest to all of the Members of Congress. I submit it, therefore, for insertion in the RECORD:

ADDRESS BY BEN S. GILMER

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 recent 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 word 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 observations 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 of 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 manifestoes 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, historically adolescent, 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 distinguish 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 a 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 it 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 comprise what you may call the establishment. 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.

#### TWELFTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN A.A. TO MEET THIS MONTH IN PHILADELPHIA

### HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, S. 1997, the Alcoholism Care and Control Act, was introduced in April 29, 1969 by the distinguished senior Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS), the junior Senator from Utah (Mr. MOSS), and several other Senators on both sides of the aisle, of which I was privileged to be one.

Alcoholism afflicts 5 to 6 million Americans at an estimated annual cost to our economy of \$2 billion. There is an urgent need to rapidly increase our knowledge about the causes, prevention, and treatment of alcoholism because of its grave physical, psychological, and social harm.

The provisions of S. 1997 include measures which would provide for more effective prevention and treatment of alcoholism. The bill calls for the establishment of a Division of Alcoholism and Alcohol Problems in the National Institutes of Health. It amends the Community Mental Health Centers Act to strengthen that act to deal with alcoholism. It provides grants for alcoholism education, and establishes a special fellowship program to train personnel in the treatment of alcoholism.

In view of the introduction of this bill, and the widespread attention it has received, I invite the attention of the Congress to the 12th International Conference of Young People in A.A.—Alcoholics Anonymous—which will be held at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel in Philadelphia on July 25, 26, and 27. Over 1,000 young men and women from all over the United States, Canada, South America, and Europe will gather during this 3-day period to share their experiences. Their purpose will be to strengthen the bond of fellowship in Alcoholics Anonymous and to give serious attention to the problems involved in further combating the fourth largest health problem in the United States today—alcoholism.

Also gathering at this time will be the organizations of Al-Anon and Al-Ateen. The former is an organization for husbands or wives of members of A.A., or husbands or wives of people who still have an active drinking problem and have not yet found a recovery program. Al-Ateen is an organization comprised of the teenage children of alcoholic parents who have found strength in their own fellowship. These two organizations will have their own concurrent programs throughout the 3 days and will stage panel discussions by recognized authorities in the field of alcoholism.

I highly commend this effort on the part of young people in A.A. and Alcoholics Anonymous of the Philadelphia area, which is the host for the conference, in dealing with a serious problem that reaches so many Americans.

#### TV: AN ENEMY WEAPON

### HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, as we all know, there has been a long running controversy over the reporting of the Vietnam war by the television networks and both the critics and defenders of the networks have been quite vocal and spirited in presenting their case.

In that type of atmosphere, of course, both sides of the argument can become fuzzy and thus I was interested to note an editorial from the July 3, 1969, edition of the Peoria Journal Star. This editorial reports the views of three British guerrilla war experts on this question of television coverage of the war and how it can seriously hamper the military effort as well as causing serious complications on the homefront.

I urge my colleagues and my friends in the television news business to read the editorial carefully and to consider the views of these experts who are not involved in the political and personal controversies surrounding the war in Vietnam and can perhaps evaluate the situation a bit more objectively.

I include the editorial in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Peoria (Ill.) Journal Star, July 3, 1969]

#### TV: AN ENEMY WEAPON

(By C. L. Dancy)

A series of British guerrilla war experts backed by their successful experiences with this kind of "insurgency" in Burma, Malaysia, Borneo, and such gathered for a high-level seminar at Whitehall to examine and analyze the American war effort in Vietnam.

Here are some of the very interesting comments of experts not, themselves, involved in the political or personal intensities here in the U.S.

Phillip Goodhart:

"Two and a half years ago after a visit to Vietnam, I wrote to the American ambassador there, saying that the Vietcong cannot bear you, but I think the Columbia Broadcasting System and the New York Times can. I think basically this is true. America has lost the propaganda war. They have lost it because they tried to be too positive, too constructive, and they have tried to build up the South Vietnamese government, and society, rather than to concentrate on attacking the North Vietnamese.

"For reasons that are understandable, such as the murder of most of the effective members of the South Vietnamese administration, it is always going to be easy to find areas of government in South Vietnam that are inefficient and corrupt. In the relatively open society of South Vietnam it is going to be easy to pinpoint this in public.

"At the same time under the modern means of communication, the television, the picture magazines, they are really geared to



showing the American war machines at its most destructive.

"The American news machine is not geared to taking pictures of the Headman of the village who has had his arms cut off and has been disemboweled by the Vietcong. They are not geared for that because they are not there when it happens. So it goes unreported until it becomes another statistic that people do not really pay much attention to.

"So it is this concentration on the deficiencies of one's own side and allies rather than the nastiness of the enemy that has played a major part in the American defeat in the propaganda war. I think there is a lesson for us . . ."

Brigadier W. F. K. Thompson:

"Something which is appallingly difficult but which must be tackled is that new weapon of mass destruction of the will—television. Through the use of Television, the Americans in fact have been destroying their own will to win in Vietnam, and they have encouraged the other people to believe their will was being destroyed.

"Broadcast media appeals to the emotions rather than the intellects. I found that despite all my experience of wars, earthquakes, and so on, I had been brainwashed between my second and third visit to Vietnam. This is not entirely the fault of those who use the medium. All they do is report incidents. The receiver generalizes the incident to the whole area. You cannot start a television newscast or a news story by saying that in 95 per cent of Vietnam today nothing happened. Although that is what in point of fact happens most of the time.

"I have labored this point because I think this is one of the lessons we have to learn, and there is a very big question of how one fights the war in an open society . . .

"There is a great challenge in the world I believe to the whole of the open society, and I am not sure that we are meeting it. The Americans are defeating themselves, and I believe that we in the West may all defeat ourselves by this new weapon for the mass destruction of the will."

Michael Elliott-Bateman:

"If you examine communist theory you find time and again the statement that a war of liberation cannot succeed unless it has the support of the people in the ENEMY country. I think that by the very clever use of the American press and television, the North Vietnamese have achieved the support of many American people . . .

Much of the discussion was of technical details in operations in like areas of British interest, but there was no challenge or disagreement from any of the assembled expert observers with these generalizations.

The British, on the sidelines, save for their

concerns as an also "open society", were coldly candid.

The "test" of whether an "open society"—i.e. any free nation—can stand up to a "closed society" (Red dictatorship which stifles all adverse information) is their view of the most serious element in South Vietnam.

No doubt, an element in this is that mentioned in typical British style by Brigadier Thompson—what happens when the Red dictators reach the conclusion that with modern mass communications an open, "free speech" society cannot stand up against force?

This is a very large part of the very serious question of whether peace can be achieved, or wider wars encouraged, by any "settlement" in South Vietnam that achieves the Red objectives there.

It is, indeed, a deadly choice we face.

## PESTICIDE CONTROL

### HON. ALAN CRANSTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, the threat to our environment from the uncontrolled and careless broadcasting of hard pesticides on the farms and on the gardens of America is growing in alarming proportions. Particularly threatening are the persistent chlorinated hydrocarbons, which are called "hard" insecticides because they remain active and potent for years after application, unlike the "soft" insecticides such as malathion, which break down within a few weeks after application. Successive applications of "hard" pesticides are building up cumulatively in quantities which may threaten the human ecosystem for years to come, endangering the health and well-being of unborn generations.

This summer's issue of the magazine *Cry California* is devoted entirely to the subject "The Poison Free Garden." Of particular utility is a gardener's guide to pesticides.

I ask unanimous consent that the guide be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

## TAKE THIS SIMPLE APPROACH TO PEST CONTROL

1. Identify your pest problem. If necessary, check with knowledgeable gardening friends or neighbors or with your nurseryman or by reading *Sunset's Western Garden Book*.

2. Turn to the *Thoughtful Gardener's Guide* on the next pages and select the simplest control indicated (if it's a poison, choose the least toxic).

3. When you go to the poison store, tell the man what your pest is and the chemical you want to use to control it.

4. When you have the product he recommends, study the "active ingredient" list, which by law must be carried on each poison package. If it contains the specific active ingredient you asked for and no others, buy it, but buy the smallest quantity you feel is necessary.

5. If the package lists other active ingredients, make certain they are not chlorinated hydrocarbons. (See list in red ink at the top of the Guide.) If you're not sure, don't buy it. Often, for reasons of his own, the manufacturer will list mind-bending chemical names instead of generic names (i.e., 1,4,5,6,7,8,8 - heptachloro - 3a,4,7,7a-tetrahydro-4,7 methanoindene instead of heptachlor, or 1,2,3,4,10,10 - hexachloro - 1,4,4a,5,8,8a-hexahydro - 1,4 - endo-exo-5,8-dimethanonaphthalene instead of aldrin.)

6. Read the instructions for use carefully and follow them to the letter. If you must err, err on the conservative side. All poisons must be handled with great care and kept completely beyond the reach of children. Remember that while the *Thoughtful Gardener's Guide* has eliminated persistent poisons, it lists some very toxic compounds.

7. After you've gone through all this and your pest has been brought under control, ask yourself if it was worth the trouble. Most California gardens, if they are well watered, fed and maintained, grow with such a vigor that they can absorb sizable pest attacks with very little permanent damage and often with barely noticeable temporary damage.

A THOUGHTFUL GARDENER'S GUIDE: COMMON GARDEN INSECTS AND HOW TO CONTROL THEM WITHOUT WRECKING THE WORLD ECOSYSTEM

Kinds of controls: Any of those marked "x" are effective against the pests indicated. All poisons should be handled with great respect. Some are highly toxic to humans.

Cardinal Rule: Do not use any persistent chlorinated hydrocarbon insecticides. House and garden pest control products that contain Aldrin, Chlordane, DDD, DDT, Dieldrin, Endrin, Heptachlor, Kelthane, Lindane, Methoxychlor, Oxex, Tedion, Thiodan, Toxaphene, and other chlorinated hydrocarbon insecticides should all be avoided as though they were menaces to the well-being of the world. They are.

Common California garden pests and how you can recognize them	Botanicals: natural poisons extracted from plants (generally preferable to the synthetics)		Synthetics					Nonpoisonous controls			Miscellaneous
	Nicotine sulphate	Pyreth- rum <sup>1</sup>	Rotenone	Organic phosphates <sup>2</sup>		Car- baryl <sup>4</sup> (Sevin)	Systemics <sup>3</sup> (Di-syston and Meta- systox-R); poisons are absorbed by plants, kill sucking pests	Dormant oil; smothers the bugs	Water blast	Predators (birds, ladybugs, lacewings etc.); let them do the job if possible	
Sucking insects: Look for the creatures on tender buds, leaves, and stems. Watch for small black mold specks which grow on droplets of honeydew exuded by the bugs. Pest attacks result in stunted leaf and flower growth.											
Ants <sup>5</sup>				X <sup>7</sup>							Grant's Ant Stakes.
Aphids.....	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	
Leafhoppers.....	X	X		X	X		X		X		
Mealybugs.....				X			X		X		
Mites, red spiders.....							X		X		
Scale (hard and soft).....				X			X		X		Malathion plus oil.
Spittlebugs.....				X	X		X		X		
Thrips.....	X	X	X	X	X		X				
Whitefly.....		X		X			X	X			Do.
Footnotes at end of table.											

Footnotes at end of table.

Common California garden pests and how you can recognize them	Botanicals: natural poisons extracted from plants (generally preferable to the synthetics)			Synthetics					Nonpoisonous controls				Miscellaneous
	Nicotine sulphate	Pyreth- rum <sup>1</sup>	Rotenone	Organic phosphates <sup>2</sup>			Car- baryl <sup>4</sup> (Sevin)	Systemics <sup>3</sup> (Di-syston and Meta- systox-R); poisons are absorbed by plants, kill sucking pests	Dormant oil; smothers the bugs	Water blast	Predators (birds, ladybugs, lacewings, etc.); let them do the job if possible		
				Diazinon	Malathion	Dibrom <sup>3</sup>							
Chewing pests: These bugs eat holes in growing things:													
Caterpillars.....			X	X	X <sup>7</sup>	X	X					X	
Diabrotica.....		X	X	X		X	X						
Earwigs.....							X						
Grasshoppers.....				X			X						
Oak moths.....							X					X	
Snails, slugs.....													
Soil pests: These bugs are seldom seen, but if plants don't grow and thrive despite much water and fertilizer, they are probably your problem:													
Cutworms.....				X			X						
Lawn moths.....				X			X						
Wireworms.....				X									
Borers: Codling moths plant eggs in apples and relating fruits which grow into worms. Leaf miners eat the inside tissues of leaves. Borers eat into woody tissue and leave telltale tracks behind. Entomologists call the tracks "frass," which is a euphemism for worm droppings:													
Borers.....				X									
Codling moths.....							X						
Leaf miners.....				X				X					

<sup>1</sup> Use aerosol spray for housefly control.<sup>2</sup> Malathion safest to humans and pets; dibrom more toxic; and diazinon most toxic.<sup>3</sup> Dibrom is morbid spelled backwards.<sup>4</sup> A carbamate. Next to malathion, safest of the synthetics. Extremely toxic to honey bees.<sup>5</sup> High toxicity. On market for only 2 years; could yet prove to be undesirable for garden use.<sup>6</sup> Not a sucking insect, but they maintain sucking insect "herds."<sup>7</sup> Only moderately effective.<sup>8</sup> Do not use metaldehyde products which contain arsenicals.

## CAN WE CONTROL INFLATION?

## HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, I suppose some of my colleagues are getting tired of me speaking, like a broken record, of the need to cut waste and extravagance in Government spending as the first step in controlling inflation.

My sentiments, however, are shared widely by my constituents. Some of them, such as Gordon E. Duenow, editor of the Little Falls Daily Transcript, in our Minnesota Sixth Congressional District, go further and call for wage and price controls as a method of keeping inflation in check.

I would like to share, at this time, the editorial, "Can We Control Inflation," which appeared in the Little Falls Daily Transcript of June 24, 1969:

## CAN WE CONTROL INFLATION?

Nearly five million federal workers and military personnel—almost all the federal establishment not subject to presidential appointment—will share in a \$3.3 billion pay raise July 1 ordered by President Nixon. It is the final step under the 1967 Pay Reform Act aimed at bringing federal salaries and wages in line with private industry. The president's authority to change pay rates by executive order expires with this increase.

The 1.9 million classified employees, Foreign Service and Veterans Administration personnel will get an average 9.1 per cent raise in pay. The rank and file postal workers in the big clerk-carrier level will receive 4.1 per cent.

Almost every federal employee now will get more money, except Vice President Spiro Agnew. Some time ago Congress passed a law doubling the salary of the president while at the same time giving themselves a healthy increase but forgot the vice president. Since

then a law to correct this mistake failed to pass so Agnew still works for the same pay the office was worth when he was a candidate. In fact, Agnew, also didn't get his new house as Congress delayed action on a mansion for the vice president. Vice presidents always have been forced to find their own housing.

We've been hearing a great deal about fighting inflation and just last week President Nixon emphasized that he would take whatever action was necessary to curb inflation. Without weighing the pros and cons of this raise, and we know as well as any federal employees that the cost of living has shot up to almost unheard levels, we still think it is fair to ask what the effect of this pay increase will have on inflation. Some federal employees say that Washington landlords, parking lots and food stores already have raised prices in anticipation of the federal pay raise. Others say that higher prices have been ordered into effect July 1. This, coupled with the surtax and higher local taxes, will wipe out the pay increases for lower and middle grade workers. Inflation will snatch any gains out of the employee's hands before he can get it.

President Truman found it was necessary to have wage and price controls to curb inflation during the Korean War. They were necessary during World War II. They may be the only thing that will curb inflation during the Vietnam war. Few will want wage and price controls but sometimes we have to take our medicine to cure the disease whether we like it or not.

## TRIBUTE TO JOE McCAFFREY

## HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is a distinct pleasure for me to add my voice to those of my colleagues who have risen to congratulate Joe McCaffrey on the completion of 25 years of broadcasting.

For a free people to govern themselves successfully they must be given the facts. Joe McCaffrey has been one of the truly outstanding sources of those facts for many years. From the cacophony of competing voices and activities on Capitol Hill Joe continues to collect and distill the critical events with an insight bred of many years on the firing line. His reporting of those facts is consistently accurate and fair.

Mr. Speaker, my esteem for Joe McCaffrey is not confined to his responsible journalism. For a number of years he has been a valued personal friend of mine. I would not want to miss the opportunity to congratulate him on the occasion of his 25th year of service to the Nation as a broadcaster, and to wish him 25 more.

## IN MEMORIAM: DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER

## HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, following is the eulogy I wrote on the occasion of the passing of one of the greatest sons of our American Republic, Dwight David Eisenhower:

IN MEMORIAM: DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER, 1890-1969, GENERAL OF THE ARMY, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AMERICAN

"So he passed over, and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side."

A man of unfaltering kingly bearing that was complimented by a genuine native warmth and humility, he was by nature and by character as open and as free as the western plains and prairies of his youth. Few men ever sought less; he asked for nothing



more than the opportunity to serve, when called and where ordered. Few men ever received more; he is one of the scant handful of men in the history of our American Republic whose fellow citizens spontaneously and overwhelmingly elevated him to be a symbol in his own lifetime. And the symbol was not merely of an era, but of the country itself, and of its people, and of the ideals and the good in the two that were both existing and hoped for.

As soldier, as General, he directed the most awesome array of military might ever trusted to one man. It was his duty to order entire armies into some of the bloodiest combat in the history of warfare.

As statesman, as President, he gave to his country a Chief Executive with a commitment to peace that can only be known by one like himself who had carried the heaviest of the burdens and agonies of war. Six months after his First Inaugural in 1953, the guns of the Korean War fell silent. For the next seven and one-half years of his Presidency, not one American combat death occurred.

His call to serve—first as soldier, then as statesman—came from his own country, yet the scope of this service was truly worldwide. As soldier, millions in this country and abroad looked to him in time of war for the hope of victory and of liberation. As statesman, these same millions looked to him in time of peace as that symbol of the forces of good that had gained victory, and would strive to preserve the peace so dearly won.

Measure him, in part, by the nature of his critics, that small band of petty men whose stock in trade is the supercilious condemnation, the mocking jest, and arrogant condescension. Such trivia, such meanness, only made more clear the true nobility of his own character, and exposed more glaringly the shallowness of theirs.

The legacies he leaves to his fellow men are rich and many. But perhaps the greatest of them all is this: In a day when it sometimes seems that "image" is all, and that character counts for nothing, this man lived and practiced, openly and unashamedly, the old, simple precepts of "The Gods of the Copybook Headings."

The love, honor and respect that millions gave him has proven beyond any doubt that mankind is, and always will be, more receptive to, influenced by and appreciative of a basic, simple code of honor and decency such as this man practiced than all the false glitter and manufactured rhetoric that so quickly loses its luster.

The roll of the muffled drums, the rumble of the caisson wheels, and the clear, high notes of Taps will now mark the passing of one who carried and fulfilled some of the most momentous and difficult tasks ever placed upon one man. He passes into history, but he passes as one whose part in the constantly unfolding drama of human existence and civilization will be forever remembered. And the example he set by his life will be forever called to mind, wherever and whenever men lift up their eyes unto the hills, and seek from a Power beyond themselves that inner strength and support that man must have to prevail.

"Soldier from the wars returning  
Spiller of the taken town,  
Here is ease that asks not earning;  
Turn you in and sit you down.

"Peace is come and wars are over,  
Welcome you and welcome all,  
While the charger crops the clover,  
And his bridle hangs in stall.

"Now no more of winters biting,  
Filth in trench from fall to spring,  
Summers full of sweat and fighting  
For the Kesar or the King.

"Rest you, charger, rust you, bridle;  
Kings and Kesar, keep your pay;  
Soldier, sit you down and idle  
At the inn of night for aye."

ARTHUR CLARENDON SMITH, SR.—  
HE WAS A MAN

### HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, I departed Washington for my congressional district on official business and spoke at a meeting on economic development in an effort to raise local funds for the Southern West Virginia Economic Development Corp., the only operating multicounty economic development corporation in my home State, which was established under the provisions of the Economic Development Act.

On Sunday morning, while in my home in Bluefield, I was distressed and deeply saddened to learn from the Wednesday, July 2, edition of the Washington Post, that our Nation had lost, through death, one of the most patriotic, loyal, and outstanding citizens it has ever been my privilege to know, the very distinguished son of the District of Columbia, Arthur Clarendon Smith, Sr.

Arthur Clarendon Smith, Sr., was a most successful businessman because he devoted himself to his business and, at the same time, was extremely fair to each and every one of his customers whom he was privileged to serve.

One amazing fact about Mr. Smith was his ability to give unselfishly of his time and energies to civic and charitable causes and at the same time establish the Smith Transfer & Storage Co. with such full and complete success. I have seen Mr. Smith devote untold hours of his time and his capabilities in helping others and I admired the combination of kindness, understanding and honesty that his life represented. He was respected and loved by all who were fortunate enough to know him.

He was a man.

As a man of conviction, he never varied in principle and it would be impossible to estimate the untold thousands of people who have benefited because of the generosity, the compassion and the concern of Arthur Clarendon Smith, Sr. He firmly believed in the principles upon which our Nation was founded and as he once told me, "Water finds its own level."

By this simple and direct sentence, Arthur Clarendon Smith, Sr., believed that every individual has an opportunity in America to be successful in accordance with their interests, efforts and capabilities.

Arthur Clarendon Smith, Sr., was more than a devoted family man. While he insisted upon discipline in his home life, he was a wonderful husband and his late wife, the very lovely Elizabeth Smith, received the utmost in consideration and loving care. Especially during her lengthy fatal illness, Mr. Smith made every possible effort to be with her and generously gave her comfort in order that she would know he was by her side.

His children, Col. Arthur Clarendon Smith, Jr., and his late daughter, Mrs. Betty Lathrom, reflected utmost credit upon their family and I well remember Mr. Smith telling me several years ago

that he was turning the actual management of the Smith Transfer & Storage Co. over to his son. He was pleased to see that the company which he built himself continues to grow and prosper under the dedicated leadership of his son, Col. Arthur Clarendon Smith, Jr.

I extend my deepest sympathy to Mr. Smith's family and share with so very many others the loss of such a truly great man and a real friend.

### PRIZE-WINNING ESSAYS

### HON. R. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, it is a sincere pleasure to submit for publication in today's RECORD the following prize-winning essays by Norristown, Pa., area high school students. The topics, "The Primary Election Procedure" and "The 18-Year-Old's Right To Vote," are of continuing interest to my colleagues in the House, and the viewpoints of these four extremely bright students are expressed in an eloquent, succinct manner.

The essays follow:

THE IMPORTANCE OF PRIMARY ELECTIONS  
(By Miss Judith Hill, Norristown, Pa.)

The primary election is a substitute for the former caucus and nominating convention. The "primary" came into existence because nominations on the basis of a caucus only, tended to foster the development of political "bossism". Since the "primary" is an election conducted by public officials at public expense, it has taken the power of selecting candidates out of the hands of the "few" and placed it where it belongs, in the hands of the "many".

Why should this power be placed in the hands of the "many"? It should be so placed because it is generally true that when there are few in power, corruption will soon follow. In the old days, a party caucus or convention chose all party candidates. The system was subject to many abuses, and a frequent result of these abuses was that candidates were chosen, not upon the basis of their qualifications for office, but because of their political power. It would often happen that at election time the voters, faced with two bad candidates, could only take the best of the worst.

What a "primary" attempts to do is to offer the best candidates the different parties have, and to let the voters decide which one would best represent his party at the regular election. Thus, it becomes the voter's right to participate in the nomination of candidates, and to the degree that he exercises this right, to become a vital factor in securing better men for governmental posts.

### THE PRIMARY—ITS BENEFITS

(By Mr. Walter Rogan, Bridgeport, Pa.)

Free choice of leaders ranks as perhaps the most readily identifiable mark of a government OF, BY, and FOR the people. Such a concept necessitates the use of Primary Elections—a method which allows the greatest freedom of choice to voters.

Essentially, the purpose of any election is to insure the most accurate representation of the will of the voters. A Primary Election furthers this purpose by affording citizens the opportunity to choose, not only a specific party, but also the candidates to represent that party. The net result of this procedure

is the production of a meaningful campaign, rather than a cumbersome competition.

Promoting the integrity and unity of a party is the second major advantage of Primary Elections. The Primary victor represents the strongest party candidate for the job. This decision eliminates the destructive influences of personal warring, intraparty factions, and reunites the party into an organized, effective unit.

The third advantage concerns money. The expense involved in a large number of candidates running for office without party backing would be prohibitive for all but the wealthy. Such prohibition would eventually result in an aristocratic government, which directly violates the foundation upon which our society is built. In general, the cost of a Primary is within the reach of any dynamic office seeker and his backers, with the expense of the general election shared by the party.

Finally, the voter-time and energy required to gather data on eight or ten candidates is beyond the limits of time and energy available to most citizens. A two-or-three candidate election later facilitates the conscientious selection of a candidate.

In conclusion, although Primaries are occasionally inconvenient, causing two trips to the polls and an extended campaign, still, the advantages far outweigh the disadvantages. Therefore, the Primary Election remains a strong weapon for good government in the hands of a public-spirited, informed American.

#### SHOULD 18-YEAR-OLDS BE PERMITTED TO VOTE—YES!

(By Miss Mary Louise DiGiovanni, Norristown, Pa.)

Voting must involve not only the realization of accepting responsibility, but also the maturity of upholding the obligation. Individuals who cast their ballot without considering the outcome of the election, contribute impediments to the progress of society and may be referred to as citizens in name only.

Today's youth constitutes the leaders of tomorrow's world. Their courage and enthusiasm to promote the common good will reflect and advocate a change in the resignation and apathy of the adult world. At the age of eighteen, an individual's character and identity have been recognized by functioning in numerous ways as an adult. Teenagers maintain respectable jobs, pay income tax and also perform their duty abroad by striving to preserve our God given privilege of freedom.

Due to the continuous and rapid pace of today's world, today's teenager learns and comprehends much more about foreign and national affairs than their parents at the age of eighteen. This emphasizes a higher literacy rate today than in years past.

In determining whether an individual of eighteen illustrates candor and the tactics of proper evaluation, a distinction must be realized between irresponsible adolescents and mature young adults. Teenagers view society objectively and refuse to be influenced and misguided by their parents' prejudicial opinions.

The privilege of voting entails a mature understanding of the world situation and the selection of the individual best qualified to fulfill the duty of upholding the standards of America. Eighteen year olds evince to America these necessary qualities.

#### SHOULD 18-YEAR-OLDS BE PERMITTED TO VOTE—No!

(By Miss Judy VanHouten, Norristown, Pa.)

Should the voting age be lowered? Definitely not! Just because boys have reached the point of being physically mature enough to fight wars doesn't mean they have the

mental maturity to pick our country's leaders. In fact, many times it is the military training that gives these boys the mental maturity to select a person to lead. Along with this fact is the point that there are too many boys standing on street corners doing more harm than good for their country. Should they vote?

The young people of today are much too easily moved by an idea or a personality, and they tend to ignore the rest of the picture. This point can easily be illustrated by looking at many areas in the United States, especially at college campuses. They tend to go out and work on the basic idea without any regard to how others think. In selecting leaders, a great deal of time and research is needed to obtain a complete picture and a fairly true one. It's true that too many adults today don't do the amount of research which is necessary for voting, but young people do even less in most cases. Young people also lack the experience of living as an independent person; thus they may go for ideas which really aren't as good as they are made to sound.

Boys who are old enough to be drafted might easily vote against a person who favors the draft, but without the draft our country wouldn't have enough men to defend the country.

Let the people with the knowledge and experience pick the leaders. When the young people are old enough to vote they may be very glad they had to wait. It's a very difficult thing to pick wisely the men under whose leadership one has to live, and a person needs all the background he can get to make such a momentous decision.

#### SIXTY-EIGHT MINUS ONE EQUALS—SEVENTY-TWO

### HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, all of us in political life have, I am sure, many indelible impressions of 1968. It was a year full of excitement and change, tragedy and disappointment. The kaleidoscopic activity, the frenzy, the enthusiasm, and the heartbreak tend now to be only remembrances. However, 1968 was more than faint images or fading memories. It was a watershed period in the politics of our country. A year in which the political process was opened up, however briefly, to millions of Americans who saw the promise and the hope that this country holds.

Countless articles have been written about the meaning of 1968. One of the most eloquent has recently been put forth by Sean Downey. Many of us know Sean as a good and valued friend. The eloquence of his reminiscences lie in their personalism. In 1968 Sean was part of something larger than a campaign—he was part of an idea, an idea concerning America. An America that represented change not cynicism; hope not hopelessness. His thoughts have recently been assembled in a book of prose and poetry entitled "Quiet Thoughts Make the Loudest Noise." His outline of 1968 is entitled "Sixty-Eight Minus One Equals—Seventy-Two."

I feel Sean's thoughts would be of interest to many of his friends here in the House, and I include them at this point:

#### SIXTY-EIGHT MINUS ONE EQUALS—SEVENTY-TWO

(By Sean Downey)

We had only moved to Washington  
Seven days earlier  
And  
Packing cases still served as everyday catch-alls  
For papers, coats, and  
Overlapping cigarettes, with their cold curling ashes  
That had had  
The good sense to stop burning  
As they kissed the now yellowed green pine.  
I'm not sure how long I'd been sleeping in  
my morning bath  
But  
My prune wrinkled fingers  
Could hardly hold the newspaper  
Joanie handed me  
Announcing his Candidacy.  
"Where's Dodge House" I bellowed  
Bruising my big toe as it shot across the wet tiles

And  
Wedged beneath the bathroom door.  
"I just got here too!"  
She laughingly admonished  
Tossing a towel,  
And  
Closing the door.

Her voice filtered back  
Through the double plywood,  
As  
She tried to explain to Tracey and Kelli  
Why Daddies sometimes used bad words  
When they hurt their big toes.  
Washington's an active town  
Any time of year,  
But  
On this particular day  
It took on an electric air of urgency,  
The battle lines  
Firmly and  
Finally drawn.  
The magic of another Kennedy name  
Back in the game.

Within a week Dodge House was  
Making way for the larger  
2000 "L" St. headquarters, which, like  
A giant political sponge  
Was absorbing the great and near great  
Of contemporary American history  
And their Corps of mini skirted mannequins  
Who would make the wagon roll.  
Roll it did,  
As the New York Senator  
Spark plugged the machine into full motion.  
Teenaged volunteers darted about the  
Floors like children at a county fair.  
Old timers did the same,  
Leaping over phones on the floor  
And twisted  
Wires that made the workrooms  
Look like giant serpent tanks  
At a highway snake farm.  
Nance and Cricket chirped  
Hourly bulletins from the boiler  
Room.

Joey handled phones in scheduling  
Like angry lizards that were about  
To devour him as he relayed  
Instructions to beleaguered advance  
Men in the field, who may have  
Thought they were about to visit  
The pleasure capitols of the world  
But instead found themselves  
With one way tickets to Plaquemines,  
Louisiana, Sitka, Alaska or  
Las Cruces, New Mexico.  
Little Judy bummed cigarettes every day  
And when they ran out, switched  
To someone's cigar excusing herself for  
Half a day because of illness soon thereafter.  
Everyone performed magnificently.  
Angelique, the office Mother Superior soothing  
The hurt feelings of a political science  
Major in one office, and a Presidential  
Advisor in another.



Generation gap was the name of a Singing group for all we knew, as Sixteen to sixty worked in dedicated Unison.

Weekends saw a headquarters invasion of The Senator's home, Hickory Hill For swimming, tennis, touch football And a mental rubdown for any Uptightness that may have developed In the previous week.

Melody would have shamed Joe Namath, as she rocketed The ball forty fast yards into the Arms of Dun a friendly giant Who had just made all the Moves of a professional flanker back Only to bobble the bauble, then Fall to the ground in hysterics Knowing this miscue would invite Good natured ribbing for days to come.

The bandwagon rolled across Indiana, Hit bumpy Road in Oregon, But again found Superhighway as It crossed California.

Then! Before our lips could slip from the cup Of victory

The nectar of hope was spilled to A dirty kitchen floor of the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles.

"He saw wrong, and tried to right it." The young Senator from Massachusetts Momentarily faltered, and then, as if Gaining strength from his fallen Brother, his now firm but sorrowful Voice rang out. "He saw suffering and Tried to heal it." "He saw war and Tried to stop it"

Then, prayerful silence And only the Bishop's Voice, strong From the Knowledge of God's mercy To good and brave men could be heard.

Organ music reverberated thru the Old Cathedral.

"Mine eyes have seen the glory of the Coming of the lord: Andy Williams Sang.

And His voice bathed in sorrow cracked.

But The pride in thousands Picked up the soulful chant. "He is trampling out the vintage Where the grapes of wrath are stored": Row Upon

Row of grief wracked followers, Sunken cheeks replacing their years Ago happy faces, sang proudly for Their departed friend, their final Hope

And Wondered why a man must die To be a hero, and whether We honor only those our own Selfish hearts destroy.

Who would lead us now. The afternoon paper had Everyone carrying on like those Same children at a county Fair again.

Smiles splashed across faces Old before their time Maybe there was hope. Andy Vitall read the headlines "Senator Edward Kennedy challenges Russell Long for Whips post."

"The Beginning."

#### TRIBUTE TO MRS. ASPINALL

#### HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, many of us are greatly saddened by the loss of

a fine lady and a dear friend, Mrs. Julia Aspinall. She made a great contribution to all our lives by her friendly, constructive attitude, and her cheerful demeanor.

Mrs. Brotzman and I extend our deepest sympathy to Chairman WAYNE ASPINALL and the members of the family.

#### GUIDELINES FOR COMBATING CAMPUS DISORDERS

#### HON. RICHARD (DICK) ICHORD

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, it is heartening to observe that college administrators are taking advantage of the summer respite from campus disorders to devise ways of forestalling such disorders when classes resume in the fall.

It is even more encouraging to learn that the latest proposals demonstrate a firm determination by college administrators to first, refuse to negotiate with future student protesters under duress; and second, deny requests for amnesty for civil or criminal lawbreakers.

These principles were among 12 guidelines recommended to all American university and college presidents by nine of the presidents who conferred June 11 and 12 at the John La Farge Institute in New York City. The recommendations followed an exchange of views on campus disorders during the past academic year, according to an account in the New York Times.

The House Committee on Internal Security recently concluded 2 days of public hearings into disruptions by Students for a Democratic Society at Kent State University in Kent, Ohio, during the last school year. After the hearings, I announced that the actions of Kent State administrators showed that proper and timely planning by universities, coupled with continuing study and review of policies and procedures, is essential if problems arising from planned mass disruptions of college campuses are to be handled adequately.

I insert at this point in my remarks the article from the New York Times of July 1 which sets forth the 12 guidelines proposed by the college presidents assembled at the John La Farge Institute. A constructive, far-sighted approach is clearly not limited to Kent State University. The article follows:

CAMPUS DISORDER GUIDE DRAFTED—NINE COLLEGE HEADS URGE FIRM STAND AGAINST REBELS' TACTICS

(By M. S. Handler)

Nine university and college presidents urged yesterday that their colleagues across the country refuse to negotiate with student protesters under duress and reject requests for amnesty in civil and criminal cases.

The presidents drew up their guidelines after meeting in an informal conference June 11 and 12 at the John La Farge Institute, 106 West 56th Street. The conference, convened to exchange views on the disorders that wracked American campuses in the last academic year, was financed by a grant from the Knights of Columbus. More private sessions are planned for the future.

The conference was organized by the Rev. Thurston N. Davis, director of the John La

Farge Institute, which was founded in 1964 in memory of the Rev. John La Farge, the Jesuit who was the editor of America magazine.

The conference was held under the chairmanship of Dr. Dumont F. Kenny, president of York College, a branch of the City University in Flushing, Queens. Other City University college presidents who participated were Dr. James A. Colston, Bronx Community College, and Dr. Joseph P. McMurray, Queens College.

#### DONOVAN A PARTICIPANT

Participants from private institutions were James B. Donovan, Pratt Institute, Brooklyn; Arthur O. Davidson, Wagner College, Staten Island; Clifford Lord, Hofstra University, Hempstead, L.I., the Rev. Gregory Nugent, Manhattan College, a Roman Catholic institution, Riverdale; William G. Caples, Kenyon College, Gambler, Ohio, and J. Osborn Fuller, Fairleigh Dickinson University, Rutherford, N.J.

Dr. Kenny and Dr. McMurray met with reporters yesterday at the John La Farge Institution. Dr. Kenny said that college and universities of the United States "cannot take the battering" they sustained in the last academic year without affecting the delicate fabric of university life.

"A campus," he said, "is not as thick skinned as a city hall or an army division."

Dr. McMurray said that had guidelines been more clearly outlined during the last academic year, the country's campuses would have seen less violence. Queens College, of which Dr. McMurray is president, was the scene of prolonged disruptions that led to police intervention.

#### GUIDELINES ARE LISTED

The 12 guidelines recommended by the La Farge Institute conference to all American university and college presidents are similar to the policy guidelines issued by the Board of Higher Education of New York following the disruptions on the campuses of the City University's colleges. The guidelines are:

1. Clear-cut policies and procedures to be followed in case of campus violence or disorder must be thought through, established and published.

2. There should be no negotiation of demands under duress, i.e., when personnel are detained or buildings occupied. It must be made clear to all that there can be no amnesty for civil or criminal lawbreakers.

3. Students should be reminded of the major stake they have in answering and implementing a basic question of college governance: "Who represents the students?" When student governments are representative and legitimate, college administrations should support them against the challenges of "coalitions" and "ad hoc committees," generally a tiny minority purporting to speak for the students.

4. University faculties must face up to their responsibilities in dealing with unprofessional and irresponsible conduct of those few faculty members who have engaged in such practices as manipulating and irritating students for their own partisan and political goals.

5. Since sensational press coverage and mass media exposure are goals of the more militant activists, media representatives must be made to realize that mass media exploitation of a campus disturbance has always exacerbated it, while restrained and responsible coverage has caused many campus disturbances to fade quickly.

6. Student confidence in their faculty and administration can be enhanced by giving responsible students a chance to "carry the ball."

#### A NEED FOR RECOGNITION

7. Student actions must be assessed against their needs for personal recognition, status and partisan interests. Administrators must listen very carefully to what students really mean when stating "demands!"

8. The methods and instrumentality for responding to student demands or disorders should be appropriate and proportional, e.g., the printed page versus verbal message, a large assembly versus a small, representative group.

9. Faculty involvement and support must be gained by involving faculty members early enough so that the "problem" is also their problem.

10. "Layers" of response should be prepared to prevent escalation of issues and help defuse crises. Since trivial or imaginary issues may grow into major demonstrations and disorders, it is important that faculty and administrators respond to all situations quickly in order to dispel rumors, correct misinformation, or provide time to take the steam out of irrational urges and inventions.

11. With much campus structure and function politicalized and stereotyped, informal occasions and events should be provided to bring together faculty, students, and administrators in nonformal and unofficial ways.

12. Channels of continuing communication must be maintained and care taken to "fill-in" each incoming freshman class so that they have some understanding of the antecedents of current situations.

**BEN NATHANSON, PUBLISHER AND  
COMMUNITY LEADER**

**HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 8, 1969*

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that at a time when newspaper mergers have resulted in many one-newspaper towns across the country, a healthy development in the newspaper industry has been the growth and development of weekly community newspapers.

The foremost practitioner of the art of developing good weekly newspapers in the State of Michigan is Mr. Ben Nathanson, publisher of the Community News, East-Side Newspapers, and Northwest Suburban Newspapers.

In contrast to the many weeklies which are nothing more than give-away copies filled with advertising, Ben Nathanson has developed newspapers which have close ties with the community and report on community news. Not only do his papers tell about social happenings but discuss critical problems of race relations, crime, politics, urban redevelopment, and war and peace.

The Nathanson newspapers now serve 200,000 families in the tricity area in and around Detroit.

The Michigan Legislature recently hailed Ben Nathanson's 30 years as a publisher in a concurrent resolution. Having received permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, the resolution follows:

**HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION No. 118**

A concurrent resolution saluting the Nathanson newspapers for community services

Whereas Michigan's largest group of weekly suburban newspapers, comprising nine basic publications and sixteen editions, opened its new headquarters in East Detroit on a two acre site at Ten Mile and Macomb Street, with central offices for two of the main groups, the East Side Newspapers and the Community News; and

Whereas the East Side Newspapers publish

the East Side Shopper, East Side Booster and East Side Express in Detroit, Harper Woods Community News and Grosse Pointe Press; the Macomb County editions of the Community News are issued for Mount Clemens, Saint Clair Shores, East Detroit, Roseville, Fraser, Clinton Township, Warren and Center Line. Completing the group are the Northwest Suburban Newspapers acquired April 1968, with mastheads of the Northwest Detroit, Southfield Record and Oak Park News. The Nathanson newspapers serve some 200,000 families in the tri-county area in and around Detroit; and

Whereas in March of this year, Mr. Ben Nathanson, publisher, celebrated thirty years of phenomenal success which began in 1939 with his East Side Shopper, then titled the East Jefferson Shopper, with office operations for its first two years conducted from his 1937 Chevrolet and an accommodation address supplied by a friendly neighbor; and

Whereas, Mr. Nathanson's weekly column, "Slants on the News", was awarded the Michigan Press Association's honor for excellence in editorial column writing. The Southeastern Detroit Community Council awarded Mr. Nathanson a citation for outstanding community service; and in 1961 the Catholic Interracial Council of Detroit honored him the Blessed Martin Award for his outstanding contributions to human relations; and

Whereas, the volunteer civic activities which crowd Mr. Nathanson's compressed schedule exceeds delineation herein, but includes key executive posts with the Jewish Community Council of Detroit, the Michigan Anti-Defamation League, the Citizens for Schools, the Detroit Citizens Advisory Committee for School Needs, Citizens Advisory Committee for Equal Educational Opportunities; and he serves similarly the National Newspaper Association and the Wayne State University Press Club. His strength of character and personal integrity are founded in a deep, abiding respect for the individual, and these qualities permeate his lifework with and for his fellowmen: Now, therefore be it

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring),* That by these presents tribute be accorded to salute Mr. Ben Nathanson and his staff for newspapers of widespread influence to bind with neighborly communication a large segment of Michigan society and which operate to offset the depersonalization of the twentieth century and maintain a valuable community sense of unity.

Adopted by the House May 1, 1969.

T. THOS. THATCHER,

*Clerk of the House of Representatives.*

Adopted by the Senate May 15, 1969.

BERYL I. KENYON,

*Secretary of the Senate*

**TRIBUTE TO JOE McCAFFREY**

**HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS**

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 8, 1969*

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, few journalists have so honored their profession and made so great a contribution to responsible journalism as has Joe McCaffrey, able commentator for WMAL television and radio in Washington.

In marking his 25th year as a broadcaster, Joe has received richly deserved praise and congratulations for this milestone in a brilliant career.

While others choose the path of cheap sensationalism, defrauding the public through distortion, misrepresentation,

contrived emotionalism, and substitution of personal prejudice for fact, Joe McCaffrey gets the news, gets it first, gets it all, gets it straight, and gives it straight.

It is common knowledge in the Halls of Congress that no one knows and covers the Capitol Hill "beat" like Joe McCaffrey, and 5 minutes of his news program can often be more enlightening than several days in the House Chamber.

Yet, while he is thorough, he is fair. One does not have to be a proponent of only one point of view or a candidate for the Presidency to be a potential source of news for Joe. News is news, and Joe McCaffrey is clearly a "newsman's newsman".

Through his demonstrated high degree of professionalism and competence and his characteristic amiability, Joe enjoys and has earned the respect of people in and out of his profession, and in and out of Government.

I extend my heartiest congratulations and best wishes to Joe McCaffrey for 25 years of personal accomplishment and service to Congress and the Nation.

**A BILL TO CORRECT AN ERROR IN  
OUR NATIONAL LABOR LAW**

**HON. EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 8, 1969*

Mr. ESHLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill which is intended to correct 10 years of error in our national labor law. My bill is designed to stop once and for all a serious secondary boycott loophole that has been allowed to work extreme hardship on the construction industry.

A secondary boycott is a technique used by unions to force neutral workmen and neutral business firms to take the union's side in a labor dispute at the peril otherwise of themselves becoming union boycott victims.

In 1959 the House version of corrective labor law reform outlawed hot cargo contracts when section 8(e) was written into the initial draft of what eventually was to become the Landrum-Griffin amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act.

This section made it an unfair labor practice for a union and an employer to agree to stop doing business with another employer or to stop handling his products. In other words, section 8(e) banned voluntary secondary boycott contracts.

But, during the House-Senate conference on Landrum-Griffin, a proviso applicable to the construction industry was inserted which reads:

*Provided, That nothing in this subsection (e) shall apply to an agreement between a labor organization and an employer in the construction industry relating to the contracting or subcontracting of work to be done at the site of the construction, alteration, painting, or repair of a building, structure or other work.*

This loophole created 8 years of judicial sparring until the Supreme Court decided the National Woodwork Manu-



facturers Association case by a 5-to-4 decision in April of 1967.

The Supreme Court held in that case that a union could refuse to install pre-cut doors in a housing project if the contractor was not bound by agreement to use them and if the union was able to show that the use of such doors interfered with the union's traditional work at the construction site. The majority, in effect, opened the door for certain product boycotts so as to permit goods to be kept off the public markets unless they first have the sanction of certain unions. The proviso I have mentioned gave the court majority cause to render this decision.

Under this theory few technological advances in the construction field can escape a labor union's secondary boycott.

But the proviso I have mentioned has legalized still a further evil. Under the protection of its language the powerful building trades unions have been able in many areas to monopolize big construction jobs for the unions. They do this usually by getting general contractors to agree to do business only with subcontractors whose employees are union members.

Once such an agreement is made it is enforceable and subcontractors in the area whose employees have not chosen to organize are frozen out of important construction projects. This practice is wrong in part because it violates the spirit of our labor laws by forcing unions on employees who have not freely chosen to be represented by a union. It is wrong also because it monopolizes the bidding on construction projects and thereby artificially inflates building costs to the great detriment of the public.

My bill closes these secondary boycott loopholes in the construction industry by deleting the exemption for the industry. It puts employers and union officials in the building trades on the same equal footing with others in the world of labor-management relations. There is no reason why certain unions or certain employers should be given privileges others do not have. If secondary boycotts and hot cargo agreements are bad for the Nation, how can they be good for the construction industry?

The need for the legislation I am introducing today is obvious. In this period of extreme building costs, much of which arise from extreme wage demands and union restrictions, the attempt by certain groups within the building industry to maintain higher costs by excluding certain products and certain subcontractors from the market should not be permitted. My bill would go a long way in halting restrictive work practices and featherbedding. It would restore freedom to the construction industry—the freedom to use whatever products and subcontractors the constructors desire.

As a member of the House Education and Labor Committee, I will urge the committee to put an end to these boycotts now permitted under the section 8(e) proviso for the construction industry. I believe that my bill is the proper vehicle to accomplish this goal that will benefit all Americans.

## FLORIDA MEMBERS INTRODUCE ANTISMUT LEGISLATION

### HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, the nine Florida Democratic Members of the U.S. House of Representatives today are introducing legislation patterned after a New York State statute upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court to prohibit pornographic materials going to America's youth.

The Members—ROBERT L. F. SIKES, Crestview; CHARLES E. BENNETT, Jacksonville; JAMES A. HALEY, Sarasota; DANTE B. FASCELL, Miami; PAUL G. ROGERS, West Palm Beach; CLAUDE D. PEPPER, Miami; DON FUQUA, Altha; SAM M. GIBBONS, Tampa, and BILL CHAPPELL, Ocala—have written the Attorney General for a report on the bill, and called on the House Judiciary Committee to hold hearings on the legislation.

Under the legislation, it would be a violation of Federal law to knowingly sell, offer for sale, loan, deliver, distribute, or provide to a minor in interstate commerce or through the mails material which is defined as "harmful to minors" under the bill.

It would further be a Federal crime under the bill to knowingly exhibit to a minor a motion picture, show, or presentation which falls in the "harmful to minors" category.

For some time the Supreme Court has recognized that "obscenity is not within the area of constitutionally protected speech of press." In April of last year the Supreme Court held in Ginsberg against New York (390 U.S. 629), that a New York statute was constitutional which prohibited the sale to persons under 17 years of age of materials defined to be obscene to them even though the same material might not be obscene to adults.

This bill is patterned after the New York statute which was upheld in the Ginsberg case. It would appear from the Court's decision that this approach to the problem of keeping smut out of the hands of our youth would be held constitutional.

The Congress has the power under the Constitution to regulate interstate commerce. That is what this bill would do, and we do not believe any constitutional freedoms are being violated.

The bill would further remove the appellate jurisdiction on the factual issue of harmfulness to minors, that is, whether a particular material or movie is "harmful to minors" as defined by the bill. What might be considered "harmful to minors" in some areas might not be considered such in other areas. We believe it would be beneficial to permit varying decisions on this point in the district courts, and the Congress is within its constitutional powers in so limiting the appellate jurisdiction.

The flow of smut material to our youth is reaching alarming proportions. Our youth must be protected. With our mod-

ern means of communications and transportation, it is almost impossible for parents to keep this type of material out of the hands of their children. Pornographic movies and obscene material can lead to antisocial behavior among our young people, and contributes to juvenile delinquency and all types of sordid behavior. Examples of this degeneracy are found in national magazines and other periodicals and films.

We are hopeful that committee action can soon be taken on this proposal so that the youth can be protected from the ever-increasing smut traffic in this country.

A copy of the bill follows:

A bill to prohibit the dissemination through interstate commerce or the mails of materials harmful to persons under the age of eighteen years, and to restrict the exhibition of movies or other presentations harmful to such persons

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) chapter 71 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new section:*

"§ 1466. Exposing minors to harmful materials

"(a) It shall be unlawful for any person knowingly—

"(1) to sell, offer for sale, loan, or deliver in interstate commerce or through the mails to any minor—

"(A) any picture, photograph, drawing, sculpture, motion picture film, or similar visual representation or image of a person or portion of the human body which depicts nudity, sexual conduct, or sado-masochistic abuse and which is harmful to minors; or

"(B) any book, pamphlet, magazine, printed matter, however reproduced, or sound recording which contains explicit and detailed verbal descriptions or narrative accounts of sexual excitement, sexual conduct, or sado-masochistic abuse and which taken as a whole, is harmful to minors, or

"(2) to exhibit to a minor a motion picture, show, or other presentation which—

"(A) has moved in interstate commerce or through the mails,

"(B) depicts nudity, sexual conduct, or sado-masochistic abuse, and

"(C) is harmful to minors.

"(b) Whoever violates this section shall be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned for not more than five years, or both, for the first offense, and shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned for not more than ten years, or both, for any second or subsequent offense.

"(c) As used in this section—

"(1) The term 'minor' means any person under the age of eighteen years.

"(2) The term 'nudity' means the showing of the human male or female genitals, pubic area, or buttocks with less than a full opaque covering, the female breast with less than a fully opaque covering of any portion below the top of the nipple, or the depiction of covered male genitals in a discernibly turgid state.

"(3) The term 'sexual conduct' means acts of masturbation, homosexuality, sexual intercourse, physical contact with a person's clothed or unclothed genitals, pubic area, or buttocks, or, in the case of a female, physical contact with her breast.

"(4) The term 'sexual excitement' means the condition of human male or female genitals in a state of sexual stimulation or arousal.

"(5) The term 'sado-masochistic abuse' means flagellation or torture by or upon a

person clad in undergarments, a mask, or bizarre costume, or the condition of being fettered, bound, or otherwise physically restrained on the part of one so clothed.

"(6) The term 'harmful to minors' means that quality of any description or representation, in whatever form, of nudity, sexual conduct, sexual excitement, or sado-masochistic abuse, which—

"(A) predominantly appeals to the prurient, shameful, or morbid interest of minors;

"(B) is patently offensive to prevailing standards in the adult community as a whole with respect to what is suitable material for minors; and

"(C) is utterly without redeeming social importance for minors.

"(7) The term 'knowingly' means having general knowledge of, or reason to know, or a belief or ground for belief which warrants further inspection or inquiry of—

"(A) the character and content of any material described in subsection (a) which is reasonably susceptible of examination by the defendant, and

"(B) the age of the minor."

(b) The table of sections for chapter 71 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

"1466. Exposing minors to harmful materials."

Sec. 2. (a) The Supreme Court shall not have jurisdiction under section 1252 or 1253 of title 28, United States Code, to review any determination made under section 1466 of title 18, United States Code, that any material described in subsection (a) of that section is harmful to minors.

(b) The courts of appeals shall not have jurisdiction under section 1291 or 1292 of title 28, United States Code, to review any determination made under section 1466 of title 18, United States Code, that any material described in subsection (a) of that section is harmful to minors.

Sec. 3. This Act and the amendments made by this Act shall take effect on the sixtieth day after the date of the enactment of this Act.

## WILLIAM R. BOWDOIN SPEAKS ON THE NATURE OF DISSENT AND ITS PLACE IN SOCIETY

### HON. ROBERT G. STEPHENS, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished former colleague, Congressman Carl Vinson, has brought to my attention a thought-provoking speech by Mr. William R. Bowdoin, vice chairman of the board of the Trust Co. of Georgia, delivered at the graduation ceremonies on June 6, 1969, at Georgia College in Milledgeville, Ga. Mr. Bowdoin was chairman of the Bowdoin Commission which conducted a study and issued an informative report on efficiency in government during the administration of former Gov. Carl Sanders.

I think this speech will be of interest to all of the Members of Congress. I submit it, therefore, for insertion in the RECORD:

ADDRESS BY WILLIAM R. BOWDOIN

Dr. Bunting, Members of the Graduating Class, Trustees, Staff, Faculty, Parents and Friends of Georgia College.

On the pages of this fine institution's illustrious history are recorded the names of many renowned individuals who have vis-

ited here and have been honored by an invitation to speak to the student body. I am privileged to stand where they have stood, but I cannot lay claim to their great accomplishments. It is regrettable I do not possess the eloquence of diction to properly express my deep appreciation for the honor you have accorded, so I will just resort to two of the nicest words in the English language and say, thank you.

The ceremony today signifies satisfactory completion of the first major endeavor of the members of this class. I shall remember with unbounded pride the opportunity to share the occasion with you. The grey clouds of sadness a time of parting at graduation often brings will soon be rolled back by the sunshine of opportunity and challenge that awaits each of you in a changing world.

Whatever course you may chart for your career, the greatest opportunity for proper influence and leadership in mending a torn society is yours to a higher degree than at any time in our history.

I could attempt to speak in platitudes with emphasis for this occasion on the goodness of all your surroundings. That would be an imposition on your tolerance and an insult to your intelligence. That unfortunately is not the kind of society and world into which you now move.

Therefore, I will speak briefly about your new environs and responsibilities you have toward the preservation and expansion of a decent society.

My remarks will be addressed primarily to members of the graduating class, but I hope parents and friends will listen because you, too, have a continuing responsibility to these wonderful young ladies and gentlemen.

Some of you no doubt will disagree with my comments. That is still your privilege and I pray that you never lose it.

When you receive your diploma this morning, you cross the threshold into full citizenship. As one of a generation over thirty, I welcome you. We want and need your help because we respect and trust you.

The relatively few years since the members of your class first saw the light of day have brought many changes in the philosophy and activities of our people. Some have been for the better, others leave a big question. Some have been necessary; some have been an imposition.

Let us draw any erroneous conclusions about my attitude, I want to make it crystal clear that I do not share a feeling of hopelessness for our country's future expressed by the fainthearted. I do, however, have a strong feeling of concern about the growing disease of apathy infecting too many of our people. I am concerned that we are using tolerance as an excuse instead of the virtue it is. I am concerned that we permit the extreme minorities to reflect adversely upon the vast majority of decent people of all ages.

I am concerned that today as never before in our history we are prepared to be the masters of our own destiny, yet never have we been so confused about where that destiny lies.

We seem to have forgotten that what is now the United States was a great land when it was discovered, but it took men and women of character, courage, vision, ability, faith and understanding to make it a great nation. Only the dominance of these qualities can keep it great. These qualities cannot be determined by the color of a man's skin, but only by the dedication and loyalty within his heart.

Proof of this is the great work of Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver, and the late Dr. Rufus Clement, for thirty years president of Atlanta University. The strong character and gentle but firm and able hand of these dedicated men have made a contribution to the educational and cultural well-being of our area and nation that will benefit people of all races for generations to come, if their teachings are heeded.

I do not subscribe to the philosophy that this nation was built by the common people as often suggested. It was built by uncommon people. Uncommon in the sense of possessing a desire to work, a willingness to sacrifice if need be, to study, to build upon a firm foundation of loyalty and understanding among all people. Undergirded by this philosophy, the uncommon people have pointed the way to a better life for all who follow their example and leadership.

One of the former heroes of France, Marshal Petain, after France's fall in World War II, said, "Our spirit of enjoyment was stronger than our spirit of sacrifice. We wanted to have more than we wanted to give. We spared effort and met disaster."

There is mounting evidence everywhere today that more and more basically good people are doing nothing to correct an apathetic attitude toward the preservation and proper expansion of those basic fundamental principles upon which this nation was founded—reverence for God, loyalty to country, respect for the law, and the proper discharge of individual responsibility.

These are the principles that through the years have inspired young men and women to dream dreams and older men and women to work for a future they will probably never live to see—principles for which men have fought and given their lifeblood to preserve from Valley Forge to Vietnam.

These are the principles that for generations have been the rallying point to build courage when courage seemed to fail—to regain faith when there seemed little cause for faith, and to create hope when hope becomes forlorn.

Today this great bulwark of inspiration and strength is being pressured by every available means that can be dreamed up by those who would like to see it crumble and fall—those who would have us believe the pattern of their action was set by our forebears in 1776. Nothing could be more incorrect.

Those gallant men and women of 1776 were teachers, doctors, preachers, farmers, merchants, bankers, lawyers, hunters and fishermen. They owned their businesses, their land, practiced their professions and, under God, had hopes of growing in affluence and influence as the result of their abilities and hard work. They were not ordinary people voicing ordinary complaints. The men who fought under Washington were not a nameless impoverished people. Little men and big men, they placed in jeopardy their lands, their businesses, their loved ones, and their lives. They were England's finest Englishmen and were never so truly English as in the hour of revolution. But this was no revolution of little men filled with big hates, but a revolution of big men who hated littleness in government and were resolved to put an end to it.

Edmund Burke said, "For evil to triumph, good men have but to do nothing."

Many years ago, Mr. John D. Rockefeller said, "Every right implies a responsibility; every possession an obligation, and every opportunity a duty."

This sound philosophy hurls a challenge to you and me and we cannot sidestep it in the hope someone else will pick it up.

Those who roam the countryside shouting about freedom, flailing others who refuse to do their bidding, should be reminded that a reckless abuse of freedom so prevalent in their actions turns freedom into a terrible mockery.

Those who preach non-violence but encourage violation of the law have in fact created more violence, strife and turmoil than has been known in our nation's history. The right to protest, to air grievances has been privilege enjoyed since our country's beginning, but it has never included the right of the protesters to deny others by any available means the right they claim.

Those who subscribe to this concept should be reminded that fair debate and



honest opposition are the foundation stones of our democracy, but must never be supplanted with vilification and bigotry.

The privileges we enjoy as free people do not necessarily in time become our inalienable rights.

A democracy is not a self-perpetuating form of government, but depends upon the character and abilities and contribution of each generation for its survival and expansion.

All sound-thinking individuals realize that regardless of our personal preference or opinion, we must live within the law with the same dignity and pride that has marked our people from the beginning of our nation. If this is to be accomplished, we cannot sit in silence and surrender to unwarranted demands of the howling, screeching mobs who mock the law by acts of violence and spit on those who wear the uniform of authority.

What inspires the action of these misguided creatures? I have no positive proof, but I am concerned about a recent statement by Gus Hall, head of the Communist Party USA, when he said, "Fronts are a thing of the past. We don't need them. We've got student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and Students for a Democratic Society going for us."

How much longer will responsible citizens tolerate the actions of such groups while the cream of American manhood is fighting and dying in Vietnam and on other foreign shores? How much longer, in good conscience and in good faith toward our fighting forces and our nation can we tolerate it?

We have been represented in South Vietnam since 1950 when the first advisory team was sent there. We have been locked four years in mortal combat, *on the defensive*, and what have we accomplished? The loss of more than 36,000 American boys killed, more than 150,000 wounded, many disabled for life, the expenditure of nearly \$100 billion dollars of American taxpayers' money, exclusive of \$23 billion more wasted on ill-designed aircraft and other armament. During this period there has been established in South Vietnam, if reports are true, one of the most corrupt governments the world has known since the days of the Roman Empire. Is this a just reason for pride? Certainly not.

I readily admit my intolerance of those who make a joke of patriotism because I happen to be one who still stands with pride and a little misty-eyed when the "Star Spangled Banner" is played or the flag passes in review. I happen to be one who believes with all my heart this is still the greatest nation on earth, but within it live some very disreputable individuals who enjoy the privileges afforded by dedicated and conscientious efforts of decent people. I also happen to be one who long since has grown tired of American boys being sacrificed for aimless political missions the world over. But whether we approve the cause or not, I also happen to be one who believes that every able-bodied man should be ready to answer "present" when his name is called for service in the armed forces of our nation. Both moral and military strength must be maintained.

Mrs. Bowdoin and I are proud and fortunate parents who every day turn to God in gratitude that our older son has returned safely after 1300 hours of combat flying as a helicopter gunship pilot in Vietnam. Our younger son is preparing to follow in his brother's footsteps.

We live in a time of strange concepts.

We boast of our greatest era of prosperity and hear more about poverty than at any time in the history of America. Honest poverty deserves the concerted and prayerful attention of all who are blessed with a better life.

Professional poverty, encouraged by Federal hand-outs now reaching into the third

generation, is repulsive to all concept of decency and ambition.

Yet we hear all too little about the real poverty that confronts us—the poverty of character, morality and courage. Instead of affluence being a blessing, we are allowing it to become a terrible agony.

The American private enterprise system, although under constant attack, has proven through the years to be the greatest anti-poverty program the world has ever known. Within the last six years alone, more than ten million new jobs have been created—new jobs affording a living wage and an atmosphere of dignity that generates ambition.

In a time of greatest necessity for higher education, we are experiencing throughout the nation unbelievable destruction of physical facilities and moral fiber in our colleges and universities. Impossible demands are being made upon administrators of colleges and universities by students aided by outside agitators and some faculty members who are traitors to their commitment.

It was my privilege recently to spend an evening of round table discussion with a group of college students. It was a very enjoyable occasion. There is no doubt in my mind the vast majority of our young men and women are better educated and more responsible than ever before. Students in institutions of higher learning have some legitimate complaints. They are entitled to be heard, and their recommendations considered and adopted when appropriate to the betterment of the college or university, but students cannot be given control of our educational institutions. A student's primary mission is the pursuit of education and not to manage the affairs of the college in accordance with personal desires. There are many examples of the results the latter development produces.

A great philosopher once said, "Those who do not remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

There is an old Turkish saying, "Read new books but old proverbs." New books stimulate a vision of the future and old proverbs contain the convictions from experience that men must live by. We must retain from the past all that is sound and good and just, and use it today in building for the future. In our building we must be willing to change when change is required.

The members of your generation and mine must make every effort to blend the experience of the past and abilities of the present to provide a future richer in advantages and opportunities and freedom than have been ours to receive. This means individual dedication and cooperation.

As Clarence Manion has said, "It must be remembered that 95% of the peace, order and welfare existing in human society is always produced by the conscientious practice of man-to-man justice and person-to-person charity."

I believe we can correct many of our social and political deficiencies by placing less emphasis on minorities and majorities, and giving more stress to the *individual*. This is the American way. America is based upon the concept of the *individual* whose personality is inviolate because he is created in the image of God. Our rights come from the Creator, not from some organization to which we may belong. This sacred truth is proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence and guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, although some in high places would have us believe otherwise.

These documents intend that all citizens should be recognized regardless of race, creed or color, for their *individual* worth, and must always have opportunities to improve themselves and their lot in life, but must always discharge properly the concept of individual responsibilities for good citizenship placed upon them by our founding fathers.

The key words in the whole American system are "individual" and "opportunity." These words can never be translated to mean *mobs* and *demands*. Individual opportunity can never be truthfully transposed to read *group guarantees*.

That is why it disturbs me to see many of our young people who, instead of attracting attention by dignity and worthwhile achievement, resort to some weird personal appearance or boisterous acts of sound and fury signifying nothing but trouble. Where are the parents of these wayward individuals?

Any individual who damns the land of his birth, desecrates our flag, and mocks Him who died on Calvary's cross is a disgrace to the concept of a nation created under God.

One of the greatest justices ever to sit on the United States Supreme Court in the days when that court was honored and revered throughout the world, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, said, "As life is action and passion, it is required of us that we should share in the action and passion of our times at the peril of being judged not to have lived."

My young friends, your contribution to strong and constructive leadership can mean much to a troubled nation. Our adversaries within this country are small in number but loud in voice. Our cooperative efforts can diminish their influence rather than allow it to spread.

Too many of our people today are saying, "Well, I am just one person and there is very little I can do." Our very poor voting record bears out this tragic attitude. A one-man cheering section in a 50,000 seat capacity stadium is muted by the vastness of the structure, but add that one voice to 50,000 others and you have your answer. Our destiny in the final analysis rests with the acts of individual citizens because the unit of our society is the individual.

That is why I urge you to develop strong and meaningful convictions. Be enthusiastic and energetic about your convictions and stand for something worthwhile. Don't just sit idly by while the flames of misunderstanding and strife and discord envelop you.

Make it your business to be informed, to know what is going on in your community, your state and your nation. Get the facts. Communicate your opinion to those in whom you entrust the management of your government and community affairs. You ask the impossible of these representatives when you don't give them the benefit of your opinion and let them know what you stand for. When you are too otherwise occupied to go to the polls and cast an intelligent ballot for the candidate of your choice, you forfeit your right to criticize the results. If you feel your representatives are rights, support them. If you think they are wrong, tell them why you think they are wrong. They are entitled to that consideration.

That great American, General Dwight Eisenhower, said, "There is nothing wrong with America that faith, love of freedom, intelligence and energy of her citizens cannot cure." I believe that and pledge to each of you my full support and active cooperation in a joint effort to insure continued sound growth and development of this wonderful land of ours.

I shall always remember with pride the honor of participating in your program today. To all of you ladies and gentlemen of this graduating class, I extend my heartiest congratulations.

I have great faith and confidence in your ability and, as you march toward even greater achievements in the years ahead, I hope your thoughts and actions will be guided by a simple philosophy—have courage tempered with humility; ambition tempered with moderation; sound judgment tempered with understanding, and above all, "do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God."

# LOW-WAGE LURES SOUTH OF THE BORDER

**HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to amend the National Labor Relations Act to focus attention on the serious problem of "runaway plants" across the Mexican-American border that threatens to undermine American wage standards.

The dimension of this problem was recently described in an article "Low-Wage Lures South of the Border" by David T. Lopez, appearing in the June issue of the American Federalist. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert into the RECORD the text of this article at the conclusion of my remarks.

Mr. Lopez states in his article:

The 1,800-mile-long border area between the United States and Mexico is one of sharp contrasts. There are lush orange groves and arid goat country, deep canyons and flatlands, teeming urban centers and desolate wastelands.

As far back as one cares to go, however, there has been one common denominator for the land and the people of the border: a chronic, pervasive poverty that has joined citizens of both the United States and Mexico in an endless communion of despair.

For generations, the root of the economic problem has been the worker who resides in Mexico, where the living is cheap, but who is allowed by a twisted immigration law to work in the United States.

The Mexican "commuter" as he is known, will work for as little as 35 or 50 cents an hour so he is eagerly sought out by employers while many United States residents are unemployed most of the year.

When a union on the border strikes there is an endless supply of commuter strike-breakers, delighted to work at the federal minimum wage.

Mr. Speaker, an insidious new dimension has been added to this old problem of cheap labor importing by low-wage American industry. A new plan—the border industrialization program—is, in effect, exporting jobs of American workers to Mexico to take advantage of the availability of cheap, "sweat-shop" labor. The plan, which is supported by the Mexican Government and—incredibly—by our Government as well, encourages American companies to set up shop along a zone some 12½ miles deep, just across the border into Mexico. Among attractions offered are special tax and tariff concessions by Mexico, similar tariff concessions by the United States, and plentiful labor at "sweat-shop," far below American wage levels. Vocal promoters of the runaway industries, including chambers of commerce in both Mexico and the United States, brag of the "inexhaustible 30-cent-an-hour labor supply." Already, serious inroads are being made in such industries as electronics, sportswear, work clothing, seafood processing, and other related fields. Thousands of jobs previously held by American workers have already been lost south of the border in these sweat-shop, runaway plants.

Mr. Speaker, no one denies the right nor the need to provide jobs for impoverished Mexican citizens. What I do object to as basically contrary to sound public policy is the denial of job opportunities to American workers at decent American wage standards that is the inevitable result of the border industrialization program that promotes runaway industry and exploits Mexican workers as well.

Obviously, Mr. Speaker, this problem has broad and vitally important implications that deal not only with American labor standards but also with our domestic economic health, foreign policy, and international trade policies. I urge the appropriate committees of the Congress to concern themselves with these aspects of this far-reaching problem.

Meanwhile, the bill I have introduced today will serve as a beginning focus on its vast dimensions through a proposed amendment to the National Labor Relations Act, which falls within the jurisdiction of the House Education and Labor Committee. My bill would make it an unfair labor practice under the law to employ any alien unlawfully present in the United States or to hire during a labor dispute as replacements for a person or persons ordinarily employed by such employer any alien lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence whose principal, actual dwelling place is in a foreign country contiguous to the United States. This provision would apply to any employer, whether or not he employs "employees" as defined in section 2(3) of the National Labor Relations Act. My bill would also amend section 10(1) to provide for injunctive relief for enforcement of a finding that an unfair labor practice exists.

Mr. Speaker, because of the importance and urgency of this problem, I plan to hold early hearings on this legislation by the special Subcommittee on Labor, House Education and Labor Committee. Members who share my concern for this matter of runaway industries to low-wage sanctuaries south of the border will be notified of the dates so they may have an opportunity to testify.

The text of the article, "Low-Wage Lures South of the Border," follows:

## LOW-WAGE LURES SOUTH OF THE BORDER

(By David T. Lopez)

From the boundless beaches where the Rio Grande joins the Gulf of Mexico at the tip of Texas, our southern border runs up the river, then turns west under New Mexico, Arizona and California, meeting the Pacific near San Diego.

The 1,800-mile-long border area between the United States and Mexico is one of sharp contrasts. There are lush orange groves and arid goat country, deep canyons and flatlands, teeming urban centers and desolate wastelands.

As far back as one cares to go, however, there has been one common denominator for the land and the people of the border: a chronic, pervasive poverty that has joined citizens of both the United States and Mexico in an endless communion of despair.

For generations, the root of the economic problem has been the worker who resides in Mexico, where the living is cheap, but who is allowed by a twisted immigration law to work in the United States.

The Mexican "commuter," as he is known, will work for as little as 35 or 50 cents an hour so he is eagerly sought out by employers while many United States residents are unemployed most of the year.

When a union on the border strikes there is an endless supply of "commuter" strike-breakers, delighted to work at the federal minimum wage.

The "commuter" system made a border city, Laredo, Texas, "the poorest city in the country," according to a national news magazine, and a border county, Starr County, Texas, scene of beatings of striking farm workers by Texas Rangers, the county with the lowest family income in the nation.

Insistent protests by organized labor at local, state and national levels have limited the problem of what the Immigration Service calls the "non-resident alien." But token action was enough to move employers into coming up with an even more insidious and devastating program.

The new plan is known by many names: PRONAF (from the Spanish-language words for National Border Program), or the Border Industrialization Program, or—to the American unions which have seen hundreds of jobs rush across the border—"runaway plants."

Regardless of the name, the program was aptly described by Dr. Ramiro Casso of McAllen, Texas, a physician friendly to the farm workers, as "bringing the mountain to Mohammed."

"They figured they might not be able to keep bringing in cheap labor from Mexico to jobs in this country, so they are taking the jobs out of the country to the cheap labor in Mexico," Dr. Casso said.

In essence, the plan, supported by the governments of both countries, is for American businesses to set up along a zone 12.5 miles deep just across the border in Mexico. The attractions offered are special tax and tariff concessions by Mexico, similar tariff concessions by the United States, and labor at sweat-shop rates.

The cheap-wage attraction is loudly touted by chambers of commerce on both sides of the border.

J. Carl Meyer, executive secretary of the Development Authority for Tucson's Expansion (DATE), boasts, "The Mexican border station at Nogales marks the gateway to an inexhaustible 30-cent-an-hour labor supply." Nogales, on the border, is an hour's drive from Tucson in southern Arizona.

Why would Tucson be so anxious to lure plants to Mexico? The answer is what promoters of the runaway industries call the "twin-plant concept." Supposedly, this calls for the company to set up a plant on the United States side of the border to be the "twin" of the one in Mexico.

Actually, the "twins" on the U.S. side, if and when they are established, turn out at best to resemble poor cousins. They employ far fewer workers and are designed mainly to justify a special import tariff on the Mexican-manufactured goods, which supposedly are to be "finished" in this country.

An example of the concept are the "twins" of Transatron, an electronics component manufacturer, employing about 75 in Laredo and 1,500 in Nuevo Laredo, Mexico.

"Finishing" could mean little more than pasting on a label. Many plants on the U.S. side hire Mexican residents anyway. Attempts to organize are met by threats to move the rest of the operation to Mexico. And for every job supposedly established on the American side, at least 10 jobs are being set up in Mexico and often at the direct expense of American workers.

The United Rubber Workers represent employees of Mattel, the toy manufacturer, at two plants in the Los Angeles area. Since Mattel opened a toy plant in Mexicali in 1967, some 820 union workers at the City of Industry plant have lost their jobs, and



the Hawthorne operation has been similarly affected.

The losses can be documented by shift and job classification, but a Mattel executive denied to the Los Angeles Times that a single job has been lost. Other less restrained entrepreneurs talk about the program creating "new jobs" for the United States.

More revealing, however, are statements made by officers of a company that specializes in subcontracting electronic assembly work in Tijuana, Mexico, near San Diego.

Enrique Mier y Teran, manager of IMEC, S.A., the Mexican branch of International Manufacturing, Electronics and Consulting Corp., puts it plainly: "I believe tremendously that the future of Tijuana lies in selling its labor."

At the Beverly Hills offices of IMEC, a division of the Republic Corp. conglomerate, R. Lee Hill, operations manager, said: "We should ship \$800,000 to \$1,000,000 in labor (from Tijuana) in 1969."

Trinkets sold to tourists border markets may bear an imprint, "Made in Mexico," but the products of the special industry program not only are not labeled, but often are even hard to trace. Portable television sets sold by Sears, Roebuck and Co., for example, are bought from Warwick Electronics Inc. of Chicago, which initially subcontracted the work to IMEC, S.A., in Tijuana.

Kayser-Roth has its Catalina-brand sportswear cut at two small plants in California and Arizona, but the sewing is done at a larger operation in Mexicali, Mexico.

District 12 President Bill Drohan of the IUE in Los Angeles said that among the firms represented in the expanding electronics complex in Tijuana are Litton Industries, Control Data Corp., and Fairchild Camera. Dozens of less well-known electronic firms are scattered throughout the border area.

Vice President Leonard Levy, director of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers West Coast Region, reports getting worried calls from his staff as more of the companies represented by the union establish Mexican operations.

"El Paso, where probably more work pants and sports slacks are manufactured than any other place in the country, stands to be hurt very badly," Levy said. "Just recently, Hicks-Ponder, which has three plants in Texas and Arizona, set up in Juárez (across from El Paso). And I just got a call from a representative in El Paso. He said a company where we are hoping to get an election soon is talking about going to Mexico."

Amalgamated has organized many of the Mexican residents commuting to U.S. jobs, helping them get fair wages. Recently, however, there have been so many "illegals" (in Texas known as "wetbacks" because they sometimes wade the Rio Grande) that there is conjecture about employer "deals" with immigration officers.

At the office of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in Los Angeles, Vice President Sam Otto said that already there are about 30 American garment plants in Mexicali and about 20 in Tijuana.

"In Mexicali, where the border is a tall wire fence, the American and Mexican plants are almost side by side," Otto said. "Some cutting is done on this side, and sometimes when the water pressure in Mexico is not enough, they press the clothes on this side, but the rest of the work is done in Mexico."

"But you sure don't see many 'Made in Mexico' labels, and of course, not enough union labels," he added.

Among the actions called for by the AFL-CIO Executive Council in its February 1969 statement on U.S.-Mexican Border Problems was the adequate labeling of goods wholly or partially manufactured in the Mexico border plants.

The U.S. State Department tried to discourage opposition to the Mexican plan when it began in 1966 by assuring American

labor that American plants would not be moved, that the idea was to move to Mexico plants which otherwise would have become established in other low-wage areas abroad, such as Hong Kong or Taiwan.

The line was echoed by the Mexican government. Mexican Minister of Industry and Commerce Octaviano Campos Salas, in a press conference August 6, 1968, told reporters: "The Mexican government does not encourage a massive exodus of American companies to the Mexican side of the border . . . specially when they operate normally and profitably in the United States."

Less than one year later, it is apparent that there is an increasing exodus of jobs and industries from the United States, perhaps without Mexican "encouragement," but certainly with the same considerable concessions given to any others.

The Mattel experience of the United Rubber Workers, and the manifold problems of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the ILGWU, certainly are not isolated examples.

When Transiron opened its plant in Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, employing some 1,500 electronic assemblers, a similar operation of the same company in Kansas City, Mo., lost about 45 percent of its work force. When the plant in Mexico had a three-week work stoppage, employment and overtime shot up in Kansas City, only to fall again at the end of the stoppage.

Standard Components Division of Standard Kollsman Industries, which opened a television tuner plant in Ciudad Acuña across from Del Rio, Texas, has announced it may double production in 1970, with possible displacement of 800 workers in a similar plant of the company in Oshkosh, Wis.

IUE President Paul Jennings, who with AFL-CIO Vice Presidents Joseph D. Keenan, David Dubinsky and Jacob Potofsky served as a special subcommittee of the AFL-CIO Executive Council studying the problem, said that 48,000 jobs in the manufacturer of radio and television sets and components alone were lost from 1966 to 1968.

In Harlingen, Texas, close to the border, the Albertti Seafoods Co. won a decertification election against the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, then moved most of its Texas plant into an expanded operation in Mexico.

Two other plants organized by the Butchers in the area, Booth Fisheries and United Foods, both processors of shrimp, have decreased their operations tremendously, displacing more than 1,000 workers, since similar processing plants opened just across the border.

Last year, a newsletter which analyzes Latin American affairs in the United States said that Mexican economists are projecting an eventual employment of 300,000 workers by the border industries, with a production of one billion dollars of goods a year, multiplying tenfold the already serious effect of the program on American unions and the considerable impairment of the federal minimum wage law.

Two agents of IMEC are reported contacting electronic plants in Southern California. An American company which provides sewing machines for the Mexican garment plants reportedly has trucks soliciting manufacturers in Los Angeles to send their cut patterns to be sewn in Mexico.

Nowhere in the elaborate brochures and prospectuses prepared by DATE of Tucson, or the El Paso Chamber of Commerce, or Joe Richards and Associates of Laredo, is there any mention of the Mexican program being an alternative to plants in Europe or the Far East. Their approach is direct: "If you have a labor-intensive production, move to Mexico." The same pitch is carried in Wall Street Journal advertisements.

Joe Richards and Associates says in its brochure: "The only requirements for participation in Mexico's border industrializa-

tion program are that production be exported in its entirety and that Mexican labor be used." The firm offers assistance in securing permits, handling customs, furnishing legal and other professional services, compiling statistics, negotiating leases, and selling and financing the product "worldwide," according to the brochure.

Exactly which manufacturers are being lured to Mexico is virtually impossible to determine before the fact, and the established plants are as easy to inspect as the Chinese Communist atomic plants. Photographers hired in Laredo, El Paso and San Diego all were unable to come up with pictures inside existing plants. They said they were denied permission to enter the plants and shooed away by guards.

United Press International, in recent dispatch, noted, "The stampede of American firms for locations south of the border has been a quiet one. Most of them are so security conscious they won't even admit what they manufacture until they actually have signed the papers and agreed to build their plants in Mexico."

The government has joined the hide-and-seek game. A meeting in El Paso last April to tempt U.S. manufacturers to go into Mexico was sponsored by the U.S. Department of Commerce as an "Executive Conference on World Trade." Jennings, protesting to President Nixon, said in a telegram: "The Department of Commerce has no business serving as a front for international cheap labor manipulators."

A similar conference was held in Brownsville in May, and more are scheduled.

The solicitude of the government toward businessmen is not matched by its attitude toward labor.

Henry Muñoz Jr., equal opportunities director of the Texas AFL-CIO, requested information on the border program in February 1968, from Raymond Télles, until recently chairman of the U.S. Section of the U.S.-Mexico Commission for Border Development and Friendship.

When Muñoz got a reply, it was five months later, from the State Department. The letter said: "Unfortunately most of the information you requested is unavailable to us."

Andres Sandoval, a Texas AFL-CIO field representative, said that he asked Télles about the border industry program, and Télles replied: "What border are you speaking of?"

Speaking to a group of businessmen on the program, former U.S. Ambassador to Mexico Fulton J. Freeman said, "I have great confidence that this 1,800-mile boundary can continue to serve as an inspiring example of constructive and harmonious relations and of actions to the mutual benefit of two friendly neighboring nations."

The "inspiring example" may be as disastrous for Mexico as it is for the United States.

In Nuevo Laredo, a 19-year-old girl named Maria Luisa sees her new job with Transiron in terms of a chance to get out of Mexico. "Well, maybe now I have a better chance of going to the United States," she said. "Maybe I'll get a chance to learn something."

Last year, Maria Luisa was a live-in maid, earning the equivalent of \$8 a week, her meals and Sunday off. She said she still works six days, long hours at more intensive work, and now takes home \$14 a week. She went through the three-week stoppage because, among other things, workers were not getting the mandatory one-half hour off for lunch.

"They say we are going to get \$26 a week when we finish our training, but who knows?" Maria Luisa said. "I have been working here more than seven months now. We all know the government, in order to bring these factories down, made a deal with the United States so that they don't have to pay us good money like they pay the American workers."

How much does she think U.S. workers get? "At least \$60 or \$75 a week," she said. "We

ought to get the same for the same work. Well, maybe at least \$50."

Through joint border committees, AFL-CIO unions along the border share information freely with their counterparts in the Mexican Confederation of Workers (CTM), and Maria Luisa's union representatives will have a chance to know exactly how much American workers are getting for the same jobs under an IUE contract.

In negotiations with other electronics manufacturers, however, CTM representatives recently reported they were told by the employers that the government would not authorize any more than a 10 percent increase from the present earnings around the Mexican minimum wage because the workers were not classed as "professionals."

Ambassador Freeman listed as one of the alleged benefits of the industry program that residents of the Mexican side of the border spend 50 to 80 percent of their earnings in the United States.

IUE Representative Juan Mariscal, a native of Mexico, recently conducted an extensive survey, and his findings are much different. Housing, food, and services, including medical attention, are at least 50 percent cheaper on the Mexican side of the border, he said. Consumer goods like clothes and appliances are priced about the same.

If Freeman were correct, then, the Mexican workers earning about \$25 a week or less, would spend most of that either for expensive consumer goods made in the U.S., or for items which they can get more cheaply in Mexico.

Asked if she shops in the United States, Maria Luisa replied angrily, "Are you crazy? You forget I get paid Mexican wages. Maybe I could buy some of the used clothing sold from boxes on the sidewalks, but the 'gringos' can keep that junk."

The only times she has been shopping in the United States, she said, have been when her cousin, a secretary in Mexico City, sends her some money to buy her some clothes or cosmetics not available in Mexico. "She always tells me to get something for myself," Maria Luisa said. "I get some hose, or maybe a sweater."

Ambassador Freeman's confusion is perhaps understandable. American shops on the border do sell a large quantity of consumer goods, particularly clothing and cosmetics, to Mexicans.

A simple check with store clerks, however, quickly shows that these sales are of the most expensive merchandise, almost always to businessmen, artists or government officials from Mexico City or other principal cities of the Mexican interior. The buyers spend \$300 or \$400 cash at a time. They certainly could not be \$25 a week industrial workers.

Maria Luisa's responses were fairly representative of those given by other workers in Matamoros, Reynosa, Piedras Negras, Ciudad Acuña, Juarez, Nogales, Mexicali and Tijuana, border cities across or near Brownsville, McAllen, Eagle Pass, Del Rio and El Paso, Texas; Nogales, Arizona, and Calexico and San Diego, California. In sum, Maria Luisa does not feel particularly lucky in having found an industrial job.

"I don't like to be treated badly," she said. "The señora where I was a maid was very nice to me. At the job now I'm always nervous."

A manager of one of the Tijuana plants would be surprised to hear such comments. He considers that American business is a blessing to the Mexican workers. "You can always tell a new gal," he said. "The first couple of days they gobble up six or seven doughnuts at every break."

Maria Luisa said: "I work on these small things under a microscope, and they get very angry if we make any mistake or if we don't work fast enough. The foreman always is trying to date us, and if we say no, we have problems, or we can get fired."

Professor Pedro Pérez Ibarra, general secretary both of the Nuevo Laredo CTM and the electronic workers local, describes Maria Luisa's bosses as "slave drivers of the worst sort."

He said he believes the three-week stoppage at Transistron was only the beginning of their problems. "These companies feel that Mexico is just a field ripe for exploitation," he said. "We're going to show them that's not so."

American plants are being established in the Mexico border zone so quickly, and security is so tight, that up-to-date figures are hard to get. Most observers estimate that already there are 30,000 to 50,000 workers employed in the runaway plants, but the total easily could exceed twice that.

There is general agreement, however, that at least 75 percent of the employees are women. Mariscal says that has created another problem.

"They are destroying the Mexican family along the border," he said. "Up to just a few years ago, Mexican women did not work outside the home after they were married. Now you see many wives working while the husbands are unemployed."

"Mexicans are proud, and nothing hurts a man's pride more than to feel 'mantenido' (kept) by his woman," he said. "Some of the men can't cope with it. They take to drinking, or they cross the border illegally to try to find work. Many don't go back."

A number of economists have pointed out other adverse effects the program probably will have in Mexico. One article suggests that productivity is significantly lower in Mexican plants, and that even the great disparity in wages may not be sufficient to keep the plants in Mexico long.

The same article claims that many companies are moving to Mexico just to postpone major capital investments in modern equipment. When the companies finally are forced to make the investment, they probably will want to return to the better trained American workers. A sudden withdrawal of such companies and the resulting unemployment would leave the area worse off than it was before the plants came in, according to the economists.

Several plants established in Tijuana have shut down, but information on the reasons is skimpy and conflicting at this time.

What is proving to be easily the most regrettable effect of the program on either side, however, is that the promise of new jobs acts like a magnet to attract thousands of families from the Mexican interior to the already overcrowded Mexican border cities.

Because of the "commuter" practice and the "bracero" agreement for Mexican farm labor (now terminated), Tijuana exploded in 30 years from 20,000 to 400,000 population. Unemployment now is estimated at close to 50 percent, and more people arrive daily.

Approaching Tijuana, or Juarez, which also has multiplied rapidly to its present 500,000 population, one is struck by the pathetic sight of countless slum dwellings precariously clinging to the hillsides.

"Recent Mexican government figures indicate the country's population is rapidly urbanizing, but a full 25 percent still is 'economically inactive.' There are so many peasants migrating to Mexico City and the cities of the northern Mexico that they have become a national institution with a popular nickname.

Partly because of the way they load all their belongings on their backs, and mostly because they have no idea where they will land once they leave their rural homes, these migrating peasants are known as "parachutists."

For a family of such "paracaidistas," Esteban Macias, 34, his wife and their seven children, their landing was in an unimaginably squalid slum overlooking El Paso across the border.

For almost three months, they lived in a cave, until they could gather enough scraps of wood, cardboard and flattened tin cans to make a shack which does not look like it could stand a healthy sneeze.

Macias was no stranger to poverty, but on the border the oppressive struggle for existence has left him drained and submissive, an old man before 40. "My life is gone, and I have nothing," he said. "Nothing for me. Nothing to leave my children."

The Macias family increasingly is dependent for support on Susano, at 15 the oldest son, who is a "commuter."

Officially, the U.S. government counts 12,000 "commuters" crossing from Ciudad Juarez to jobs in El Paso. The figure certainly is more likely twice that. Susano, who just a few months ago had never seen the United States, is not counted as a "Mexican alien commuter," and neither are about 45 to 65 percent of the "commuters" who cross with documents purporting to prove they are American citizens.

Some of the commuters actually are citizens. Susano, not having been born in the United States, "rents" a birth certificate. For \$2 paid in advance, he can use the certificate for one day to cross into the United States, where he can earn \$6 to \$8, if he finds work.

When there is no work, he's out \$2, and if he doesn't like the deal, there are plenty others waiting to take his place.

"Sometimes I have to work for even \$3 a day, just to pay for 'el pasaporte,' bridge toll or bus fare, and have something left over to feed my little brothers," Susano said.

If he doesn't maintain himself as a steady customer, someone about his age (and the age on the birth certificate) will be found and will be taught by rote the facts on the document which immigration officials, if they have the time, will ask: "Where were you born?" On what date? What is your mother's name?"

If he loses his turn, Susano will have to take his chances with jobs on the Mexican side, where the going rate is about 75 cents a day and work is much harder to find.

The evidence of the abject poverty faced by the thousands who hoped to find a new and better life on the border is everywhere. In Tijuana, the lean-to's sit on the right-of-way between the highway to Mexicali and the fenced-off property. In Nuevo Laredo, they are but a minute from the million-dollar mansion of the Longoria family. In Matamoros and Ciudad Acuña, they trail along the river.

In Piedras Negras, a young "wetback" named Enrique described what desperation born of poverty can bring. Over coffee, obviously pained by the memory, he told this story:

"We were screaming, praying, crying. It was so hot I could feel sweat pouring down my body."

"I was suffocating, yet when I tried to breathe the stench made me dizzy and turned my stomach. I must have gone crazy for some time, because all I remember is that finally I was so tired I couldn't move."

"I knew—we all knew—we were going to die."

Enrique was one of 47 Mexicans attempting to enter the United States illegally who were locked in a hot and unventilated van so long that all had to be hospitalized and three died.

He left his wife and five children 50 pesos, \$4, for food and took the rest of their meager savings and some borrowed money to seek work in the United States. At Piedras Negras, he found a recruiter who signed him up for jobs of \$2 and \$3 an hour in Chicago, and offered to take him there for a fee.

In the early morning hours of Sept. 30, 1968, Enrique and the 46 others, all from the northern Mexico countryside, huddled in the darkness near the river across from Eagle Pass. At about 2 a.m., they were led into the



river and waded across, where \$50 was collected from each. They then walked to a ravine near a deserted road where the man with the van picked them up around noon and collected another \$50 before letting each one board.

The men were crowded into a space 7 by 16 feet, and when the door was closed the heat and lack of fresh air quickly became intolerable. They pounded on the sides and begged the driver to let them out. He replied the door had been padlocked and he did not have the key. The van was driven to San Antonio, more than 150 miles away, and there it was parked and abandoned.

Passers-by heard noises from the van and called police, and the men were rescued many hours after their ordeal began. The three from whom rescue came too late received pauper's burials in San Antonio.

Enrique and the other survivors were returned to Mexico by the U.S. Immigration Service. But Enrique did not go home.

"I can't go back until I have the money to pay back what I owe and to give my wife for what she has suffered without me," he said.

That may take sometime. In Piedras Negras, working as a laborer in the day and cleaning up three bars and a restaurant at night he seldom makes as much as \$12 a week. (Piedras Negras is about 75 miles from Marroteran, where 156 coal miners who were earning \$6 to \$17 a week recently were buried by an explosion.)

Enrique is looking for a good job, but he is not optimistic. "Every day more come. They get off the buses by the dozen. Or they say they come by train, or walking or asking for rides, anyway they can."

Why do they keep coming if there are no jobs? "They hear there's much money to be made in 'la frontera' (the border)," Enrique said. "They're fools like me. Some may be lucky, but most of them come to suffer."

"What's worse," he said, "some bring their families. Here you can't grow food. You don't have any land, or chickens, or goats for milk. For everything you have to pay."

"Those are the ones I pity. You see them get more and more desperate. Then they get drunk because some little one died, or because their daughter ran off and they think she's selling herself to the 'gringos.' At least my woman and my children, they're where they can get food, too little maybe, but still enough to live. God keep them."

Crossing from Mexico into the U.S. at Calexico, one can't escape seeing a large sign in two languages informing "commuters" that their crossing cards, which "allow them to work in the United States" are not to be used to work at places where labor disputes have been certified by the Department of Labor. A list, the sign informs anyone interested, is available in the immigration office.

In preparation for their drive in the Coachella Valley of California, members of the United Farm Workers Organization Committee recently followed five busloads and assorted cars and pick-ups full of "commuter" farm workers going from Calexico the 90 or so miles to Coachella.

The buses stopped at many of the farms on the certified strike list, and the UFWOC members questioned the workers as they got off. They discovered that most of the "commuters" had to arise at 1 a.m. to catch the bus and had long trips home after they were returned to Calexico.

"I figured they were spending 16 hours for 8 hours pay," says the Rev. Jim Drake, an aide to UFWOC Director Cesar Chavez. "That figures around 80 cents an hour."

"Most of them didn't know they were going to work at a struck place," Drake said. "But once they got there, they had the choice of staying in the bus for eight hours without pay, or getting commercial transportation back, or, of course, going to work. In other words, they had no choice."

In Texas, a January 1968 survey showed 80 percent of the "commuters" interviewed in Laredo were earning less than \$1.60 an hour.

The presence of a seemingly limitless supply of "commuter" labor compounds the daily work of union representatives on the border.

David L. Jacobs, business agent of a Laborers local in Laredo, recalls a group of cafeteria workers striking for union recognition. "One of the pickets had a sign saying they were paid 25 cents an hour," Jacobs said. "The owner was very angry when he saw it. He said he actually was paying 32 cents."

The strike resulted in recognition and a contract calling for \$1 an hour in the third year.

In El Paso, Hector R. Garcia, president of the El Paso Central Labor Union, tells of a recent strike in which, after a 20-year bargaining history, the union had to remain out six months to keep arbitration in the agreement. Garcia said the union struck with 250 of 256 production employees on a Thursday to see 300 strikebreakers hired by the following Monday at \$1.60 an hour.

By letting selfish economic interests mold its policy toward Mexico, the United States has managed to bring about the worst imaginable situations on either side of the border.

On the United States side, there is talk of putting up picket lines at the international bridges to keep out the "commuters."

On the Mexican side, anti-American literature circulates freely and thousands of industrial workers, students, and teachers call themselves "communists" because they can't think of any other word which can adequately express their antipathy towards the United States. And one hears often repeated, not always with a smile, the plaintive lament of a former Mexican President, who said:

"Poor Mexico—so far from God—and so close to the United States."

## EDUCATION WITH A GUN

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, on June 23, 1969, the St. Cloud Daily Times carried a column written by Harold Schoelkopf, which, to my way of thinking, should be read and given careful thought not only by my colleagues here in Congress, but the general public as well.

As my good friend Mr. Schoelkopf points out, there is a very great danger in lowering the standards of education, a danger our country can ill afford.

Truly, we cannot beat an education out of a professor.

I endorse this column and include it in my remarks at this time:

### EDUCATION WITH A GUN

You can't get an education with a gun. Officials in charge of some United States educational institutions, from universities to public schools, seem to think that you can. They are wrong.

The job of formal education is to discipline, train and strengthen minds to deal with many complex realities. In public schools these realities include such things as the alphabet, words, numbers and writing. In universities they include such things as the laws of gravity and thermodynamics, the make-up of the atom, the atomic table, human anatomy, vectors and logarithms.

If a gunman walked into a medical school class and threatened to shoot the instructor and students unless he got turned into a

doctor, "real fast," he no doubt would get results. But they would not include becoming a doctor.

If a grade school pupil cannot learn the alphabet, the teacher cannot solve his problem by eliminating all of the letters except A, B and C, and passing him when he gets these down pat. If he makes F in all other subjects, his problem cannot be solved by eliminating grades and passing him from one class to the next and on to graduation—an ignoramus, but one certified on a slip of paper as "educated."

Yet public schools in some large U.S. cities are doing just that, and the practice is being urged on others and on colleges and universities as well.

There is something poignant and pathetic in the assumption that the hours and years of hard work, concentration, self-discipline and submission to strong external discipline which go into the making of a physicist, an engineer, a physician, a lawyer, a chemist, or mathematician or a microbiologist can be compressed into pre-digested magic pills and eaten like candy. Or that they can be absorbed, like knowledge of the ways of the street or the pool hall, just by hanging around.

Yet militants who have burned, battered, bludgeoned and bombed their way onto the campuses, and college and university authorities who have surrendered to their demands, seem to share the assumption that "you can beat an education out of a professor" or "you can get an education with a gun."

Those schools that have contracted, under duress, to take "students" who are not prepared are going to have to do something to make good their promises.

The easy out, of course, would be to design "special courses" on "special subjects" done up in "special ways" and taught through "special techniques." These would be simplified, candy-coated mishmashes of pop culture and pseudo-scientific jive, well laced with the fashionable lingo of the hour and ornamented with impressive-sounding labels such as "Advanced Socio-economic-cultural Psychodynamics 102-B."

The professors from time to time can issue charts and reports and send articles to liberal educational journals telling what wonders they have wrought and how brilliant their charges really are, under all those layers of alleged incapacity.

As a final act in the charade, the universities can issue degrees. But such a process cannot be called education. There is a word for it. The word is fraud.

## FUTURE FARMERS OF AMERICA NATIONAL LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

HON. ORVAL HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, during this week the Future Farmers of America will be holding the second National Leadership-Citizenship Conference for the year. It is entitled FFA—Emphasis Agriculture. Attending this conference will be 98 chapter presidents from 35 States. They are listed as follows:

Tommy Garner, Ash Flat, Ark.  
Edmond W. Castle, Marvell, Ark.  
Dale Ward, Palmdale, Calif.  
Arthur Eastburg, Ripon, Calif.  
David Judson, Woodburg, Conn.

Norris Melton, Newark, Del.  
 Robert F. See, Homestead, Fla.  
 Terrell Weeks, Norman Park, Ga.  
 Don Standley, Emmett, Idaho.  
 Harry F. Adams, Byron, Ill.  
 Dick Drury, Fulton, Ill.  
 Steve Neal, Michigantown, Ind.  
 Curt Koverer, Crothersville, Ind.  
 Larry Floyd, Fairmont, Ind.  
 Ron Allen, Monon, Ind.  
 Lee Gerkin, Orleans, Ind.  
 Bob Schembs, Remington, Ind.  
 Max Rodibaugh, Rensselaer, Ind.  
 Craig Eugene Sherbawh, South Whitley, Ind.

Michael Lovings, Spencer, Ind.  
 Larry Larkin, Marshall, Ind.  
 Russell R. Stalbaum, Wheatfield, Ind.  
 Darryl Miller, Wolcott, Ind.  
 Wayne Stickles, LeGrand, Calif.  
 Mike Remsburg, Lake City, Iowa.  
 Rocky Brown, La Porte City, Iowa.  
 Mark S. Patton, Manchester, Iowa.  
 Jon Banwart, Mediapolis, Iowa.  
 Dean Denner, New Hampton, Iowa.  
 Larry Dean Franzen, Stanton, Iowa.  
 Dennis Paul Lovick, Forest City, Iowa.  
 Dan Walther, Waverly, Iowa.  
 Mark Reding, West Bend, Iowa.  
 Mike Cleveland, Concordia, Kans.  
 Steve Lefever, Peabody, Kans.  
 John L. Hula, Blue Rapids, Kans.  
 Kevin Ernest Hall, Gaithersburg, Md.  
 Melvin R. Cripe, Cassopolis, Mich.  
 George Brossman, Cassopolis, Mich.  
 Paul Wernette, Remus, Mich.  
 Bill Herford, Pigeon, Mich.  
 Brad Rugg, Austin, Minn.  
 Jerald Ingvalson, Blooming Prairie, Minn.  
 Dennis Paul, Faribault, Minn.  
 Dennis W. Hovelson, Hawley, Minn.  
 Carter Blaine, Kasson, Minn.  
 Toby Klassen, Plainview, Minn.  
 Mark A. Carlson, Rush City, Minn.  
 Steve Vongtoven, Wiona, Minn.  
 Carroll Fairchild, Collins, Miss.  
 Mason Lee Lawson, Archie, Mo.  
 Bobby Collin, Fort Scott, Mo.  
 Mike Miller, Carrollton, Mo.  
 Russell C. Laboube, Hermann, Mo.  
 David Riekhof, Higginsville, Mo.  
 Winston Simpson, Shelby, Mo.  
 John B. Ferguson, Kimball, Nebr.  
 Ted Griess, Sutton, Nebr.  
 Scott Pipkin, Clovis, N. Mex.  
 John Aldrich, Las Cruces, N. Mex.  
 Howard Jewell, Milford, N.Y.  
 Keith R. Maetzold, Devils Lake, N. Dak.  
 Leon Morgenstern, New Salem, N. Dak.  
 Tim Brown, Fredericktown, Ohio.  
 James Henline, Gibsonburg, Ohio.  
 Kenneth E. Steinbach, Gnadenhutten, Ohio.

Frank Conway, London, Ohio.  
 Dennis Buchele, Perrysburg, Ohio.  
 Daniel L. Tack, Perrysburg, Ohio.  
 Patrick Sullivan, London, Ohio.  
 Larry Arnold, Waterford, Ohio.  
 Jim Leedy, Albany, Oreg.  
 Randy Urbach, Culver, Oreg.  
 Kenneth A. Mollman, Madras, Oreg.  
 Dan Pitney, Sherwood, Oreg.  
 Dean R. Sherick, Millersville, Pa.  
 Lande Bilger, Millinburg, Pa.  
 John Fogell, Scituate, R.I.  
 Larry Arnold, Waterford, Ohio.  
 Lon Gates, Loysburg, Pa.  
 Donald Tefft, Wood River Junction, R.I.  
 Danny Sturgis, Rock Hill, S.C.  
 Larry Lee Tidwell, Dickson, Tenn.  
 James Stone, Azle, Tex.  
 Bruce Anderson, Denton, Tex.  
 Reid Anthony Schulze, Wells, Tex.  
 Edward L. Rhoades, Clearfield, Utah.  
 Bill Hogan, Tooele, Utah.  
 Steven Glabach, Brattleboro, Vt.  
 Douglas McCormick, Irasburg, Vt.  
 Kendall Severy Middleburg, Vt.  
 Wayne Richardson, Vergennes, Vt.  
 Daniel Clyde Barnette, Ripley, W. Va.  
 Kenneth Slaby, Whitehall, Wis.

Jim L. Briddle, Shoshoni, Wyo.  
 Wylie G. McGuire, Wheatland, Wyo.  
 Raymond A. Lockhard, Kingshill, St. Croix, V.I.  
 Edward Messner, Beaver, Okla.

Mr. Speaker, these outstanding young men are the product of FFA and vocational agriculture training.

Vocational agricultural education is a program of systematic instruction in agriculture at the high school level. Vocational agriculture programs are conducted in public schools or classes for persons whose occupational objectives require knowledge and skills in agricultural subjects. These programs are conducted under a plan of cooperation between local schools, State boards of vocational education and the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

FFA as an integral part of instruction in agriculture is a national organization of, by, and for students of vocational agriculture in our public secondary schools. It is an educational, nonprofit, nonpolitical youth organization of voluntary membership, designed to develop agricultural leadership, character, thrift, scholarship, cooperation, citizenship, and patriotism.

FFA serves vocational agriculture as an excellent teaching tool while developing an atmosphere of friendly, creative, aggressive competition.

The National Future Farmers of America organization was launched at Kansas City, Mo., in November 1928, and has grown to an active membership of over 450,000 in nearly 8,500 local high school chapters located in rural and urban areas throughout the 50 States and Puerto Rico. First incorporated under the laws of the State of Virginia, the FFA was granted a charter by act of Congress in 1950—Public Law 740, 81st Congress.

Through the years thousands of young men have gained valuable skills in parliamentary procedure, public speaking, the proper conduct of meetings and cooperation with their fellow students.

Future Farmers have developed programs of individual and community betterment such as recreational activities, educational tours, and farm and home safety campaigns. They have been known to organize local chambers of commerce where none existed and to organize and manage community fairs. Frequently, they have taken on such jobs as the landscaping and beautification of school and church grounds in their local communities.

FFA activities are designed to stimulate the members to do better work in vocational agriculture. The advancement through degree in the organization is based largely on achievement in agriculture. Awards offered through the FFA foundation stimulate increased effort by the student. Included among these are awards for outstanding achievement in crop farming, farm and home improvement, livestock farming, ornamental horticulture, poultry farming, agricultural mechanics, and soil and water management. A national chapter award program recognizes local chapters that have outstanding programs of activities.

Awards are also provided for agriculture safety promotion by chapters and for public speaking.

As agriculture has changed and modernized through the years so has vocational agriculture instruction and FFA. Vocational agriculture students may now obtain specialized occupational training programs in agriculture production, agriculture supplies, agriculture mechanics, agriculture processing and distribution, national resources development, ornamental horticulture, and forestry.

Vocational agriculture and FFA, a predominantly rural based program of 10 years ago, is now found in the high schools of many urban areas. Although the classroom instruction of the urban student may be somewhat different than that of the rural student, both still receive the leadership, character-building benefits of FFA.

It is a privilege for me to recognize the 98 chapter presidents that are here in our capital this week and to recognize the more than half a century of achievement by vocational agriculture and FFA that these young men represent.

Never before has there been a greater need for leaders from the ranks of American youth. Leaders who are creative, constructive, and compassionate, leaders who can bind our Nation together and help mobilize our boundless energies and resources to solve the problems we face.

Through vocational agriculture study and Future Farmers activities, young men learn the value of hard work and cooperation. They learn the true meaning of brotherhood and gain an understanding of the obligation that comes with the blessing of freedom.

Based on past performance and future promise, programs of vocational agriculture and the Future Farmers of America organization are deserving of all the support and encouragement we can give. I know of no better way to express our faith in the future.

#### HILL FOOD WORKERS

#### HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, last week, I made my thoughts known on the plight of Hill cafeteria workers whose jobs were threatened should they persist in a walk-out to demonstrate their concern for working conditions, wages, and so forth. William Raspberry addressed himself to this subject in his column Friday, July 4, which appeared in the Washington Post. Since he so clearly makes the case for those of us who have demonstrated our concern, I commend to the attention of my colleagues his observations:

PLIGHT OF HILL FOOD WORKERS REVEALS

RECIPE FOR A REVOLT

(By William Raspberry)

If Congress wants to learn how to deal with the urban revolts that have swept the country for the past several summers, it has a unique opportunity right on Capitol Hill.



The Congressional cafeteria and restaurant workers—all of them poor, many of them angry and most of them black—are escalating their pleas for fair play to demands for justice.

The initial reaction on the Hill, just as it has been in cities across the land, has been to avoid coming to grips with the justice of the demands and to concentrate on chastising those who are making the demands, charging them with illegal methods, too much impatience, falling prey to outside agitators, that sort of thing.

So far there hasn't been much of a revolt. There was a brief walkout earlier this week, but the participants were careful not to call it a walkout, since such action is illegal under the Federal laws.

But a major revolt may be brewing. If it comes, it will be due largely to official disregard for a long-term problem.

The cafeteria and restaurant workers have long been underpaid. Most start at \$1.89 an hour, which isn't much if you have a family to support. But worse, there is no pay at all during Congressional recesses. The workers are simply laid off to use up their leave if they have it, to find temporary work elsewhere if they're lucky or to draw unemployment compensation if they qualify for it.

Last October, they got three days' notice that they would be out of work until Jan. 3 when Congress reconvened.

Earlier last year, a number of the workers had their hours reduced in an economy move.

This year, when other Wage Board employees received a pay increase, the restaurant and cafeteria workers were bypassed. They later got an increase that was smaller than the Government-wide raise.

In recent months, due in part to their growing frustration and in part to the help of some sympathetic outsiders, they organized the Capitol Hill Employees Association. This was to give them the unity they felt they needed to enforce their demands for fair treatment. (Officials apparently have been playing the House employees against the Senate employees and white against black.)

One of the organizers was Wendell Quinn, a cafeteria supervisor. On June 6, shortly after the organization effort began, Quinn got a letter from Joseph Diamond, manager of the Senate restaurants, alleging a "striking deterioration" in his work performance after doing "a good job in this capacity for more than a year."

Quinn was warned to shape up at pain of being replaced. A few days ago he was fired. It was this firing that led to the brief walkout.

The workers insist that the firing was an attempt to squelch the incipient "militancy" of the food service workers. And they swear now that it will have the opposite effect.

Predictably enough, the failure of those responsible to react to earlier limited requests for better working conditions has led to escalation of both the demands and the insistence that they be honored.

Unattended grievances, that is to say, have led to precisely the kind of frustration that has wrecked our cities. Suppress the aggrieved, the philosophy seems to be, and never mind the justice of the grievances.

The bright spot in the Capitol Hill situation is that a few dozen members of both houses have involved themselves on behalf of the restaurant and cafeteria workers.

Personally and through their staff assistants—and through the leadership of the chief "outside agitator" Albert Corbin of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—they may succeed in averting the crisis that is building on the Hill, not by finding ways to get tough but by finding the will to be fair.

## THOUGHTS ON THE FOURTH OF JULY

### HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, the Fairfax County Journal Standard, a weekly newspaper serving my congressional district had a July 4 editorial which I think would interest our Members.

The editorial recalls a column written by a former reporter, Sam Werner, now deceased, which won him a journalistic award and ventured to predict that even with the troubles facing our Nation, Uncle Sam would be around for a long time. The suggestion is made that anyone who has a legitimate grievance in our country can use weapons of logic, reason, and persuasion in a democratic manner on election day to bring about any desirable reform and urged that this method be utilized by citizens with grievances rather than violent means.

It is a good article and I think you will enjoy the comparison of our ship of state to a raft which will not sink but one in which your feet are always wet. This article is set forth in full below:

#### THOUGHTS ON THE FOURTH OF JULY

In a time when draft-age American tourists are visiting Canada and Sweden on one-way tickets, it is perhaps more appropriate than usual to devote a few moments of quiet contemplation to the meaning of July 4.

The late Journal columnist Sam Werner always insisted steadfastly that "the revolution" of the late 1960's could be beneficial only by taking seriously the heritage of the founding fathers—Jefferson, Adams, Franklin and the rest.

He believed that community action, and community responsibility were desirable things, expressed in the ways in which our democracy provides.

The column which won for Sam the coveted award as the finest in the Old Dominion was a column on the doorbell ringers of politics, the people who brave the dog bites and wear out the shoe leather in the interest of what they believe is better government.

That column makes a point well worth making in this Independence Day period.

Those who would destroy our system, who would achieve their ends by riot, by violence, by seizure, or by any other sort of force must be dealt with by another part of the system—the one which grants to our national, state and local governments certain police powers.

But anyone who seeks to use the weapons of logic, reason, persuasion, and election will find the way open in the American system.

Today in Alexandria, the Democratic party is engaged in a fierce competition for control of the local party machinery. Any voter who wishes to do so can enter the polls on July 15 and express his opinion. Until just a few weeks ago, any Democrat who wished to do so could file for a seat on that committee and test his ideas and his energy against that of other Democrats among his neighbors.

The political road, to influence and power, is open in Alexandria and in America. This is what neighborhood action and participatory democracy are all about. It is the responsibility of government to give all its citizens the opportunity to express themselves through the political system. Its responsibility stops there.

Democracy is a do-it-yourself system. Local Democrats and local Republicans welcome workers, and candidates. And the law makes it easy for independents, too, to test their mettle.

Nobody we know of ever has argued that a democracy or a republic can move faster to right a wrong than a dictatorship. But it is also much slower to create a wrong.

To those who are concerned about today's America, let us recall a harried governor of Massachusetts, who compared monarchy with a fine ship. He pointed out that it sailed beautifully until it hit a rock, whereupon it sank.

By contrast, he said, democracy is like a raft. "It will not sink, but damn it, your feet are always wet."

Our democracy on this July 4 may be a little damp around the ankles.

But it is still unsinkable.

#### FAIR WARNING

### HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, Ralph A. MacMullan is the widely respected director of the Michigan Department of Natural Resources and a distinguished conservationist.

Over the years, he has spoken out about the potential dangers of hard pesticides, such as DDT, to wildlife. I note that the State Department of Agriculture recently prohibited the sale of DDT within the State of Michigan.

In the newest edition of Michigan Natural Resources, the magazine of the Department of Natural Resources, Mr. MacMullan has written an article about the threat to man and wildlife posed by the continued use of hard pesticides.

He writes:

Our environment is trying to tell us something. We are beginning to listen.

Speaking of these dangerous pesticides, Mr. MacMullan says:

There is in my judgment no longer any doubt about the effect that these chemicals have on many species of wildlife. Those effects include death, reproductive impairment, disruption of species balance, and behavioral alteration, all of which have been reported, study by study, in a recent special scientific summary published by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

This article "Fair Warning," is a most penetrating examination of the pesticide threat, and I recommend it to my colleagues:

#### FAIR WARNING: EVIDENCE OF TROUBLE FROM HARD PESTICIDES CONTINUES TO MOUNT

(By Ralph A. MacMullan)

Our environment is trying to tell us something.

It is giving us Fair Warning of trouble here and trouble ahead from continued use of hard pesticides.

We witness unusual losses of fish in our hatcheries.

We see bird eggs that fail to hatch.

We wonder what has happened to entire species of fish, such as several types of chubs, that are no longer found in Lake Michigan.

We are disturbed by federal seizure of salmon taken from Lake Michigan, and we

applaud a recent state Agriculture Department order against DDT in Michigan. Governor William G. Milliken points up the dangers we face by calling a conference of governors of western Great Lakes states. Senator Philip Hart of Michigan opens federal hearings into environmental troubles. The Food and Drug Administration sets an interim standard for DDT levels in fish, and the future of the Great Lakes commercial fishing industry is thrown into danger and doubt. Our sport fishermen wonder how edible their fish may be, considering the new federal standards. We read a disquieting report of human stomach and liver ailments in Soviet workers occupationally exposed to DDT. The federal Department of Agriculture bans use of the hard pesticide Lindane in home and restaurant vaporizers because of a "serious threat to human health."

Our environment is trying to tell us something, we are beginning to listen, and hopefully the silent warnings are not coming too late.

And yet, the use of these hard pesticides will continue for more months and years than I like to count. The use will continue, despite the advice of our senses, because social controls and legal procedures at our disposal move and change slowly. The state Agriculture Department order against DDT, for example, is being challenged by the National Agricultural Chemical Association. Public hearings will be held and the state Agriculture Commission will then decide whether to keep the order in force, or to lift it. If it stays in effect, the chemical companies then have the right to appeal their case through the courts, a procedure destined to keep DDT on the shelves of Michigan retail stores for years to come. In the meantime, nothing has been done to restrict the use of Aldrin, Dieldrin, Endrin, Chlordane, Heptachlor, Toxaphene, and—except for the limited use in vaporizers—of Lindane. All of these are at least equally as pernicious as DDT, if less commonly used. If DDT is in fact eventually outlawed in Michigan by court decision, we will still be left with the question of these other hard pesticides. They are all long-lasting and they are all destructive of certain types of wildlife. They are all part of the group of chemicals known as the persistent chlorinated hydrocarbons.

As noted in an earlier issue of this magazine, I have been encouraged by actions during the past year and a half aimed at control of these chemicals in our nation. It must fairly be said that progress has been made, but the main thrust of that progress has been to create greater public understanding. People are more aware, and are becoming alarmed at some of the excesses caused by these chemicals. Unfortunately, while this growth of understanding has been taking place, the heavy use of hard pesticides continues. A Department of Agriculture report recently summarized production of these chemicals in the U.S. during the period 1948-1966. By "production" is meant the amount of these chemicals that U.S. companies manufactured and introduced into the world environment. Part of that production was used in the U.S., and part in foreign nations, while an unknown portion remains as yet unused in warehouses or on shelves. The summary shows that U.S. chemical companies began to produce DDT in volume in the late 1940's. In 1948-49, the first year shown in the summary, about 38,000,000 pounds of DDT were produced. During the five-year period of 1951-56, production of DDT climbed to an annual average of 110,000,000 pounds. In the 1956-61 period, the annual average production of DDT was 152,000,000 pounds. From 1961-66, the annual average production of DDT was about 150,000,000 pounds per year, but in 1966, it dropped to 125,000,000 pounds, and in 1967 to 103,000,000 pounds, so that a downward trend now appears to be setting in.

The Agriculture Department also summarized statistics of production of certain other major hard pesticides, here referred to collectively, for convenience, as the "Aldrin group." I include Aldrin, Dieldrin, Endrin, Chlordane, Heptachlor, and Toxaphene in this group. Production of these chemicals in the U.S. got underway on a large scale in 1951-52, when a total of 49,000,000 pounds was manufactured. But that was just the beginning, and during the five-year period of 1951-56, these companies increased production so that for the period as a whole 57,000,000 pounds per year were produced. In the next five-year period, 1956-61, the average jumped to 91,000,000 pounds, and in the 1961-66 period, that average again increased, this time to 113,000,000 pounds annually. That annual average is believed to be still climbing.

Thus, although domestic production of DDT appears to be dropping, production of these new and equally harmful chemicals has continued to rise. In other words, the total quantity of persistent chemicals being produced continued to increase during the 1948-1966 period. Only in the last two years has a downward trend apparently been established. All told, during the last 20-years, a total of more than 2,000,000 tons of DDT and chemicals in the Aldrin group was manufactured and distributed by U.S. firms.

DDT is neither difficult nor expensive to produce. The base material is a byproduct of the petroleum industry. It is manufactured by five chemical companies in the U.S. and an unknown number in other nations. Its retail price on the shelf, as any gardener knows, is still quite steep. Its abundance, ease of manufacture, and high monetary return go a long way toward explaining how hard the chemical companies will fight for the right to keep on making and selling this poisonous compound.

Chemicals in the Aldrin group are somewhat more expensive to produce so their shelf price is also correspondingly higher. At least one or more of these chemicals is produced by most companies that manufacture DDT. As chemicals, they are closely related to DDT, but are generally more toxic.

There is in my judgment no longer any doubt about the effect that these chemicals have on many species of wildlife. Those effects include death, reproductive impairment, disruption of species balance, and behavioral alteration, all of which have been reported, study by study, in a recent special scientific summary published by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

The question of human health in relation to these chemicals is, however, far from settled. Here we must rely on federal, state, and international medical research, on restrictions of the Food and Drug Administration, and on our own abilities as individuals to read, interpret, and evaluate what is happening. From what we have seen in this Department at this date, the great bulk of evidence is inconclusive. However, the history of these chemicals in our environment and the nature and purpose of the compounds themselves cannot help but make us cautious in our long-range appraisal. The fact that a very sizable amount of pathology research on these chemicals is continuing is evidence in itself that the medical profession is far from convinced of their safety. Such chemicals are, after all, forms of poison, and when individual humans accidentally or voluntarily have consumed small amounts of DDT they have suffered nausea, headache, and perspiration. A 100-pound woman who consumes about a sixth of an ounce of the stuff could expect such a reaction; a 200-pound man would need to consume twice that amount to have the same reaction. Of course, individuals vary greatly in their reactions, but these amounts appear to be average.

When volunteer male prisoners allowed

amounts of DDT to be gradually increased in their diets, they were able to take a minute amount each day for up to 21 months without showing signs of harmful effect. In terms of weight, it was about 1/1000 of an ounce. That amount, however, is so small as to simulate a rather light salting of the food. Also, men exposed to DDT by occupation for a period of years have shown no ill effects in the U.S. But 70 workers exposed to DDT for 10 years or longer in a Soviet study did show stomach and liver ailments. This was reported recently in the publication "Occupational Safety and Health Abstracts."

A recent analysis by the Michigan Department of Public Health, summarizing the findings of several studies, is at the same time both hopeful and cautious. Among other conclusions, it says: "The weight of evidence available to us at the present time indicates that no significant health hazard exists from the levels of pesticides found in fish taken in the Great Lakes area." The analysis, issued in April, doubted any relationship between DDT and cancer, stating "At the present time, there is no reason to suspect DDT of being a carcinogen." This evaluation was based on a summary of studies published to that date. The National Cancer Institute, however, has now released a study which questions those earlier studies. That agency is a branch of the National Institute of Health in the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Its study, published in the Congressional Record of May 1, 1969, was an "Interim Report" of findings of a five-year research program which links DDT to a "significantly elevated incidence of tumors" in mice. "The tumors seen in this study were principally those of the liver, lung, and lymphoid organs," the report notes. A total of 130 agricultural and industrial chemicals was studied and of these, DDT and 10 others were found to increase tumors in mice. The report cautions: "At the present time, there is no way to predict whether man may be more or less susceptible than the mouse to the induction of tumors by the compounds reported here. It should be stressed that the dose received by the mice was far in excess of that likely to be consumed by humans."

"A group of experts," the report continues, "will therefore be constituted in the near future to review all pertinent information and make recommendations on whether any of the compounds should be labelled as carcinogenic."

The State Department of Public Health study also noted that when fairly heavy doses of DDT were included in the diets of rats, a form of liver malfunction occurred, but in a similar study, monkeys showed no ill effects: "In experiments in which monkeys were fed DDT at a level of 200 parts per million in their total diet for periods of up to seven and one-half years, no other changes were seen. There were also no clinical signs of illness."

However, the State Department of Public Health report—like the National Cancer Institute report—contains statements that attest to the unknowns medical researchers still face. Some examples at random from the State report: "The significance of these changes is not entirely clear." . . . "The relationship of these analogues to possible cellular or microsomal changes cannot be assessed at this time." . . . "It has been demonstrated that DDT can cause adaptation of enzyme systems although the general biological significance of these are not clear as yet." . . . "It is not clear whether this has any relevance in terms of the dose of DDT in the diets of humans nor whether this has any physiological significance for humans."

It is not enough, therefore, to say that these chemicals either do or do not cause problems for human health. They have been active in our environment for only twenty



years, and in a heavy way for only the last 10 to 15 years. This is far less than one human generation, and conceivably several full generations might be required before essential uncertainties of human health surrounding these chemicals can be resolved.

So the fair warning from our environment may have arrived soon enough, for humans at least. We can still make changes and hopefully forestall most of the actual, possible and imaginable problems that I for one feel now confront us from the use of these chemicals. Alarm at the unbridled use of these chemicals in this nation and around the world has increased in recent years. Arizona has now banned all use of DDT in agriculture. Sweden has declared a two-year moratorium on all use of DDT and several members of the Aldrin group. A continuing court fight in Wisconsin may see DDT virtually banned from use in that state before the end of this year. A bill to prohibit the manufacture or sale of DDT throughout the nation is now in Congress. Similar bills have been introduced into the legislatures of at least six states.

Ultimately, of course, legal prohibitions against the manufacture, sale, and use of these few specific hard chemicals will be the only real solution, but that solution may be years in coming, and in the meantime, our wildlife, our water, and our total environment continues to suffer under the growing load of these dangerous compounds.

Now, however, individual citizens are helping by their complaints, by their refusal to buy hard pesticides, and by their support of the state Agriculture Department ban against DDT. They, and we, believe it is not too late to overcome the problem. We have a long way to go, but we have made a start. We are heeding the Fair Warning.

LOUIS SACHS—COMMUNITY LEADER

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to note that Louis Sachs of New Haven, a dear friend and distinguished community leader, has received the Shem Tov—Good Name—Award at the 87th annual meeting of B'nai Jacob Congregation in Woodbridge, Conn. In my opinion, he is richly deserving of this high honor.

A 1914 graduate of Yale Law School, Mr. Sachs has had a long and outstanding career as an attorney. More outstanding, however, has been his dedicated service to New Haven and to the Connecticut Jewish community for nearly half a century. Among the many boards and organizations he has served on are the Mayor's Committee To Reorganize the Schools of New Haven, the board of directors of Yale-New Haven Hospital, New Haven Citizens Action Committee, and the New Haven Chapter of the Yale School Alumni Association, of which he was president. From 1939 to 1958, he was workmen's compensation commissioner for the Third Congressional District.

Mr. Sachs' activities in behalf of the Jewish community are equally notable. He has been chairman of seven Karen Hayesod—Founding Fund for Israel—campaigns, the Zionist Emergency Council for 17 years, and the Jewish Welfare

Fund, of which he was a founder, for 4 years. He also served as president of New Haven's Bureau of Jewish Education for several terms and as vice president of B'nai Jacob Congregation.

Louis Sachs, a dedicated citizen and a wonderful person, is most worthy of this tribute. As a close personal friend and a long-time associate in the practice of law, I am extremely pleased that he has been recognized for his accomplishments in a career of honorable service to his religion, community, and Nation.

A RESPONSIBILITY OF BIGNESS

HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Joseph F. Martori of Martori Bros. Growers & Shippers was kind enough to send me a copy of a letter he recently wrote to Mr. Frank W. Castiglione, executive vice president of Western Growers Association. He details the adverse economic power of certain large institutions—and the unfortunate, wielding of this power. It is my hope that corrective action will be taken soon, as this will benefit the Nation.

The letter follows:

JUNE 28, 1969.

Mr. FRANK W. CASTIGLIONE,  
Executive Vice President, Western Growers Association, Los Angeles, Calif.

DEAR FRANK: I am writing this letter to bring to your attention the severe situation we are getting into in the produce business. Primarily I wish to draw your attention to the so called grape "boycott". As you know Mr. Cesar E. Chavez of the UFWOC has been unsuccessfully trying to get the grape workers to join his union for the past five years. If the workers were interested in joining Mr. Chavez's they would have done so long ago. However, it is very evident the average field worker does not want a union. These workers have been harassed and intimidated both in the field and at their homes. How can a union be sincere in claiming they want to help these people when they use these methods. Now Mr. Chavez has taken the turn to try and force the shipper to sign a contract that would force the employees to join the union. This has also been unsuccessful. However, the UFWOC has been successful in getting backing by the liberal press and the clergy. This support has been attained by using propaganda and now the same "slanted" information is being passed on to the public.

It has now reached the stage where the large chain stores are refusing to display or advertise grapes. In fact, representatives of six of the large chain stores met at the Statler Hotel in New York City this week. The reports coming out of that meeting indicate they voted to continue not to handle grapes in their stores. The situation can really bring our industry to it's knees. If the chain stores can destroy the grape industry by not buying or displaying same, then tomorrow it could be lettuce or potatoes. I believe this "laying out of the market" by the chain stores should be brought to the attention of the government. No organization or business should have this much power in the United States. If the chains, who supply 75% of the food consumed in this country, decide to boycott a certain item or commodity it will be disastrous to the grow-

ers. The growers of the present grape crop are going to suffer severe losses. These losses are not because of lack of labor, but because of the refusal of the chain stores to buy grapes.

I would like to hear from you promptly as to what information you have on this situation and what our organization can do about it. Something must be done to stop this in the future. I am forwarding a copy of this letter to my Senators and Congressmen. I will forward a copy of your answer to them also so that they may have all the information and be aware of how serious a situation our industry is facing. I can't stress too strongly that some corrective action must be taken immediately to protect our growers and our industry.

Very truly yours,

MARTORI BROS. DISTRIBUTORS,  
By JOSEPH P. MARTORI.

"IDEA MEN" UNWORRIED

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, the issue of East-West trade is of great interest to the Congress as well as the Nation at large and we have all heard the arguments on both sides of the issue. In that regard, I noticed an article by Mr. Dumitru Danielopol of the Copley News Service in the May 2, 1969, issue of the Illinois State Register in Springfield, Ill. The article makes a significant reference to an analysis of the situation by my good friend and colleague, the Honorable Ed DERWINSKI. In his customary and straightforward fashion, Congressman DERWINSKI reports his view of the issue after returning recently from a tour of Eastern Europe. I include the article in the RECORD at this point:

"IDEA MEN" UNWORRIED  
(By Dumitru Danielopol)

WASHINGTON.—During World War I, Will Rogers, the American humorist, offered a "solution" for German submarine warfare that was sinking thousands of allied ships.

All one had to do, he said, was to pump the water out of the ocean.

What would happen to all that water, where would it go? he was asked.

"I don't bother with details," he laughed, "I'm only the 'idea man'."

The story often comes to mind when I hear the easy solutions for difficult problems put out by "idea men" in Congress and on the grey periphery of government.

A case in point is Prof. Zbigniew Brzezinski, the Columbia professor, a former member of the Policy Planning Division of the State Department who advocated unilateral cease fire in Vietnam in the hope that the Viet Cong will follow suit.

What if they don't?

Judging from past experience with bombing halts, the enemy would increase rather than decrease his attacks.

What would the GIs do then?

The professor doesn't volunteer any solutions to such problems. After all he is only an "idea man."

A second case in point is former White House adviser Theodore Sorensen who wants increased East-West trade. This will strengthen the hand of the liberal forces in Czechoslovakia, he says.

Testifying before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee recently, Sorensen said

the United States cannot intervene militarily or diplomatically in the Czech struggle—but should not cling to restrictive trade policies which help conservatives, Soviet-oriented forces there.

Trade restrictions with Eastern Europe are costing the U.S. economy hundreds of millions, perhaps billions of trade dollars each year, Sorensen said.

A similar theme is sounded by Rep. Paul Findley, R-Ill., who imagines that an end to trade restrictions will "make Soviet behavior more reasonable."

Neither Sorensen nor Findley explain how we can increase East-West trade with countries that have no hard cash and very few products that appeal to our economy.

Do we put it on the cuff or buy shoddy merchandise? Do we ignore the fact that the Eastern European satellites are already heavily in debt to Western Europe, Japan and other free countries?

Do we ignore the fact the Communist countries are trying to increase food exports at a time when strict rationing exists for their own people and food is in short supply?

Or shouldn't we embarrass "idea men" with such details?

I prefer the pragmatic realism of men like Rep. Ed Derwinski, R-Ill., who don't blink when they look at Eastern Europe. Just back from Vienna, Budapest and Prague, Derwinski says:

"East-West trade is a fiction. The Communists are looking for outright aid at the U.S. taxpayers' expense."

## INFLATION

**HON. LOWELL P. WEICKER, JR.**

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. WEICKER. Mr. Speaker. The economic political duties shouldered by this House during the past weeks clearly have demonstrated the complexities of our U.S. economy. Resolving these complexities is going to require innovative excellence.

It is with this in mind that I am enclosing a letter written to me by Mr. Richard S. White, president of Automation Engineering Laboratory, Inc., whose reasoning, I believe, holds a good deal more promise than the old clichés and old remedies that even now are being used and reused to attack new problems:

AUTOMATION ENGINEERING LABORATORY, INC.,

WILTON, CONN., June 23, 1969.

Congressman LOWELL P. WEICKER, JR.,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR LOWELL: You must be well settled into the responsibilities and life of being a United States Congressman and I hope you are finding it most interesting and enjoyable. As you may know, our affairs at AEL seem to be moving along constructively. I look forward to the opportunity to see you in person sometime.

I am writing to you at this time to discuss with you a matter concerning one of our National Policies, which appears to be most confused and in error. Namely, I speak of our false attempts at understanding and dealing with the subject of Inflation. In my opinion, we are following an entirely fallacious course and one which can do great harm and simultaneously fail to accomplish the intended constructive results. I would like to briefly put down a few points and then a few suggestions for your consideration. I do

this, believing that as the Representative for our area, that if you concur, you are in a position to bring these observations to the attention of the many people who are involved in a reconsideration of what may be a rather disastrous National Policy. Also, I particularly would hope that you would consider initiating such actions as you might consider appropriate.

1. In order to decide what policies we should have concerning inflation, we need to look clearly at the causes of inflation and we need to do this without pretense that these causes are going to disappear or change. Certainly, the most significant factor affecting inflation is our willingness to have continual substantial wage increases. It is not my purpose in this letter to evaluate whether these wage increases are constructive or not, but I do believe that we must recognize their continuity and that from both a political and economic viewpoint, the probability is 99% that they will continue over the years ahead. (It was recently reported to me that carpenters in a nearby State obtained an agreed wage of \$9.35 per hour. It is really playing a ludicrous game with our American economy to be tightening the credit of commerce, and at the same time preventing a productivity offset to such labor rates—about which I shall make specific suggestions.)

2. The second major factor concerning inflation, is that we have substantial demand from individuals who are enjoying a high standard of living. In my opinion the continuity of this demand is inadequately understood—which is why the monetary and fiscal attempts of the past few years to stop this demand are a virtual failure. Basically, we should be very grateful for this demand, but we must clearly understand that the United States has inadequate productivity at this time to meet the demand present within our country.

3. Two additional factors which further go to increase prices are, of course, taxes on the one hand, and more recently, the continual increase of interest costs.

There is substantial confusion in the theory that says demand will be slowed down by increasing taxes (which is supposed to reduce effective purchasing power—but which in fact adds to costs, and thus adds to inflation) and by increasing interest costs (which is supposed to reduce effective purchasing power—but which in fact adds to costs, and thus adds to inflation). The same people who advocate these steps don't seem to give much attention to the correlative effect of these increased costs which compare with continued wage increases, so far as the cost of goods and services are concerned.

The fact is that none of these three purchasing power retardants (higher wages, interest, or taxes) are very effective within a tolerable and reasonable degree of restraint on our people. The costs which are encountered in commerce are ultimately passed on to the buyers—this is an ipso facto, irrevocable truth—or the enterprises providing the goods and services would go into bankruptcy. The further fact is that we have a sufficiently dynamic and underlyingly strong economy (including widespread comfortable income levels, plus substantial individual savings) so that costs are passed on and the higher costs thus experienced by the consumers, who are also wage earners, create further impetus for additional wage hikes.

4. It is, of course, probably true that at some level, taxes and/or interest costs can cause a major economic disorientation which can be just as difficult to manage and prevent from getting out of hand as has been our dubious attempts to stop prosperity.

5. Lowell, in my opinion, it is totally ridiculous to think that we can, "fine-tune" 200 million people to adjust the amount of

buying that the economists would have them do. The theories that we are pursuing are drawn out of the past when people had very little reserves to fall back on, and when people did not have their present dynamic position for bargaining for their relative well-being.

6. There simply is only one way to deal with the causes of inflation constructively. And that is to put our energies to work imaginatively to fulfill the demand of a healthy, strong society.

Inflation results from demand exceeding supply. We can and must increase supply. That is, we must increase the productivity of all of our people to produce the goods and services which we are all demanding. This should be our national policy. This is technologically entirely possible. What we need is a national high productivity policy.

7. One of our major problems as a nation is that the policies we are presently pursuing work diametrically against our best interests with regard to increasing productivity.

8. In order to decide how best to meet our total national demands, it is helpful to recognize the following factors concerning these demands. They result of course from:

- (a) Individuals.
- (b) The Government.
- (c) Industry.

Industry's demand, however, is of course a reflection of the demand of (a) Individuals and (b) the Government. Even the Government's demand is essentially a reflection of the demand of (a), Individuals, as they express their demand by political decision.

9. What we are trying to do via the tax and monetary routes is to tell our people to reduce their demand—that of course is a most negative policy. What all of the American people would like to see their leaders do, is rather to indicate how we can fulfill their demands. The demands are not going to decrease either politically or economically, nor in the person of the "individual"—be he consumer—voter—or wage earner. The only constructive way, to meet the demand that exists in our market places, is a national policy to increase productivity—the only policy which is fundamentally sound if we are to continue to be successful at home and in the international economy.

10. High taxes and high interest rates only go to slow down and discourage increases of productivity. The negative effect on productivity is by far more pronounced than the effect on consumer demand (and thus inflation is further fed)—and the reason is quite simple—the increase of productivity involves risk. Every business manager increasing his productivity has to gamble against the future, and the more unattractive we make that gamble, the less he can justify increases of productivity, which increases in turn are the absolute and only answer to the desires and needs of the American public.

Hence, the policies we have now been following these past few years are totally against the best interests of our people, as well as presenting a miserable failure in effectiveness.

11. We should have the courage to recognize the strengths of buying power that are fundamental to our economy—and to be grateful for them—and to reverse our policies regarding high interest rates and tight money supply. We should revert to a substantially growing supply of low cost money, first of all. This is the only policy that will enable the fundamental growth of productivity that is a must. Subsequently, we could gradually reduce the tax rate (which gradually will also increase the total amount of taxes received by the government, as our economy continues to grow). When these steps have been established and communicated as part of a new national high productivity policy, the Entrepreneurs in our country will quickly solve the problems of supply and demand



which cannot be legislated by false and hazardous economic policies.

Lowell. I have written this letter quite directly and specifically because I have a high respect for you. I think you are far too interested in sound performance to be wed to the clichés of the past and the false policies of the past. You must have a great many matters to stay abreast of, and thus I hope the points above will be of value of crystallizing your own thoughts on this most fundamental subject concerning the economic well-being and strength of our country.

After you have read this letter, I would very much appreciate the opportunity to discuss these matters in person. I am in a more than usual position to help you perceive the detailed structure of sound, new policies, and you are more than usually well-qualified to espouse important new policies. Lowell, I will look forward to hearing from you.

With very best wishes and highest regards,  
Sincerely,

DICKLE.

### THE CONCORDE CONCEPT

**HON. DAN KUYKENDALL**

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to submit to you this report, based on my observations, interviews and behind-the-scenes talks with aviation and economic experts, on the general picture of supersonic aviation in Europe, and how it affects this Nation's efforts in the SST area.

The information I received during my 3-day visit to the International Air Show at Paris, France, only serves to strengthen my opinion that the United States can, and must compete in this vast new concept now aborning. It is not a question of whether we are going to have SST's flying all over the world in a few short years, it is now only a question of where the world's airline companies are going to buy them.

Perhaps selfishly, I want them to buy them from us, and I want us to have something to sell them. We are talking about a billion-dollar market, and we cannot afford to sit on our subsonic laurels and let these dollars fly past us at 1,500 miles an hour.

The specific purpose of my visit to France last month was to make a thorough study of the overall status of the Anglo-French Concorde. This study fell into three broad general areas: economic, production, and FAA certification.

#### ECONOMIC

The economic aspects of the Concorde and the area of discussion around them produced the most surprising set of facts during the entire investigation. Candidly, I never dreamed the commitment of the French and British Governments could be as great as it is.

Each nation has in excess of 30,000 people employed in the program, which in itself is proof of the vast commitment. Financing for the prototype and the test models has already been accomplished, and definite plans have been made for private financing—with Government guarantees—of the preproduction models.

It was a surprise to most Americans at

the Paris Air Show to learn that there are nine aircraft in the Concorde program at this time. These are the prototype aircraft, 001 and 002; the test aircraft, 01 and 02; the preproduction aircraft, 1, 2, and 3; and two additional aircraft for static tests, such as metal fatigue.

We certainly must conclude, from these facts and from the physical existence of nine airplanes, that the commitment of both France and England to the SST program is complete.

#### PRODUCTION

The two prototype aircraft are now in the air. They flew in loose formation to the Paris Air Show.

Neither of these aircraft have flown at supersonic speeds, and they are not intended to do so with their present engines. Both aircraft are carrying extremely heavy loads at present, loaded from cockpit to tail assembly with recording instruments of every possible variety, leaving room for only a narrow aisle in the center of the airplane. These loads of "black boxes" are much heavier than the passenger load of the aircraft would be.

About 20 takeoffs and landings have been made by the 001 thus far. The committal speed, known at the over-the-fence speed, has been between 165 and 170 knots. Concorde officials are convinced they can handle this aircraft very nicely at 160 knots, and it has flown at altitude at speeds as low as 143 knots.

The aircraft has a rather extreme nose-up attitude on both takeoff and landing, which has made it desirable to increase the length of the landing gear slightly in order to lessen the risk of "tail touching" during takeoff or landing.

Eight new engines, much enlarged versions of the original engine, will be placed in the two prototype aircraft about September 1, and then testing will begin at speeds up to mach 2, or twice the speed of sound, about 1,300 miles an hour. The eight new engines are now undergoing static tests which already leave no doubt of the Concorde's capability to achieve mach 2.

The unknown factor in Concorde testing is fuel consumption. Determinations must yet be made as to fuel consumption under maximum load conditions at subsonic and supersonic speeds. This is one of the two critical areas remaining to be determined before the Concorde can be judged a success.

Carrying a maximum passenger load from Paris to New York is the prime criteria to success, and this situation as it now appears is marginal, at best. I gathered that this is the foremost problem on the minds of European engineers.

I am grateful for most of the above to Mr. Louis Guista, the director general of engineering for SUD Aviation in France. He was most impressive, and I was able to talk to him almost all of one afternoon through our State Department interpreters. Also involved in this discussion were Ray Molloy, the Federal Aviation Agency's director for Europe and Africa, and several members of his staff.

#### FAA CERTIFICATION

I anticipate no problem from the FAA in certifying the Concorde in the areas of safety, its flight performance at subsonic

levels of speed, landing speeds or impact on the runway.

But the previously mentioned range problem pertaining to fuel consumption and fuel reserve must be considered from a safety standpoint, as well as an economic factor, since the FAA determines the amount of fuel reserve that must remain in the tanks following an overseas flight.

The most critical problem relating to the FAA certification, in my opinion, is noise. Here I am speaking primarily of airport noise during the warmup, taxiing, and takeoff. I watched and heard this performance, and there is no way to describe it except as being a most distressing assault on the eardrums. I am perfectly aware, of course, that testing of a prototype requires a checklist many times more complex than that used for a normal takeoff in commercial use. I also realize that when I witnessed the takeoff of the Concorde I was more or less behind the aircraft, making the noise factor even worse.

But I must conclude that the noise performance I witnessed in Paris would never be satisfactory for the United States use.

The hoped-for solution to the airport noise problem may come with the Concorde's newer engines. The powerplants now on the airframe are operating at very nearly their outer limits, and this, of course, always means additional noise. The engines being installed in the two aircraft in September will be a great deal more powerful than those now in use, and therefore will have to labor less to lift the aircraft, thus producing less noise. I consider this essential before the aircraft can even be considered in the United States.

In this same reference, it is interesting to note that the performance of the Boeing 747 in Paris was so quiet that the Europeans found it difficult to believe there was even enough power to make the aircraft fly. I believe if our engineering people can conquer noise to the extent they have done on the 747, the Rolls Royce people can certainly do the same for the Concorde.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The commercial aviation people with whom I visited during the trip believe the Concorde will move ahead to success, and will be purchased in some quantity by the airlines. It is for this reason that I consider it essential at the present time that our country move ahead with its plans for the American version of the SST.

During my visit with the General Electric engineers in Cincinnati last November, I learned that our SST engine is complete, for all practical purposes. It may be that the engine development is many months ahead of the airframe because the necessary time and study to conquer the noise problem is available to our people at GE, and I think it will be well used.

I saw no evidence of what the Europeans plan to do with the next version of the Concorde, or the "second generation" plans. I am forced to believe there are no plans for such an aircraft even as far as the drawing board. Consequently, our airplane may still be able to move

into the forefront of the SST market in the mid or late 1970's.

But in order to insure this, we must proceed now.

## NEW BRAND OF TEXAS EDUCATION

**HON. J. J. PICKLE**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, earlier in this Congress we voted on the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. I would bring to your attention the beneficial impact this legislation has had upon the Texas Education Agency since 1965.

TEA is an advocate of change that ranks it with the tops in educational agencies in the Nation. I would submit an article written by John Egerton for the June-July issue of *American Education*. The article, in part, follows:

### TEA—NEW BRAND OF TEXAS EDUCATION

(By John Egerton)

If a State's education department is strong, chances are that the quality of education is good and the whole State benefits. And the converse is equally true: Weak departments can yield poor quality education and penalize their States.

It was largely with this latter prospect in mind that the Congress wrote into the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 the provisions of title V: Grants to Strengthen State Departments of Education. By the end of fiscal year 1969, a little less than four years after enactment, the States will have received about \$98 million in funds under this title.

How they have used this money, and what improvements have they been able to make? Each State, of course, is different, but a close look at one of them—Texas—may help to answer the questions.

Since 1965, when ESEA was passed, the Texas Education Agency staff has grown from about 1,300 to more than 2,200. Its operating budget has more than tripled over the same period, jumping from about \$5.4 million to more than \$18 million this past fiscal year. These figures are somewhat deceptive—about 900 of the agency's employees and a large share of its budget belong to a special division of vocational rehabilitation. Nevertheless, TEA is a large, influential State agency, and there are signs that the Federal aid it has received—particularly under title V of ESEA—is changing both the shape and style of education administration in Texas.

The State has received close to \$4 million under title V since ESEA was passed; only two States—California and New York—have received more. Commissioner of Education J. W. Edgar, who has held his appointive office for 19 years, notes that there was considerable opposition in Texas to Federal aid to education when he took office. Today, this general opposition to Federal aid has diminished.

Although a strong preference for block grants instead of categorical aid persists, Edgar himself says that categorical assistance has not been unduly restrictive. He cites title V as a case in point. It is categorical—it can be used only to strengthen the Texas Education Agency—but it is also in some respects a block grant, in that the agency has considerable latitude in choosing which

aspects of departmental structure it wants to strengthen.

In its first application for title V funds, TEA listed seven areas it wanted to concentrate on. The seven were:

Establishment of an agency-wide, comprehensive planning unit;

Reorganization of the personnel office to provide for more orderly expansion and development of the professional staff;

Reorganization of the agency's internal management system;

Strengthening of the research division to speed up and streamline the collection, processing, and dissemination of statistical data;

Expansion of the agency's production, development, and use of instructional media such as audio-visual materials;

Expansion of the services in special education for exceptional children; and

Upgrading of the curriculum and program development division.

These same priorities are still listed, although changes in the seven areas have already been extensive. On the advice of a management consultant firm, TEA's staff development and its personnel offices have been combined, and programs of recruitment, orientation, and inservice training are now closely coordinated. In the past, each division of the agency carried on these functions independently. In the areas of instructional media, special education, and curriculum development, the biggest change has been staff expansion.

Internal management and research procedures have been extensively reorganized. With title V funds, TEA officials set in motion a computer-based information system that will eventually provide current data not only on TEA's internal operations but also on those of every school system in the State. Within TEA the administration of State and Federal funds, the coordination of contracts, the fiscal accounting operation, the collection and dissemination of statistical data, and the myriad record-keeping requirements of the agency will all be a part of the computerized system. "We're two years ahead of the schedule," says Donald Offerman, the TEA official who initiated planning for the project.

When the system is fully operable, TEA will be able to "stop getting obsolete and unnecessary information, and start getting all the pertinent data needed," on the entire Texas public school system, according to Offerman. The information will be collected and disseminated while it is still current. In conjunction with the 1970 census, TEA's data processing system will also produce community profiles for all counties in the State.

All of these changes at TEA have required enlargement and reorganization of existing efforts. The one entirely new function of the agency resulting from title V is systematic planning. Some degree of planning has always been carried on. Now, however, there is a planning office headed by an associate commissioner who reports directly to the commissioner.

Texas has a large and diverse school population. Its 1,200 school districts serve about 2.5 million pupils, including many Negroes and Mexican-Americans. Effective education for this vast and varied student body requires careful planning. With this in mind, TEA established an Office of Innovation and Assessment in the spring of 1966 to coordinate agency programs related to instruction in the schools and to develop projects under title III, the part of ESEA that provided funds for innovative school programs and for supplementary educational centers and services.

Within two months this new division was renamed the Office of Planning and given the job of implementing systematic plan-

ning on a comprehensive basis. It soon became evident that prior planning for educational change would not only benefit the schools but also bring TEA's diverse divisions into closer alliance. Research, planning, program evaluation, and communication became priority functions involving representatives of all parts of TEA.

The planning office also helped organize regional educational service centers throughout Texas. In 1965, the Texas Legislature authorized establishment of State-supported regional centers to provide school districts with instructional media services. While these centers were being developed, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was passed by Congress, and since title III of that act provided for the development of supplementary education centers, TEA put its new planning office to work on a strategy for combining the two activities. The result: 20 education service centers, each with its own staff and governing board, using local, State, and Federal funds to engage school districts in improving educational opportunity. TEA's planning office has also involved the State's colleges and universities, the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory in Austin, and the University of Texas Research and Development Center in Teacher Education in the planning and operation of the education service centers.

The 20 service centers are independent agencies, not intermediate administrative units run by TEA. Participation in their activities by local school districts is voluntary, but most Texas districts are involved. The centers give TEA closer contact with outlying districts, and this has benefited the agency's comprehensive planning program. The centers also provide the machinery for spreading the concept of educational planning. This year, for example, TEA is funding an experimental program in which 35 school districts are working closely with the Office of Planning on systematic development of local planning activities.

Another contribution of the Office of Planning has been the design of a "packaging" program for Federal funds. There are more than 25 Federal education programs, each with its own regulations for funding, operating, reporting, and evaluating. The packaging plan shows how these Federal programs with their various application and reporting procedures can be integrated to avoid as much duplication as possible without violating categorical requirements. For example, funds for staff development are available under 14 different Federal programs, and superintendents previously had to plan each of their inservice training projects separately. Now they can use the packaging concept to plan a comprehensive inservice education project for all teachers involved in Federal programs.

Packaging has enabled TEA, the education service centers, and the individual school districts to cut down the volume of paperwork and red-tape required for Federal aid programs. It has also led local school systems to think out priorities more clearly as they plan combined programs. As an outgrowth of the packaging concept, the planning office has designed forms for consolidating applications for Federal assistance. Local school districts use these forms as their sole means of requesting, receiving, budgeting, and evaluating the projects funded under most titles of ESEA, the National Defense Education Act, and the Vocational Education Act.

By establishing the regional education service centers, starting comprehensive planning, packaging Federal funds, coordinating the diverse units of the State agency, and giving more direct assistance to local school districts, TEA has begun to strengthen its



position as a leader of public education in Texas. While title V of ESEA is not the sole cause of these changes, it has helped to make them possible and has set them in motion sooner than the State could have on its own.

In addition to the basic grants it has received under title V, Texas has also been involved with other States in cooperative programs funded by another section of that title. Among these are a seven-State consortium on comprehensive planning by State education departments, a five-State program in international education, which also involves five Latin American countries, and a four-State planning program for title III of ESEA.

TEA is reaching out in other ways. Ten years ago, it was tightening the regulations for teacher certification programs at the State's colleges and universities to make them more uniform. Now, as a result of evaluations that have become a regular part of the planning function, the agency has begun to question whether the certification standards are too rigid, and whether more latitude for experimentation should, in fact, be allowed. TEA also contracts with outside agencies to work on specific problems; it has, for example, engaged the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory to establish an experimental curriculum development and teacher training center geared to the needs of migrant laborers and their children. In addition to the computerization of its accounting and records system, TEA has initiated microfilming of its records.

But the comprehensive educational planning effort may turn out to be the best indication of TEA's effective use of title V funds. Harry L. Phillips, director of the Division of State Agency Cooperation in the U.S. Office of Education, points out that Texas ranks with half a dozen other State agencies that have done the most to develop strong planning capabilities. And James Gibbs, an administrator of title V for USOE, says Texas is also "one of the leading States in relating its comprehensive planning functions to regional and local needs."

In its 1968 annual report to HEW, the Secretary's Advisory Council on State Departments of Education declared that it was "a matter of grave concern" that so few States had shown a readiness to adopt comprehensive planning procedures. "Until there exists and is exercised a capability of anticipating educational needs and of planning comprehensively for them," the council said, "the State educational agencies will not be the leaders of educational development in their States, but mere reactors to events which they cannot control." Texas, it would appear, has already heeded this warning.

Warren Hitt, the deputy commissioner of education in Texas, is quick to point out that the TEA face-lifting, which has been under way for the past three or four years, is not over. "We still have plenty of work to do," he says. "It's true that title V has helped us to get at some of our problems more quickly than we would have been able to on our own. But don't go away thinking we've already solved all of them."

#### WORLD TRADE OPPORTUNITIES

**HON. DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call my colleagues' attention to the United Nation's approval of 57 new

development programs as described in an article of the July 7, 1969, International Commerce. This article explains the general outlines for the new programs and what possibilities are available for American business involvement abroad. In addition, there is a second article concerning the \$8.8 million which will go for service and equipment expenditures in the new proposed programs. Both articles show the expansion of the United Nations joint efforts with American business to accelerate the economic growth in the underdeveloped countries of the world. The material follows:

#### WORLD TRADE OPPORTUNITIES—U.N. APPROVES 57 PROJECTS—TOTAL COST OF NEW DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS APPROVED IS ESTIMATED AT ABOUT \$102.2 MILLION

The Administrator of the United Nations Development Program submitted to the Governing Council fifty-two large scale pre-investment projects and supplementary financing for five existing projects for approval at its eighth session, concluded July 3.

The estimated total cost of the projects approved at this session is about \$102.2 million. Of this amount, the UNDP will contribute about \$37 million. The remainder—approximately \$65.2 million—will be contributed by the recipient governments.

The seventh session of the Council, reported in the Feb. 10, issue of International Commerce, approved projects expected to cost \$222 million. The latest action brings the 1969 total to \$324.2 million, of which the Council will provide \$132 million.

Sixteen of the new projects are devoted to surveys and feasibility studies for the development of natural resources, with emphasis placed on mineral and geological exploration and the improvement of transport and communications; eighteen will establish or strengthen applied research facilities, with particular attention to forestry, veterinary and fishery services, manufacturing, mining and power; fifteen will help bring into operation permanent national institutes to improve the levels of technical training and advanced education; and three will set up economic planning institutes.

As in previous years, Africa received the highest allocation, with 19 new projects. In addition, supplementary financing has been provided for the continuance of five projects in this region. The Americas are being assisted with twelve projects, Asia and the Far East with ten, and Europe and the Middle East with five and six projects respectively.

Outlining the outstanding features of the recommended program, the UNDP Administrator pointed out that it was largely devoted to projects calling for continuing support, or relatively short first-phase projects needed to define more complex undertakings, or projects calling for urgent operations. The Administrator noted that the experimental phase of UNDP assistance is reaching a point of consolidation, and that the new projects are mainly in well known categories. For example, the program demonstrates the continued importance being attached to training in all fields.

A careful screening, at the preliminary level, of projects approved at this session indicates the awareness of the UNDP Administrator with respect to the needs of developing countries. Some 40% of the new projects are devoted to developing industrial manpower and include assistance to Kenya, Madagascar and Panama for the improvement of apprenticeship and vocational programs; to Uganda for the expansion of the technical college, and to Peru for supervisory and management training programs. In other areas, projects involve training in agricul-

ture, communications, transportation, urban planning, and expansion of teacher training in many Africa countries.

In the implementation of these projects, the executing agencies, acting on behalf of the UNDP, will make field expenditures of some \$21 million for individual expert assignments, \$2.6 million for fellowship awards, \$5.5 million for project equipment, and \$3.3 million for contractual services.

Summaries providing pertinent background data for each project listed herein are available to U.S. firms upon request from: J. L. Malone, International Liaison and Trade Opportunities (ILTO) Staff, BDSA-541, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C. 20230. In requesting summaries for these projects the inquirer should include the project number, country and title of the project desired, such as: DP/SF/R.8/Add. 29—Korea—Regional physical planning.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 1—Algeria: Rural development in eastern Algeria: FAO. \$2,549,500.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 2—Argentina: Improvement of navigation on the Parana River: UN. \$2,082,000.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 3—Botswana: Cooperative development center: ILO. \$692,500.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 4—Brazil: Fishery development project: FAO. \$4,813,200.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 5—Bulgaria: Assistance to the Nikola Poushkarov Institute of Soil Science: FAO. \$9,313,000.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 6—Burundi: Burundi Development Bank, Bujumbura: UN. \$414,100.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 7—Chad: Rural development of the Ouaddai, Abeche: ILO. \$647,700.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 8—Chile: Water resources development in the Norte Grande: UN. \$2,579,800.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 9—Chile: Milk Technology Institute, Universidad Austral de Chile: FAO. \$1,910,600.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 10—Colombia: Transport and urban development study, Bogota: IBRD. \$334,000.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 11—Ecuador: Survey of metallic and non-metallic minerals (Phase II): UN. \$860,900.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 12—El Salvador: Survey of geothermal resources (Phase II): UN. \$1,856,200.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 13—El Salvador: Faculty of Engineering, University of El Salvador: UNESCO. \$527,600.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 14—Ethiopia: Supplementary assistance in strengthening the Awash Valley Authority: FAO. \$142,700.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 15—Ethiopia: Investigation of geothermal resources for power development: UN. \$274,600.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 16—Ghana: Development of cotton production: FAO. \$755,600.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 17—Greece: Industrial area and industrial estate near Salonika: UNIDO. \$3,205,300.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 18—Guinea: Reorganization of the port of Conakry: ILO. \$1,483,900.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 19—Hungary: Irrigated agriculture in the Tisza River Valley: FAO. \$550,900.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 20—India: Post-graduate agricultural education and research: UNESCO. \$7,890,900.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 21—Indonesia: Land and water resources development in southeastern Sumatra: FAO. \$1,978,700.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 22—Iran: Institute of Standards and Industrial Research, Karaj: UNIDO. \$4,133,700.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 23—Iraq: Fruit and vegetable improvement: FAO. \$477,000.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 24—Iraq: Air navigation and aeronautical meteorological facilities, Baghdad: ICAO. \$929,500.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 25—Ivory Coast: Insti-

tute of Pedagogical Research, Abidjan: UNESCO. \$976,500.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 26—Ivory Coast: Mineral survey in the Southwest (Phase II): UN. \$1,860,000.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 27—Jordan: Agricultural marketing (Phase II): FAO. \$931,600.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 28—Kenya: Supplementary assistance to the Kenya Polytechnic, Nairobi: UNESCO. \$2,832,400.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 29—Korea: Regional physical planning: UN. \$1,091,000.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 30—Libya: Center for Industrial Development and Research, Tripoli: UNIDO. \$6,246,200.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 31—Malagasy Republic: Supplementary assistance to the Educational Training and Research Institute: UNESCO. \$438,400.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 32—Malagasy Republic: National vocational training program: ILO. \$970,000.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 33—Nigeria: Supplementary assistance to the hides and skins demonstration and training project: FAO. \$694,500.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 34—Panama: National vocational training program: ILO. \$1,246,000.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 35—Peru: Management of small enterprises: ILO. \$124,900.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 36—Philippines: Mental Industry Development Center, Manila: UNIDO. \$1,913,600.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 37—Saudi Arabia: Center for Applied Geology, College of Petroleum and Minerals, Jeddah: UNESCO. \$2,259,900.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 38—Senegal: Bureau of Organization and Methods: UN. \$277,500.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 39—People's Rep. of Southern Yemen: Agricultural demonstration and training. El-Kod and Giar: FAO. \$795,700.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 40—Spain: Scientific study of water resources in the Canary Islands: UNESCO. \$1,191,400.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 41—Syrian Arab Republic: Center for Housing and Construction, Damascus: UN. \$1,719,000.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 42—Thailand: Telecommunications Training, Test and Development Center (Phase II): ITU. \$1,536,800.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 43—Thailand: Development of the northern region: UN. \$613,100.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 44—Togo: Fertilizer use, promotion, demonstration and production scheme, Lome: UNIDO. \$1,885,900.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 45—Turkey: Central Research and Training Institute for Hides, Skins and Leather, Istanbul: FAO. \$1,904,800.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 46—Uganda: Uganda Technical College, Kampala (Phase II): UNESCO. \$2,879,600.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 47—No document will be issued under this symbol.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 48—United Arab Republic: Textile Quality Control Center, Alexandria: UN. \$1,545,400.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 49—United Arab Republic: Technical Training and Research Institute for Telecommunications, Cairo: ITU. \$3,603,200.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 50—Venezuela: Programming for maintenance and engineering of health care facilities: WHO. \$1,408,300.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 51—Zambia: Development of small-scale industries: UNIDO. \$902,400.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 52—Regional: (Cameroon, Chad, Niger, Nigeria) Supplementary assistance to the study of water resources in the Chad Basin: UNESCO. \$55,700.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 53—Regional: (Afghanistan, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Nepal, Pakistan, Thailand) Feasibility studies for the Asian telecommunication network: ITU. \$518,500.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 54—Regional: (Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon, Chad, Central African Republic) Realignment of the Congo-Ocean Railway: IBRD. \$961,000.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 55—Regional: Caribbean fishery development project (phase II): FAO. \$1,807,700.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 56—Regional: Asian Institute for Economic Development and Planning, Bangkok (phase II): UN. \$4,195,900.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 57—Kenya: Beef industry development, Nakura (phase II): FAO. \$1,387,100.

DP/SF/R.8/Add. 58—Pakistan: Assistance to the University of Islamabad: UNESCO. \$1,033,000.

SERVICE, EQUIPMENT EXPENDITURES TOTAL \$8.8 MILLION IN UNDP PROJECTS—AMONG CONTRACTS TO BE AWARDED ARE THOSE CALLING FOR FERTILIZER PLANT, IMPROVEMENTS IN TRANSPORTATION AND WATER RESOURCES

The implementation of the recently approved UNDP program will involve expenditures by the executing agencies of approximately \$3.3 million for contractual services and \$5.5 million for project equipment.

A number of the major contracts to be awarded are for work in the transport field. One project for the realignment of the Congo-Ocean railway serving Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon, Chad and the Central African Republic, to be carried out by the World Bank, calls for contractual services amounting to \$817,000. This will cover the cost of consulting engineers, surveyors, geologists, economists and the purchasing of selected items of ground surveying equipment.

The railway, which carries a very large proportion of the freight of the four countries—about 2,500,000 metric tons annually including 1,200,000 tons of manganese ore from Gabon—has reached its capacity and is no longer capable of handling the steady traffic increases. The project will assist Agence Transequatoriale de Communications (ATEC), the official transport agency in the region, in determining the feasibility of improvements to the railway.

The World Bank will also make expenditures of about \$200,000 for consultants in town planning, transport economics, land use, traffic and engineering to assist in instituting short-term improvements in the urban transport system of Bogota. At the same time long-term city development plans will be prepared under this project.

Another transport project for which the UN is the executing agency is concerned with improvement of navigation on the Prana River in Argentina and includes a contract allowance of \$288,000 for expert services in hydraulic engineering, processing of topographical and hydrographical data, sedimentology, river transport and cargo operations. In addition, equipment valued at some \$262,700 will be provided. The government has assumed responsibility for complementary dredging and training work amounting to approximately \$600,000.

Initial geothermal investigations having proved successful, the government of El Salvador is moving ahead with the preparation of a technical and economic feasibility report for a geothermal power plant. The consultant services for this project include specialists in geothermal geology, geophysics, geochemistry, well-testing, chemical engineering and water disposal, and are covered by an allocation of \$470,000. The UN is the designated executing agency.

The UN will also award contracts amounting to \$378,000 to supply the services of experts in urban and regional planning, physical planning, transportation, research demography and sociology, soil interpretation, resources economics, industrial location economics, quantitative analysis and administrative law to Korea. This project will prepare the regional physical plans necessary for inclusion in the third Five-Year Plan 1971-76).

The establishment of a fertilizer plant in Togo is the eventual objective of an intensive fertilizer use campaign being launched with UNDP/UNIDO help in Togo. If the initial campaign is successful, the plant will be designed, erected and brought into operation, including the training of a work force, under a contract amounting to \$520,000. According to present plans the plant will use locally available phosphate ore and locally manufactured sulphuric acid to prepare a straight fertilizer and a mixing component. The plant will consist of a single superphosphate unit, a contact type sulphuric acid plant, a bulk blending unit and a bagging unit.

#### EQUIPMENT NEEDED

A number of projects concerning water resource development will also be partially carried out under contract, notably in Chile, Indonesia and Spain. Most projects contain an equipment component to cover the purchase of field vehicles, laboratory equipment, machinery, drilling rigs, teaching aids and such agricultural needs as tools, seeds and fertilizers.

Other projects involve purchases ranging from \$200,000 to \$400,000. For example an allocation of \$300,000 has been made for essential drilling rigs, generators and weather station equipment in connection with the water resource survey being made of the Norte Grande in Chile. Navigation aids of all kinds, sedimentology and hydrological instruments are included in the equipment lists for the investigations of the Parana River, Argentina and the Port of Conakry, Guinea; and a sea plane, motor launch, houseboat, and earth moving equipment will be bought for the survey of land and water resources in Sumatra, Indonesia.

Specialized equipment needed for testing and calibration in the fields of mechanics, electricity, electronics, photometry, heat and metallurgy as well as workshop equipment accounts for \$300,000 in the project to strengthen the Institute of Standards and Industrial Research in Iran; while tool room, foundry, mechanical machine shop machinery, welding equipment and agricultural implement prototype manufacturing machinery will be supplied at a cost of approximately \$200,000 to the Metal Development Center in Manila. Telecommunications projects also require sophisticated training aids, and the provision of telegraphy, transmission and subscribers apparatus for the Telecommunications Institute in the United Arab Republic is estimated to cost \$400,000.

U.S. firms may direct their inquiries concerning pertinent background data for UNDP projects to: J. L. Malone, International Liaison and Trade Opportunities (ILTO) Staff, BDSA-541, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C. 20230.

#### EDUCATION BUDGET CUTS

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, the American Library Trustee Association is organizing tomorrow a meeting in Washington of librarians, educators, and concerned citizens to urge upon Members of Congress and the administration the importance of restoring the funds cut out of the education budget for this new fiscal year.



Such a massive protest is necessary because the cuts are massive, because outright elimination of some programs and cutbacks to the point of nonfunctioning in others is practicing false economy. The education of our children is our Nation's future, and I believe that we are making a serious error to think that we can economize by depriving them—and their parents—of library books and other educational services.

I would like to place in the *RECORD* at this time the resolution deploring these cuts passed by the American Library Trustee Association at its meeting on June 25, 1969, an editorial from the *Saturday Review*, an announcement of the formation of the National Citizens Committee To Save Education and Library Funds, and a table showing the budgetary action on four important library programs:

#### RESOLUTION

Be it resolved—That the American Library Trustee Association, in official membership session consisting of trustees representing all of the 50 states and territories of the United States, petitions the President of the United States, all members of Congress, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and the Commissioner of Education to not only restore the cuts in all educational budgets but, in addition, to provide full funding, as authorized, for all existing educational legislation.

Be it further resolved—It is our unalterable conviction that only in this manner will libraries, which are absolutely indispensable to education in all forms, meet the social, economic, and cultural needs of all of the citizens of the United States; for only through continuing education can we hope to find lasting solutions to the problems that beset our nation, threaten our democracy, and endanger our civilization.

Be it further resolved—That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the members of Congress, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, and the Commissioner of Education.

Approved unanimously at the membership meeting of the American Library Trustee Association at the annual conference held in Atlantic City, New Jersey on June 25th, 1969.

#### BOOKS ARE NOT EXPENDABLE

What if a coalition of extremists proclaimed their intention of fire-bombing every school and public library in the country?

The public outcry would, of course, be memorable. Not only would riot police hit the streets in force, but reasonable people everywhere would set up an anguished outcry and take the sternest possible line with the troublemakers. Our schools and libraries are, the cry would go, the backbone of the nation and the arsenal of democracy—who diminishes them diminishes America. And if, in the face of the riot guns and outraged public feeling, the extremists did manage to level a few libraries and classrooms, popular opinion would soon force the government to build ever statelier mansions of learning on the bombed-out sites.

But there is, of course, more than one way to put schools and libraries out of commission. There are ways of doing the job in broad daylight, right under the nose of a somnolent American public. Consider, for instance, the recently announced federal budget allotments for books and educational materials for the coming fiscal year. Where

\$237 million was made available a year ago, the Nixon Administration has slashed that amount by a cool 87.5 per cent. Yet the public outcry has been, at best, muted.

Spelled out, this wholesale slash means that no federal funds at all will be given to elementary school libraries, and that only minuscule amounts will trickle down to the public and college libraries.

The libraries are, of course, far from being alone in their deprivation. The proposed federal cuts will bring the budget of the Office of Education down from \$4.1 billion in 1968 to a lowly \$3.2 billion in 1970—a steep, even dizzying decline, and one that is bound to leave wound-stripes on the country's educational bodies for some time to come.

Ironically, Washington's budget-slashers have chosen to hack away at federal grants at a time when their counterparts in the cities and localities are also finding it expedient to skimp and scamp on educational services. The effect of this dual barrage may well prove devastating.

But surely no one in government is *against* education and the reading process? If, as Senators are forever telling us in commencement day speeches, education is the backbone of our country, why would sober, well-meaning budget experts want to bend their country's backbone to the snapping point? The unofficial explanation out of Washington has been that the programs hit were of "low priority" in this "period of inflation and budgetary stringency."

This "explanation" would be moving and persuasive if only the pesky daily papers would stop printing stories that give such explanations the lie. Recent news stories tell, for instance, how the Air Force, sans congressional authorization or appropriations, approached an aircraft company and ordered up fifty-seven monster-sized C-5A transport planes, without having any clear idea of how much the planes would cost. The price will depend, it came out, on how much an earlier order of fifty-eight C-5As costs to build. If the first group of planes turns out to cost more than expected, no sweat: Under its contract with the Air Force, the aircraft company is free to jack up the price of the second group of planes as much as is necessary to insure a tidy profit.

This breathtaking display of the juggler's art has moved Representative Otis Pike, of New York, to exclaim that the Air Force was "playing Mickey Mouse with figures." The contract arrangement is so loose-limbed and amiable, in fact, that no one seems sure just how much money may be involved. Thus, the Air Force says its original understanding was that all the planes would cost some \$4,348,000,000 but that of course the estimate has since risen by \$1,382,000,000. Yet one Air Force expert concedes that the cost increase will probably run something on the order of \$2 billion. This amount could give the United States the finest library facilities and services in the world. Meanwhile, each week we read other reports of massive military waste and sloppy bookkeeping that do little to convince the electorate that the values of the society are in happy balance. Fortunately, various groups and individuals are currently pressing Congress to restore these budget cuts—which is to say, they are trying to restore the nation's educational backbone to its original shape. During this month and July, the Congress will be holding hearings and voting on the 1970 appropriations bill. If every American who feels strongly about these misappropriations of educational funds would visit, write, or call his Representative and Senators, there is every chance that the cuts would be restored. If they are not, the bureaucrats—or, as the Germans call them,

"desk-murderers"—will with a pen stroke have done more damage to the life of the mind in this country than a regiment of fanatics and incendiaries could do if they worked around the clock. Books are not expendable.

It is the fashion to think of teachers, librarians, and cultivated people generally as timid, sheeplike, and much too well bred to cry out when they are shorn. Perhaps it is time to remind our fiscal hatchet-wielders of Balzac's saying, "Terrible is the revolt of a sheep."

#### LEADING CITIZENS JOIN FIGHT TO RECOVER SCHOOL AND LIBRARY FUNDS

(NOTE.—SELF is supported by its members, the American Library Association, and by the Joint Committee on Federal Education and Library Programs of the American Book Publishers Council, the American Educational Publishers Institute, the American University Press Services, Inc., and the Book Manufacturers' Institute. Participation by other individuals and organizations is welcome by the Committee. Inquiries should be sent to the Director.)

NEW YORK, N.Y.—Formation of a nationwide committee of citizens to Save Education and Library Funds was announced today by Dr. Detlev Bronk, who will chair the committee.

Dr. Bronk, past president, National Academy of Sciences, past chairman of the Board of the National Science Foundation and president emeritus of The Rockefeller University, said that the committee has been formed because of a "deep concern" about the proposed reduction in Federal appropriations for education in the coming fiscal and school year. These proposed reductions are almost one billion dollars below the 4.1 billion actually appropriated for the current fiscal year and \$370 million below the original Johnson budget published in January. Nearly 25% of the \$370 million cutback for Office of Education activities would come out of the major programs designed to upgrade school, college and public libraries to minimal levels of adequacy.

"We hope it will be noted," said Dr. Bronk, "that the initial letters of the committee's name, spell *SELF*, because in fact every American citizen, whether he knows it or not, has a strong self-interest in maintaining the library development momentum that Federal support has made possible since it was initiated in the Eisenhower Administration."

"Everyone has a stake in this: the businessman, the technician, the college student, the parents of school children; and all responsible citizens concerned for the future quality of American life. If these cuts recommended by the Bureau of the Budget are not overridden by aware and knowledgeable people, education, manpower, economic and scientific development will suffer."

Dr. Bronk noted that only \$3.2 billion, or slightly more than one and one-half percent, of the total Federal budget was recommended for programs administered by the Office of Education. "In the face of enormous problems, all of which call for more and better education, rather than less, this attempt to assign low priority to educational programs and learning opportunities seems unbelievable. These propositions are still before the Congress for debate, and we intend to let Congress know why we feel that the funds for education and libraries must be restored."

"Reading is the key to learning and lifetime development. People who are not equipped for independent, continuing learning will run the risk of becoming obsolete. Children who don't read drop out. Drop-outs

cannot find work. Those without jobs add to the many social problems of the day in terms of ignorance, poverty and lack of upward movement.

"We are going to try to help make the people aware of all this," Dr. Bronk continued, "so that they can let the Congress know that it would be a tragic mistake to limit reading opportunity and learning opportunity. The loss of books and other teaching aids for our schools would be a backward step this country cannot afford. Improvement of educational opportunity for all American children, wherever they live, must be a national responsibility; local communities are hard-pressed even to maintain present inadequate levels, and most of them are losing ground."

According to the committee, should the cuts prevail, the amounts available would be unreasonable in terms of the needs. For instance:

A mere \$12.5 million would be available for college libraries at a time when more than one hundred new community colleges are being established each year, from scratch, and new knowledge needs to flow faster to a record student body.

Money for public library services would be reduced to \$17.5 million, while funds to replace antiquated public library buildings would be entirely eliminated.

Title II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act received almost \$100 million in 1968, was funded for \$50 million in 1969 and will be reduced to zero for 1970 unless action is taken now.

Another program proposed for total elimination is Title III of the National Defense Education Act which provides materials and equipment for elementary and secondary schools, both public and private, for a loss to these schools of \$79 million in Federal funds plus additional state and local matching funds.

This at a time when modern instruction and learning depend more heavily than ever before on books and other school library resources.

The current Administration recommendation proposes the appropriation of only one-third of the money allocated for major library programs in the earlier fiscal 1970 Johnson budget had already cut library programs by allocating roughly only a third of the funds authorized. In other words, only about 11% of the money the Congress had intended libraries to have would be available for them.

The National Citizens Committee to Save Education and Library Funds will aid members of the public to take appropriate action, with suggestions in newspaper ads, leaflets and other publicity. Vice-chairmen of the committee include William Bernbach of Doyle Dane Bernbach, Inc.; William Nichols, senior consultant and former publisher of *This Week*; Mrs. Raymond Young, former president of American Library Trustee Association; Mrs. Evelle Younger, Trustee, Los Angeles Public Library.

DETLEV W. BRONK

Detlev W. Bronk was a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee and chairman of its Panel on International Science from 1957-63 and has been Consultant-at-large since 1963.

Dr. Bronk, formerly president of The Rockefeller University, and of the Johns Hopkins University, is now chairman of the Board of Directors, New York State Science and Technology Foundation and trustee of several academic institutions. He has also served as chairman of the National Research Council, chairman of the National Science Board, National Science Foundation and president of the American Association for the

Advancement of Science. One of America's most honored scholars, Dr. Bronk has just received, from Columbia University, his 53rd honorary degree.

#### BUDGET REQUESTS FOR LIBRARY PROGRAMS, FISCAL YEAR 1970

(In millions of dollars)

	Authorized	Budget request	Fiscal year 1969 appropriation
Title II ESEA (library books and equipment for elementary schools).....	206	0	50.0
Title I books—Library Services and Construction Act.....	65	17.5	40.7
Title II construction—LSCA.....	70	0	24.0
College libraries—Title II of Higher Education Act.....	75	12.5	25.0
Total.....	416	30.0	139.7

<sup>1</sup> Budget request is 7 percent of authorization.

#### FIFTY YEARS IN BASEBALL

#### HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, baseball has an ancient and honored tradition in my city, Philadelphia.

For many decades the home of both the Philadelphia Athletics and Philadelphia Phillies, Philadelphia has been the setting for giants in the game like Connie Mack, Jimmy Foxx, the "Whiz Kid."

These were heroes who made headlines. There have been others who have served the game and helped make it great, their names never emblazoned in gothic type on the sports pages of the daily newspapers.

One such gentleman is Ted "Ace" Kessler, who has recently celebrated his golden anniversary in organized baseball.

Resolution 137 of the Philadelphia City Council noted Mr. Kessler's achievement and I enter it in the RECORD:

#### RESOLUTION 137

Resolution congratulating Ted "Ace" Kessler, Club-House Official for the Philadelphia National League Baseball Club, upon achieving his 50th Anniversary of service to organized baseball

Whereas, Ted "Ace" Kessler, a popular figure in the World of Sports, and actively associated in the affairs of Major League Baseball for the past fifty years, will be honored at a testimonial dinner on May 12, 1969; and

Whereas, "Ace" Kessler started as a bat boy with the "Phillies" in 1919 and later served as Assistant Club-House Administrator until he became Superintendent of the visiting team's Club-House; a position he holds to this day; and

Whereas, In this Golden Anniversary of his career, Ted "Ace" Kessler is held in high esteem by his many friends and associates for his love of the game of major league baseball; therefore

Resolved, By the Council of the City of Philadelphia, That we hereby extend heartiest congratulations to Ted "Ace" Kessler, Club-House Official for the Philadelphia National League Baseball Club, upon achieving

his 50th Anniversary of service to organized Baseball.

Resolved, That an engrossed copy of this Resolution be presented to Ted "Ace" Kessler, as evidence of the sincere sentiments of this legislative body.

PAUL D'ORTONA,  
President of City Council.

Attest:

CHARLES H. SAWYER, JR.,  
Chief Clerk of the Council.

#### TWO FROM MARYLAND DIE IN VIETNAM

#### HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. John D. Morrissey and Sgt. Joseph H. Kelley, two fine young men from Maryland, were killed recently in Vietnam. I would like to commend their courage and honor their memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

ABERDEEN ATHLETE, MONKTON ACCOUNTANT, DIE IN VIETNAM

A high school and college football star from Aberdeen who wanted to teach history, and a young accountant from Monkton who planned to return to school, were killed in Vietnam last week, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

Killed June 30 by a booby trap near Chu Lai was PFC John D. Morrissey, 22, of Aberdeen, who had been in Vietnam since April 9 as a combat medic.

#### KELLEY DIED NEXT DAY

Staff Sgt. Joseph H. Kelley, of Monkton, who was also 22 and was also stationed at Chu Lai, was killed the following day.

Private Morrissey was graduated from Aberdeen High School in 1965 and had been co-captain of his football team, captain of the school's wrestling team, and vice president of the athletic association.

The following year he attended Harford Junior College, making the dean's list and graduating in 1967.

He attended the first term at Appalachian State Teachers College, in North Carolina, but broke his hand during a football game and was forced to return home to have it mended.

#### THE BEST KIND

He enlisted in the Army in August, 1968, but wanted to return to school, teach history and be an assistant football coach.

Private Morrissey's last letter to his older sister, Patricia Anne, told of a Viet Cong suicide squad overrunning his bunker.

"I'm with a bunch of professional killers," he said. "But they're the best kind of people to be with over here."

Besides his sister, he is survived by his parents, M. Sgt. John B. Morrissey, USA, (Ret.) and Mrs. Morrissey; another sister, Rachel; and a brother, Gregory, all of Aberdeen; and a grandfather, Haraden Pratt, of Pompano Beach, Fla.

Sergeant Kelley, a 1965 graduate of Harford High School, was graduated from the Baltimore Institute in 1967, specializing in accounting and computer programming.

Drafted into the Army in December, 1967, Sergeant Kelley planned to return to the institute to further his education.

He is survived by his parents Howard L.



Kelley and Marjorie Kelley, of Corbett road, in Monkton; a brother, Patrick, of Freeland, Md.; and two sisters, Mrs. Carol Sue McDade, of White Hall, Md., and Mrs. Betty Cummings, of Sparks, Md.

## RED CHINESE RECOGNITION CALL ESCALATES TENSION BUILDUP

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, a few U.S. officials, and U.S. tax-free foundations, beating the drums for recognition of Red China have created another threat to world peace.

Our stalwart friends, the free Chinese in temporary exile at Formosa, are now compelled to escalate military and political action to dramatize to the world their cause in liberating mainland China from the Communist dictatorship of Mao and his Red puppets.

The daring escapades of gallant free Chinese patriots receives little attention in our press—strident in calling for Red China's recognition—but the recent sinking of three Red gunboats by free Chinese could not be ignored.

The U.S. reaction has been utterly unbelievable, unimaginative and deplorable. The U.S. State Department has issued a statement of official "concern over any action that might create tensions in the Taiwan Strait." Many wonder if the State Department and its peace doves have given any thought that the underlying cause of the tension buildup in Taiwan preceded the naval action. The true cause will be recognized as having its origin in Washington growing out of the threatened recognition of Red China.

The Red China advocates should have anticipated that their discussions and suggestions would precipitate open hostilities by the free Chinese who understand the real significance of such unconscionable action—a life and death matter to them.

U.S. recognition of Red China would preclude our honoring our commitment to assist the Free Chinese in their impassioned objective to return to the mainland and liberate their people.

Mr. Speaker, I include several related news clippings:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 3, 1969]

TAIPEI SAILORS SINK THREE BOATS AT CHINA BASE

TAIPEI—A fleet of Nationalist Chinese gunboats blitzed into a coastal Communist Naval base on the mainland last night and escaped today reporting two supply ships and a Peking gunboat sunk, the government said.

It was the first sea battle between the two Chinas since Jan. 18, 1966. The returning raiders said they damaged a second Communist gunboat trying to block their escape.

A nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek described the target as a small port in the mouth of the Min River, about 100 miles

west of the northern tip of Nationalist China and near the mainland city of Fuchou.

The battle spilled out into the Formosa strait, with a rear guard of Nationalist gunboats holding off Communist counter-attackers until the raiders finished up.

#### RETALIATION EXPECTED

Tensions along the strait have eased between the two Chinas in recent months and this battle threatened to bring retaliation from Peking and more calls for invading the mainland by the Nationalist regime.

(Officials in Washington said the action had come "out of the blue." They considered it a "one-time action," which—although sensational—they did not expect to be repeated.)

The two supply ships, of unknown tonnage, went down at the Communist naval base, the announcement said, while one pursuing Communist gunboat was sunk and a second damaged outside the harbor.

The number and type of Nationalist Chinese warships in on the raid was not disclosed. The government said only that they returned safely to their bases.

There was no immediate comment from Peking. The Formosa Strait separates the two Chinas, with the island of Formosa or Nationalist China separated from the mainland or Red China by about 100 miles.

The Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek was driven from the mainland by Mao Tse-tung's Communists in 1949, but set up in 1949 on Formosa, about the size of Delaware.

Since then, two Chinas have fought sea battles and reported aerial dogfights. The United States has backed Chiang with warships and planes.

The latest clash on record was on Nov. 24, 1967, when Nationalist China said its guerrillas had destroyed eight MIG 19 jets in a raid on a Communist air force base on the mainland.

On Sept. 8, 1967, Red China said it had shot down a Nationalist U2 spy plane over the mainland, claiming it to be the fifth reconnaissance plane from Formosa shot down since September, 1962.

The Communists announced on Jan. 1 of the same year that their warplanes shot down a Nationalist F104 of American make over the Formosa Strait on what was described as "a great victory for the cultural revolution."

Quemoy Island, the closest Nationalist outpost to Communist territory, underwent a month-long artillery bombardment in 1958 and was hit occasionally thereafter, but the Communists have concentrated on propaganda barrages in recent months.

Often Chiang Kai-shek has advocated invading the mainland with his 600,000-man army, but no serious moves against the Communist regime have been undertaken.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 8, 1969]

TAIWAN'S RAID AGAINST REDS DISTURBS UNITED STATES

The U.S. has expressed official concern to Formosa over a Nationalist Chinese raid against Communist Chinese boats last week, the State Department said yesterday.

Spokesman Robert J. McCloskey said the U.S. expressed concern "over any action by either side that might create tensions in the Taiwan Strait." The Strait separates Formosa from the Chinese Mainland.

Nationalist forces in about five small motorboats reportedly attacked and sank a Communist patrol boat and some small supply ships. There were no warships involved, McCloskey said.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 3, 1969]

#### BID TO RECOGNIZE PEKING ADVANCES

A resolution that could allow the United States to recognize Communist China has been approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Recognition and exchange of diplomats "does not imply that the United States necessarily approves of the form, ideology, or policy of that government," says the resolution introduced by Sen. Alan Cranston, D-Calif., and Sen. George Aiken, R-Vt.

The action yesterday clears the resolution for consideration on the Senate floor. No votes were cast against the measure in committee.

#### NEW PLATEAU IN THE BALANCE OF TERROR

### HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, the time and climate for productive talks on the limitation of strategic arms are fast deteriorating. One reason for this is the accelerated development and testing of MIRV—an awesome and frightening advance in the art of mass destruction. The madness of the arms race and the implications of MIRV were cogently set forth in a recent New York Times article, which I call to the attention of my colleagues:

#### MIRV MADNESS

The Administration's action in ordering production started on MIRV multiple warhead missiles before opening negotiations for a moratorium with Moscow touches the most sensitive point in the projected missile-curb talks. Equally grave is the manner in which the Air Force quietly awarded the \$88-million contract to General Electric, on the day President Nixon spoke favorably of proposals for a Soviet-American moratorium on MIRV flight testing to head off production and deployment of the weapon by either side. Given this situation, the country is entitled to an explanation from the President of his intentions in the Soviet-American missile-control talks, which he has personally held up for more than seven months.

For some weeks, pessimism has been deepening in Washington among those familiar with attitudes within the Nixon Administration toward the projected strategic arms-limitation talks. There has been a growing feeling that the Administration is going through the motions of preparing for the talks, but has written them off in advance. Fuel has now been added to a long-smouldering suspicion that a major reason for delaying the talks has been to flight-test MIRV to operational confidence first.

The MIRV production order is evidence that operational confidence, to some degree, has been reached in less than half of the two-year test period originally predicted by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It enormously complicates, if it does not hopelessly prejudice, the chances of heading off a dangerous and expensive new spiral in the missile race.

Forty-one Senators of both parties, only ten less than a majority, co-sponsored a resolution urging the President to take the initiative this summer in seeking a Soviet-American moratorium on MIRV flight testing for one highly urgent reason.

The MIRV era can be headed off in the test stage, since tests can be detected with relative assurance. Control, without on-site inspection far more intrusive than either side would accept, becomes virtually impossible once MIRV is produced and deployed; satellite cameras cannot tell how many warheads are concealed within a missile's nose cone.

The \$17-billion American MIRV program, which the Soviet Union undoubtedly would match, means a five-fold multiplication of nuclear-delivery vehicles in the strategic missile forces—from 1,700 to about 8,000. It promises an era of nuclear nervousness with less security than is now provided by relatively stable mutual deterrence.

Instead of heading off the Soviet MIRV, which could threaten American land-based Minuteman missiles, it forces Moscow to go ahead. The very Minuteman missiles for which MIRV warheads have just been ordered will be made obsolete by this inevitable Soviet reaction. How much madder can the international arms race become?

### HAVE YOU EVER KNOWN A PERCEPTUALLY HANDICAPPED CHILD?

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, the House Education and Labor Committee began hearings today on H.R. 9137 and other related bills to provide assistance to children with learning disabilities.

This proposed act would amend title VI of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act by creating a new section to specifically provide authority to the Office of Education to establish special programs for children with learning disabilities. The learning disabled child is the newest handicapped child receiving services under special education. This is the child who has traditionally been "misplaced." He is primarily neither physically, mentally, nor emotionally handicapped although he suffers from consistent failures in academic performance, particularly in areas requiring language proficiency. The learning disabled child often provides the greatest frustration to the classroom teacher because he shows no primary disabilities, however, usually after several years of academic failure he begins to demonstrate overt behavioral symptoms.

So that my colleagues in the House can better understand the problems relating to this area, I am inserting into the RECORD today the following article by Dr. Laura E. Lehtinen, who was one of the foremost pioneers in the area of learning disabilities. The article is entitled "Have You Ever Known a Perceptually Handicapped Child?"

The article follows:

Have you ever known a perceptually handicapped child? Perhaps not. But perhaps you have without being aware of it. Perhaps you have only been aware that Johnnie seemed a bit different, maybe hard to manage, difficult to predict or understand, but not bad or unintelligent, just a problem. Perhaps you even felt thankful he was not your problem. Yet in a way he is. For while he is a problem to his parents, teachers, brothers and sisters, and to himself, he may ultimately become

one to society too if understanding care and appropriate treatment cannot be found.

Just what is a perceptually handicapped child? How can he be identified? What does perceptually handicapped mean? To say that a child is perceptually handicapped is another way of saying that although he may be normally intelligent his nervous system does not receive, organize, store and transmit information in quite the same way as does that of a normal child. Does this seem paradoxical? If the functioning of the central nervous system is faulty doesn't this automatically mean mental retardation? No, it is possible for a child to score within normal limits on tests yet have serious difficulty learning certain things—to have a learning disability or learning disorder. Such a child may show a wide gap between his ability to understand events, experiences and ideas and his ability to learn to read, spell, write and compute numerically.

The causes of a perceptual handicap are numerous. It may result from actual injury to the tissue of the central nervous system such as might occur during a difficult delivery, or from some other trauma such as a severe fall or an automobile accident. High fevers, encephalitis, or a lack of oxygen may similarly damage vital substance so that it can no longer function as efficiently as it once did. Maternal virus illnesses and blood incompatibility of mother and child may be damaging. Some authorities believe that the cause does not always lie in tissue damage but that electro-chemical imbalance may be a factor or that certain systems may lag behind others or such an extent in their maturational rate that disparities in development result. Whatever the cause, the noxious event or irregularity in development results in an alteration of the normal patterns of growth and development as they usually occur. Often the child's physical growth proceeds quite normally; he does not appear to be handicapped; his vision and hearing are normal. We observe the effects of the central nervous system dysfunction in the perceptual mistakes made by the child, in his conceptual confusions, in his behavior difficulty, in his learning disorder, and in subtle motor in-coordination.

More specifically, what is a perceptual handicap? The term refers to an impairment in the normal processes of perception, that is, in the basic ability of human beings to cope with and to make sense out of the environment in which they live. It is a process as basic and automatic as eating, breathing, sleeping, and moving. It functions without conscious direction, continuously taking in, selecting, and organizing countless sense impressions moment by moment. It is the basis for behavior.

At every waking moment the individual is surrounded by an environment of physical energy to which his sense organs respond. His brain, the magnificent organ that mediates all of his behavior, differentiates and structures, that is, makes sense out of these impressions so that it can direct his actions. As a very young child he learns that an object that looks round will feel round and that one that looks pointy will feel sharp, and that certain sounds have certain meanings.

When he enters school he must make sense out of many little marks on charts or the chalkboard. He must be able to perceive their shape well enough so that he can remember which is which (they all have names or sounds) and be able to make them himself. It is no longer enough that he hear and understand speech, he must detect the tiniest differences between words that sound very much alike but mean quite different things. He must be able to listen attentively to explanations and instructions and, as rapidly as the teacher speaks them, to relate them to action or experience so that they become integrated with what he already knows in

order to extend the fabric of his knowledge and understanding.

The child with a perceptual handicap has difficulty forming these refined and organized perceptions. He misperceives. He overlooks important details or focuses on them so strongly that he misses the whole. He may grasp aspects of the whole but not their relationship or the whole itself. He hears meanings but fails to attend to word structure. He mishears word structure. He mishears word structure and so is misled in their meaning. He is distracted by sights, sounds, and ideas which are interesting and significant for him but irrelevant to the main objective of the moment.

Can you imagine what not being able to perceive accurately must be like? As a normal individual you have not experienced the distortions or misperceptions which occur repeatedly to the perceptually handicapped child and you can no longer recall the first groping efforts of your early childhood. It is only when conditions are poor for perceiving accurately that you may experience something comparable to perceptual disturbance. You may have had the experience of driving along the highway and noticed an advertisement but so briefly that you were unable to identify what the picture was about. Or in a fog or semidarkness you are uncertain because the shapes of things are different from usual. If you recall the strong sense of frustration and dissatisfaction that accompanied them, you were troubled, because in the fog your perceptions were no longer reliable.

While perceptual impairment is one of the most common consequences of brain dysfunction in children it is by no means the only one. Behavior disorders usually follow central nervous system dysfunction. Many perceptually handicapped children are unusually active, restless, and distractible. Some have difficulty controlling their impulses to speech and action and interrupt conversations or recitations or get up to wander around. Some are especially persistent in their questions or demands. Some are repetitious and can't seem to drop a subject once they have become interested in it. Most are unstable emotionally—crying over trifling hurts, laughing riotously, becoming silly, loud or boisterous in excitement. The ability to tolerate frustrating situations is lower than normal and the child will respond with withdrawal or inappropriate behavior to a situation he can no longer tolerate.

Society's judgment is usually a criticism of the parent; the child has been spoiled or lacks training. It is true that the usual parental efforts are often ineffective in the child's behavior training but it is also true that the perceptually handicapped child is more difficult to teach and train than a child with a normal nervous system. The strain placed upon members of the family, brothers and sisters as well as parents, by the presence of a child who wants to take part but fails in his efforts, who smarts under the jeers of other children, who senses his inadequacy but can only react in anger or confusion, is hard to appreciate. A maximum of understanding, sensitivity, flexibility and perhaps most of all stamina and resourcefulness are demanded of a parent in the task of bringing up his perceptually handicapped child.

In addition to perceptual and behavior disturbances other mental processes such as concept formation and judgment (how the child thinks about what he perceives), language, integrative processes, and memory may be impaired. Thus, while a child may be reasonably capable of organized and accurate perceptions, he may not think well abstractly or reason logically. If his percepts are inaccurate he will arrive at faulty conclusions since they form the basis for many of his concepts. He may have difficulty in formulating the correct sentence, although he knows what he wishes to say. He may



find it hard to get several parts of his mind to work together in an integrated fashion, such as saying a word as he writes it. His memory may be impaired in such a way that he cannot recall words when he needs them or remember the association between letters and numbers and their names.

To add to the parents' confusion, the child with a perceptual handicap may do some things well and some things very poorly, depending upon which abilities have been damaged or the circumstances of the moment. He seems to be extremely inconsistent.

There are all symptoms of minimal cerebral dysfunction, without mental retardation, popularly referred to as perceptual handicaps. Usually the child appears externally quite normal, with no physical signs of the gravely disturbing condition within, although he may have convulsive disorder or, if certain motor regions of the brain have been injured he may show such physical problems as cerebral palsy.

For the child with perceptual handicaps learning in the regular classroom is a virtual impossibility. Yet because the child's overall intelligence quotient indicates ability within the normal limits, the regular classroom is the only place at present available to him in most school systems.

In the regular classroom, the perceptually handicapped child is often over-stimulated by the wealth of interesting material on hand and by the spontaneous, lively activity of his classmates. Because he has not yet achieved normal controls over his behavior, the stimulation which is appropriate and right for the normal children overloads his nervous system and leads to immature or objectionable behavior which is disturbing to the group. His visual perceptual disturbance makes it difficult for him to make sense out of many of the learning materials offered to the rest of the class. His frequently observed auditory perceptual impairment makes it hard for him to get accurate meanings from teacher explanations or oral instructions. His confusions in thinking lead to confusions in understanding and erroneous conclusions which are embarrassing to him and unacceptable to the teacher. If language disturbances are present oral recitations or written expression are laborious. His memory difficulties mean that words, numbers and answers which were learned today may be forgotten tomorrow. His coordination difficulties, often not detected in walking or running, become obvious in gym class or on the playground, or in learning to write where complex and highly integrated motor perceptual demands are made.

It is no surprise that as the original confusion is compounded by more and more material, presented at a rapid pace, the child's frustration grows greater until he can no longer function as an active learner in the classroom. He becomes convinced of his inferior abilities, dislikes school and study, and resorts to various means to obtain compensating even if false satisfactions. Added to his school problems are the frustrations of wanting to join yet being unable to keep up with neighborhood children because of the perceptual and coordinative difficulties.

This is the typical history of a perceptually handicapped child. Minimal, but nonetheless important disturbances in the mental functions necessary for mastery of school learning and the common daily skills of play and living stand in the way of his achievement. He becomes discouraged, sometimes angry with or jealous of others who enjoy the success he desires but finds impossible to attain. Unless he can be helped he becomes a school casualty destined to limp along until the day he is permitted to leave.

Must such failure necessarily be the unhappy outcome of a perceptual handicap? Emphatically not. Experience has shown that appropriate education given at the proper

time can help a child to learn more normal ways of thinking and perceiving so that even if some deviations continue to be present the gap between his faulty perceptions and normal ones can be reduced.

The child with a perceptual handicap carries the condition with him for years, perhaps indefinitely, like a short leg. He can use it but not as skillfully as if it were normal. His ability to use it grows but only if he is stimulated and encouraged to make the most of it.

He can be helped to learn the basic academic tools in spite of his impairment by teaching methods which minimize the disturbing effects of his handicaps or stimulate him to a more effective use of the impaired functions. He can be helped to compensate for his deficiencies by recognizing them and working against them so that later he can return to the regular classroom to continue his schooling.

It is most important that he receives the specific and individualized help he needs when his learning and behavior problems first become apparent in order to prevent the emotional tensions which arise with repeated failure and the wrong learnings resulting from his distorted perceptions. He wants to learn, he wants to be in step with the others around him. The challenge of the educator is to show him how it can be done and to sustain him in the arduous tasks life sets before him.

#### AUTOMOBILE INSURANCE

**HON. J. J. PICKLE**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, a study is underway at the University of Texas that will have national impact. A University of Texas scholar has been selected to conduct one of the key phases of a federally sponsored study being made of the automobile insurance industry.

Dr. William T. Hold, assistant professor of insurance in the Finance Department, has been named by the Federal Trade Commission to direct a study of automobile insurance assigned risk plans.

Through group efforts of all insurance companies, such plans have been established in each State to provide some limited automobile insurance coverage to persons who have valid driver's licenses but whose past driving violations place them in too high a risk market for the standard liability policy written by individual insurance companies.

Dr. Hold says that his will be the first comprehensive study ever made of applied risk plans, and, because there are more than 2 million persons in the United States with such policies, he believes the study will have nationwide implications.

During the 6-month study, Dr. Hold will collect data from the assigned risk plans of seven States—Texas, California, New York, North Carolina, Wisconsin, and probably South Carolina and New Jersey. From that data he expects to: determine the characteristics of drivers in assigned risk plans, make a comparative study of the assigned risk policyholders in the seven States, and compare assigned risk premiums with the premiums paid by holders of standard policies to determine the extent to which

assigned risk plans are subsidized by good drivers.

Assisting Dr. Hold will be Sam Sapp, an actuary with the Texas State Board of Insurance; Harry Haiduk, a UT doctoral student in insurance, and George Overstreet, who is working toward a master's degree in insurance at the university.

Dr. Hold's investigation, authorized by the Federal Trade Commission, is part of an overall \$2 million study being carried out under general auspices of the U.S. Transportation Department.

#### CONTRASTS SHARPEN WITHIN MEDICAL PROFESSION

**HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, the Nixon administration's hangup over the Knowles affair serves to point out the tremendous contrasts existing today within the American medical profession. And, as usually happens in confrontations between progressive elements—that is, Dr. Knowles and the monolith; the American Medical Association—the monolith prevailed.

On a smaller scale, these contrasts and confrontations are now showing up in Los Angeles. The Los Angeles Times city section on Sunday, June 29, brought this point to bear directly as shown by the two articles I am inserting below into the RECORD.

The first story tells of the Los Angeles Free Clinic, a medical center, which serves anyone in the community without charge. The free clinic has been in operation for 18 months now, and last year handled almost 13,000 cases. Treatment is carried on by an extremely competent professional staff—all of them volunteers.

The spirit and the beauty of the free clinic—and its real feeling of "community" and of citizen participation—should be compared with the struggle going on within the Los Angeles County Medical Association which is the largest "most influential" local medical society in the country.

The issues dividing the association seem clearcut; it is unwieldy, it is controlled by conservatives who hesitate changing with the times, it has no discipline. But what strikes me so deeply is a statement by one of the doctors involved that there just is "no such thing as free medical care." He may be right—in his own terms, of course—but I prefer the free clinic approach rather than the platitudes coming out of the medical association over the nature of medical insurance.

The turmoil within the county medical association is likely to last for some time. And while the practitioners of conventional medicine run their own caucus race to achieve some "moderate" position, the free clinic will continue providing a valuable and much needed service to the community as a whole.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I submit the two articles from the June 29, 1969, Los Angeles Times for inclusion in the RECORD as follows:

**ONE-OF-A-KIND MEDICAL FACILITY NEVER GIVES ITS PATIENTS A BILL—FREE CLINIC HAS SURVIVED SCANDAL OF IMPOSTER FOUNDERS TO BECOME HAVEN FOR DISENFRANCHISED YOUTH, HIPPIES**

(By Noel Greenwood)

At a few minutes before 5 p.m., outside a plain white building on N. Fairfax Ave., the line begins to form.

A boy, his unkempt, curly hair reaching to the shoulders of his ragged shirt, strums a guitar and smiles to himself. Behind him, a young couple—she in bright print dress, he in neatly pressed suit—wait nervously.

Down the line, patches of conversation, an occasional quiet laugh, some leaning silent against the building, one boy with Indian headband and white, flowing robe squatting on his haunches, waiting.

It is the start of another long evening at The Free Clinic, the one-of-a-kind medical facility that has clung to life despite the pressures of a disastrous beginning and almost regular financial crises.

It is, to begin with, a most unlikely kind of clinic.

The patients never get a bill.

The founders were two imposters who passed themselves off as psychologists until it was discovered one was a paroled convict.

**NO PERMANENT STAFF**

It is often impossible to tell the staff, dressed casually and comfortably, from the patients. There is, in fact, no permanent professional staff.

When the clinic began a year and a half ago, its services were mainly medical care and counseling.

These are still its two major sections. But now, when the doors open each evening, visitors can also get help finding a job, receive legal counseling, get advice about the draft, have their teeth fixed and attend workshops in arts or crafts.

From its birth as a place where the hippies of the Sunset Strip and surrounding areas could come for help, the Free Clinic has evolved into something broader than that.

"Sort of an establishment for disenfranchised youth," suggests Dr. Murray Korngold, Beverly Hills psychologist and a key figure in the early days of the clinic.

**IMPOSTERS OUSTED**

It was Korngold and a young pediatrician, Dr. Barry L. Liebowitz, who evicted the two imposters, John L. Duke and Leonard Malcolm, on a rainy November morning in 1967.

Their downfall was a photograph of Duke, 33, published in the Times. An unidentified informant supplied that tip that led to the discovery Duke did not hold the Ph.D. in psychology that he claimed but was actually a convicted thief and forger who had been in and out of prison since 1960.

That led to inquiries about Malcolm, 27, who was also discovered to lack the credentials he claimed.

Duke was promptly returned to prison by California parole authorities and Malcolm severed his relations with the clinic and dropped out of sight.

**SHUT BRIEFLY**

But the clinic was in turmoil. Volunteer doctors, psychiatrists, psychologists and others who had been taken in by the pair held emergency meetings to decide what to do.

When the clinic was briefly shut down for reorganization, the move was greeted by skepticism in the hip community. An underground newspaper said the whole thing was an American Medical Assn. plot against the

clinic and scoffed at notions it would ever reopen.

On the morning after New Year's, 1968, it did—in new, 26-room quarters at 115 N. Fairfax, about three blocks from the original location.

Its growth since then has been spectacular, but it has remained fiercely independent and plainly casts its allegiance with the young people who make up most of its caseload.

"Most of the staff people here," said a clinic worker, "are younger and feel a need to participate—not just in the problems of the kids, but in what they see as the hippie ideology, the value system."

The clinic has never been able to shake its label as an all-hippie institution. Packages still arrive addressed to "The Hippy Clinic." But its clientele disproves the label.

Hippies rub shoulders with youths from conventional family settings, afraid to go to their parents with their problem and not trusting the family doctor. Older persons are occasionally seen.

**CLIENTS MAINLY YOUNG**

"If you want to describe the people we see here," said one psychologist, "the major characteristic is that these are people who would not get help unless there was a free clinic—people who wouldn't go anywhere else."

The clients are, of course, mainly young. In the medical section, for example, of the 12,931 cases handled last year, 75% came within the 18 to 24-year-old range. Most are from the immediate Los Angeles area, though some come from points as distant as Riverside, San Clemente and Santa Barbara.

The ailments they bring are mainly conventional: everything from burns and broken limbs to allergies and sore throats.

But many are related to the haphazard way of life sometimes adopted by the clinic's young patients: malnutrition and fatigue, the after-effects of abortion, ailments like ringworm, lice and scabies, respiratory illnesses like pneumonia, venereal disease and drug abuse (as well as drug-related afflictions like hepatitis (which may result from using unclean hypodermic needles).

Jerry Rockman, a 32-year-old Ph. D. candidate in clinical psychology at USC, heads the clinic's counseling section.

There, the total caseload will probably go over 2,000 this year, and the experience is much the same: most patients have fairly ordinary complaints.

**DRUG PROBLEMS**

The overwhelming number come with "self-problems," as Rockman puts it: problems of depression, loneliness, hopelessness, personal relationships gone wrong.

Nobody on the clinic staff sees drugs as the main problem.

Says Rockman of youths who come to the counseling section with what is ostensibly a drug problem (usually the so-called psychedelic drugs):

"These people are in distress, and they have found a way to relieve that distress. And the way to help these people is, you try to relieve that distress. The drug is not the point."

The clinic has, nonetheless, earned a reputation of knowing more about treating youths with reactions to the psychedelic drugs than most other medical facilities.

**HIPPIE INFUX**

Despite its more dramatic cases, the clinic sees little violence. It has had two deaths—both due to drug overdoses. And occasionally, a distraught patient puts a fist through a plaster wall.

But generally, the clinic is a pleasantly confused sort of place, a melange of protest posters and Oriental art, brightly painted walls, rock music, lots of people, worn out furniture, hand-me-down medical equipment, much affection, and an occasional

frankly worded sign warning of the hazards of VD.

The clinic has most often been compared with a similar facility opened in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district during the height of that city's hippie influx.

Jay Franklin, the 36-year-old ex-computer systems designer who is administrator of The Free Clinic's medical section, worked one summer at the Haight-Ashbury clinic. He sees no comparison:

"The clinic here—it's like an ecology. There's a concern with the total person. It's just a lot more."

One thing The Free Clinic has a lot more of is volunteers, over 200 of them now: doctors, psychiatrists, nurses, psychologists, social workers, lab technicians, dentists, pharmacists, counselors, medical intake workers, lawyers, housewives, and more.

**STUDYING CONTRASTS**

Most spend at least one afternoon or evening each week at the clinic.

And they are an often-startling study in contrasts.

An attorney who spends his daytime hours in a free law office for the poor works alongside a veteran criminal lawyer and another attorney who for six years was a federal prosecutor.

The medical officer for a federal prison heads The Free Clinic's medical section, whose personnel ranges from a San Fernando Valley obstetrician to a Beverly Hills surgeon.

A 27-year-old Los Angeles stockbroker has been organizing workshops for the clinic.

For the doctor or psychologist, the motive if often a dual one: a real feeling of wanting to help, plus a professional excitement over the kind of work to be done.

"It's a combination of altruism coupled with a little bit of selfish interest," said one doctor.

Other volunteers may have different reasons, like Mrs. Sarah Novak, a matronly Los Angeles housewife and grandmother who helps run the job co-op. She went to the clinic and volunteered her services after her daughter was killed in an accident while attending college.

Said one clinic worker: "This is probably one of the few organizations anywhere which is as rewarding to the people that work here as the people that require the service. In a sense, we're all patients. We help each other here."

The clinic is run—or runs itself—according to a vague system of management that is notable for the constant change it undergoes. Right now, a board of directors made up of representatives from each clinic section is in command.

Actual administration is handled by a small corps of paid, fulltime workers like Franklin and Rockman. (Salaries are no great thing: from \$25 a week for two youths who are security guards and janitors to \$100 a week tops for administrators.)

Like any organization, the clinic has had its share of office intrigues and power plays. And there is an intense, almost electric feeling between the clinic's leaders that led one critic to snort, "Everyone here is on an ego trip."

But it is more a family feeling than anything else, illustrated by the number of youths who have come as patients and remained after finding something they could do at the clinic.

The clinic has succeeded because of its utter frankness with its young patients, its youth-oriented atmosphere and an absolute refusal to make judgments about the life style or morals of its clientele.

Says a clinic worker: "The first and only thing to be treated is the patient—not the way he looks or what he believes in."

Thus, alarmed at the incidence of infection from improper use of hypodermic needles



while taking drugs, one clinic leader considers whether the clinic should make a film on how to use a needle properly—and then show it regularly.

The clinic's relations with the outside world have gradually improved.

An agreement is being worked out with the county to help provide some drugs and equipment—but progress on it has been painfully slow.

#### COUNSELING HELP

As a mark of its acceptance, some persons on probation have been required to get counseling help at the clinic as a condition of probation.

And the clinic has been consulted by UCLA medical experts when they encounter puzzling drug terminology being used by a patient.

Donations—the lifeblood of the clinic—come in all sizes and shapes.

Dental equipment given by a dental supply house is installed free by a local installation company. Doctors send over their unneeded drug samples.

Catering trucks sometimes stop by at the end of a day and leave unsold sandwiches. Now and then a cake is left at the door—by whom, nobody knows.

#### FREE TRUCKLOAD

A Kansas medical supply company dispatched a free truckload of disposable examining devices it makes after the president was impressed with the work of the clinic. Drug companies and medical warehouses have given supplies free.

The clinic's job co-op found that many youths were willing to part with their long hair if it meant employment. Problem was, few could afford a haircut. Solution: an agreement with a barber college that allows the clinic to send over one person a week for a free haircut.

Money comes in irregular spurts, occasionally by persons treated by the clinic or their families. More is raised through benefits, from movie pre-views to a radio station marathon to concerts by performers like singer Judy Collins.

But there is never enough, and the clinic (its monthly budget is \$3,500) continually staggers on the edge of financial collapse, behind in rent, salaries and bills, and not quite sure where the next dollar will come from.

#### NEW APPROACH

If the clinic has accomplished anything, it has forced public health officials to reassess their approach to health for young people.

Dr. Robert C. Weiss, chief of the child health division of the County Health Department, credits the Free Clinic with having a major influence on the county's decision to open its first free health clinic for youths.

"I think we have to give them credit for being the imaginative, original spark," said Dr. Weiss.

"They gave us visible evidence that there's an awful lot of patients going to that type of facility and that raised the question of what was wrong with conventional facilities."

The county clinic, located in West Hollywood not far from the Free Clinic, is a pilot project. If it works, more will be opened elsewhere.

#### GOOD EXAMPLE

Already, there is a good working relationship between the two clinics, and the county clinic—with relaxed atmosphere and a staff chosen for its ability to work with youths—show how seriously the example of the Free Clinic is being taken.

No account of the Free Clinic should end without one last look at the case of John L. Duke, the imaginative convict who started the whole thing.

A few weeks ago, from his cell at Soledad Prison, he sued the state for \$1 million, saying it had no business revoking his parole for his activities in the clinic.

Besides that, said Duke in the suit, he wants the state to give him back his clinic.

That has to be testimony to its success.

#### VALLEY DOCTORS MAY SECEDE—MEDICAL ASSOCIATION FACES SPLIT

(By George Getze)

The Los Angeles County Medical Assn., biggest and most influential local medical society in the United States, may be about to have one of its extremities lopped off.

Secession from LACMA has been discussed for many years, particularly in the San Fernando Valley and in the Long Beach-San Pedro areas.

Critics of LACMA charge:

—That the organization is so big it is unwieldy. There are more than 10,000 doctors in the association.

—That it is controlled by a group of right-wing reactionary doctors who don't appreciate the changes that have taken place in political and economic philosophy.

—And that it is impossible to get misbehaving physicians kicked out of LACMA or have them otherwise disciplined.

The movement was thought to have been scotched last year when the valley was divided into two districts, thus putting into separate districts of LACMA some of the most enthusiastic supporters of secession.

But this month the association's District 6, made up of doctors in the valley west of Sepulveda Blvd., is voting whether to separate from LACMA and to ask the California Medical Assn. for an independent charter.

District 6 doctors got their ballots June 11 and 12. They have until July 11 to cast their votes.

The secessionists in the west valley think they'll win, and that if they do, other districts in LACMA will be encouraged to try for independence, too.

The areas the rebellious members feel are most likely to try are Long Beach-San Pedro, Beverly Hills-Wilshire and Santa Monica-Westwood.

The movement to secede strikes Dr. Robert Carter, a Reseda general practitioner and an opponent of separation, as rather frivolous.

He compared the secessionist doctors with teen-agers who rebel against their parents "just on general principles."

#### SEPARATIST TELLS VIEWS

Dr. Marvin J. Shapiro, an Encino radiologist, a councillor of the CMA and a director of District 6, is one of the leading separatists.

He said the present election in the west valley is more than just an exercise in medical politics.

"The outcome is important to the public and doctors," he said.

"The basic question is this, 'Can any professional society of 10,000 members do its job?'" Dr. Shapiro said.

"Some purely scientific societies with that many members may be able to serve their purposes, but LACMA cannot."

"If a medical society has any reason to exist it is to serve the public's needs, to represent the profession in advancing those needs, and to uphold and advance the interests of its members."

According to him, LACMA isn't performing one of its most obvious tasks—that of disciplining doctors whose professional behavior reflects on their colleagues.

#### SAYS ACTION INADEQUATE

Dr. Shapiro said District 6 has asked LACMA to discipline doctors many times, but that never once has adequate action been taken.

"Doctors are people, like anybody else, and out of 10,000 of them in LACMA or the 650

or so in the west valley, there are bound to be some who perform poorly," he said.

"A few of them have dossiers at LACMA headquarters a couple of inches thick."

This claim of inaction in disciplinary matters was contradicted by Dr. Joseph Boyle, an internist who formerly was president of LACMA and who is one of the leading spokesmen for the organization.

He said disciplinary action has been taken in every case that was properly and adequately documented.

"Simply bringing a charge of unethical practices isn't enough," Dr. Boyle said.

#### SAYS NO NAMES SUBMITTED

He said the District 6 secessionists repeatedly had been asked for the names of doctors they think ought to have been disciplined but who were not, but that no such names have ever been submitted.

"It's absolute nonsense," Dr. Boyle said of the argument that LACMA cannot or will not discipline its members.

Dr. Shapiro and Dr. Douglas MacInnis, an Encino orthopedic surgeon who is president of District 6, both emphasized that though many complaints have been made to LACMA's disciplinary committee, the complaints have involved very few doctors.

"Even a few are too many," Dr. Shapiro said.

Another argument advanced for separation is that "the doctors downtown" have an inflexible, reactionary political philosophy that gives the medical profession a bad name.

"The fact is, the county association is controlled by a group of dedicated ultra-conservatives whose philosophy is dominated by the principle that health care is a commodity to be bargained for in the marketplace like any other," Dr. Shapiro said.

He said the group of doctors that controls LACMA said so in almost as many words in the first issue of Private Practice, a publication of the Congress of County Medical Societies, a new association that Dr. Shapiro said was organized by Dr. Boyle and others as a rival to the American Medical Assn.

"They think the AMA is too liberal," he said.

Dr. Boyle labeled as "completely irresponsible" the charge that the association is controlled by right wingers. He said anyone making such a charge "really is acting in extremely poor faith" and added that the association has a long history of providing leadership for the community in comprehensive health planning.

Dr. MacInnis said the doctors in the west valley are more openminded than the ones who run LACMA, and in this respect they reflect the attitudes of the west valley community that has been created in the last two decades.

"The doctors out here are generally in their 30s and 40s, and aren't so much handicapped by 'senior ossification,' the hardening of attitudes," Dr. MacInnis said.

#### ONLY 13 PERCENT IN FAVOR

The doctors practicing west of Sepulveda were put into a different district from those practicing east of that boulevard last year—against their will and just to try to weaken their influence, according to the secessionists.

They said a poll of all the doctors in the then District 6, which included almost the whole valley, showed only 13% in favor of splitting the district at Sepulveda or anywhere else.

Nevertheless, the "doctors downtown" forced the division through, hoping to isolate the west valley moderates, it is felt by those moderates themselves.

In contrast to the young, openminded doctors of the west valley medical community, the doctors downtown who run LACMA are "geheimrats," according to one surgeon who didn't want his name used because he is no longer in District 6.

(Geheimrat is a German word meaning privy councillor. It has become an opprobrious term, connoting petty dictator, and is most often used to describe a self-important professor who runs his department with an iron hand.)

#### REGARDED AS "RIGHT"

Dr. Shapiro and Dr. MacInnis say their attitude toward medical politics is the "moderate" position.

"Moderates have accepted the fact, perhaps sometimes reluctantly, that health care has come to be regarded by almost everybody outside the medical profession itself as a right, rather than a privilege," Dr. Shapiro said.

"We should be working with everybody concerned, including government and insurance companies, to provide health care as a right, and to do it as efficiently and economically as possible," he said.

Moderates think government-controlled medicine would be bad for both public and physicians.

"The way to avoid it, however, is not the LACMA way," Dr. Shapiro said.

Dr. Carter doesn't think this is a genuine argument.

"Nobody proposes that doctors and patients haggle over charges," he said. "The charge should be understood between them, that is all. There's no such thing as free medical care. Somebody has to pay for it, and surely we can all agree that it should be paid for, if possible, through insurance by those who get it."

According to the secessionists, those who are in control of LACMA are in that position because of the apathy of the membership. They said a 40% turnout in a LACMA election is a huge vote, and that few doctors will consent to hold office because it takes too much time and they don't feel strongly enough to make it seem worthwhile.

It's the size of LACMA that is to blame for the apathy, they said.

Dr. MacInnis said the voting going on this month in District 6 is being watched closely in the state and national medical associations.

The reason for the interest, he explained, is that LACMA is one of five or six powerful local societies that are so influential they are able to "tilt" the AMA, even though that organization is more moderate.

Other groups that can, as Dr. MacInnis said, "tilt" the AMA rightward, are the medical societies of Harris County (Houston), Tex.; Hennepin County (Minneapolis), Minn., and the Ohio State Medical Assn., as well as county and state societies in the south.

#### BENEFICIAL EFFECT

Reorganization of LACMA, Dr. Shapiro said, would have "a most beneficial effect" on organized medicine in the United States.

"We aren't protestors, or agitators, or renegades, or anything like that," Dr. MacInnis said.

"In LACMA they say medicine's voice in Los Angeles will be heard louder and clearer if it speaks with one voice, but we feel medicine needs a voice other than the one people have been hearing locally."

Dr. Shapiro agreed.

"It is our voice that is really the majority voice of American medicine," he said.

"That is proved by the attitude of the AMA and the CMA. It isn't we who are divisive. It's the ultra-conservatives who are. It was they who organized a rival organization to the AMA in the Congress of County Medical Societies."

#### CHARGE DENIED

(This is denied by the organizers of the congress, who affirm their intention to work within the current organization of state societies and the AMA.)

Dr. Boyle said doctors shouldn't be voting in the present state of heated conflict.

"If doctors in District 6 heard both sides in a district meeting, and then decided to separate, it would be a different thing," he said.

He said that when he was president of LACMA he asked if he could go out to a district meeting to discuss these problems. He was not only not invited to come, he said, but he was made to feel unwelcome.

At one meeting he did attend as an observer, he was told he would be ruled out of order if he tried to speak from the floor, Dr. Boyle said.

"Los Angeles is a large medical community, but it is a community," Dr. Boyle said.

#### CITES ADVANTAGES

"It has a good library, the same public relations and publications setup, and the trend now is just the opposite of splintering. In fact, internists and other specialists are forming larger-than-countywide groups just to maintain good libraries and to promote and continue proper postgraduate education," he said.

Both Dr. Boyle and Dr. Carter mentioned malpractice insurance premiums. They said doctors in District 6 might have to pay more for insurance if they were no longer part of the county society.

The secessionists, however, feel that higher premiums are being mentioned as a disguised threat to persuade doctors to vote against separation.

If LACMA could discipline its "bad actors," they said, malpractice insurance rates might go down instead of constantly up.

### COMMUNICATION BETWEEN GENERATIONS

#### HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, in this time of so-called youthful rebellion, communication between the generation that is between 17 and 30, and that between 30 and 60 is increasingly important, and difficult. One of the reasons has been failure to articulate the differences in viewpoint: to spell them out so people of all ages can understand them for what they are and arrive at their individual judgments as to their respective merits.

Apparently we have had all too few spokesmen for the values and principles that made America strong and free. These values and principles remain as valid and sound today as they have been throughout the tests of time. But how to get this across to the young people coming along who seem to want to tear everything down offering nothing truly constructive in its place.

In this connection I commend the thoughtful reading of the following exchange of correspondence between a resident of Great Neck, N.Y., and Mr. James Robertson, of the Federal Reserve Board, in Washington, D.C., as appearing in yesterday's U.S. News & World Report:

#### ONE GENERATION SPEAKS TO ANOTHER

(A high-school student with "radical beliefs" has challenged a leading banker on major issues that have helped to create the generation gap. A letter from the youth, and the banker's reply, are presented below. The basic question: Should the American system be torn down for one that would put "human rights" above "property rights"?)

#### AMERICA'S VALUES: "WORN OUT"

(By Marc Machiz, Great Neck, N.Y.)

Sirs: I read with interest the speech by James L. Robertson in your issue of June 9 [page 96]. It was one of the few honest, well-reasoned defenses of the establishment position I have come across, and as such requires an equally unemotional, well-reasoned reply. It is with a disturbing sense of my own inadequacy that I will attempt to supply one.

I am a high-school student with radical beliefs. I believe that America today is fundamentally on the wrong course and that therefore its institutions do not merit support but rather the most effective resistance that can be provided. Here I differ from many or most of my radical counterparts in that I believe that nonviolent disobedience is ultimately more effective than violence. Because of this I am more acceptable to the establishment than, say, SDS [Students for a Democratic Society].

However, the difference between myself and others is merely one of the tactics: I simply believe that the power structure can be dismantled more effectively with non-violence. However, my goals and views of American society are essentially the same as my more-violent counterparts.

The basic underlying assumptions of James L. Robertson's speech were that the values upon which American society has rested are good and, further, that these values, operating through our institutions, are working toward good ends. These assumptions—considered almost axiomatic by many—need reexamining.

American society has always been materialistic. This basic materialism has manifested itself in many ways—some good, some bad. Historian Richard Hofstadter, in "The American Political Tradition," has said that ours is "a democracy in cupidity rather than a democracy of fraternity." The idea that everyone is entitled to what is his and a chance to obtain more is the underlying principle behind American democracy.

The growth of democracy is one of the few—if not the only—totally good consequences of American materialism. To balance it we are forced to live in a society which places property rights above personal rights and freedoms. The most recent and graphic illustration of this is the "people's park" incident at Berkeley.

It is not surprising that the best defense of the established order should come from a central banker.

In the past our institutions—based on democracy but, even more fundamentally, on property rights and rights of opportunity—have managed to adjust to changing social and economic considerations. It was accomplished with relative ease in Jackson's time, with bumbling ineptness and neglect at the time of the "robber barons," and purely by the lucky circumstance of a war at the time of the Depression.

But now the challenge presented by affluence—which [economist J. Kenneth] Galbraith wrote about in '58—and the black revolution have shown American institutions to be totally inadequate. The circumstances which took shape in the '50s and have come to fruition in the '60s are demonstrating every day that our institutions don't have the capability to adjust.

This is why so many young people are frustrated to the point of violence.

Rather than adjusting, American institutions have taken the defensive—e.g., Chicago. Nixon's black capitalism and even Johnson's antipoverty program have proven themselves ineffectual.

In the midst of our affluence, millions starve because Americans believe that, once you have property, it is sacred—no matter that your neighbor starves and lives with rats.

American corporations exploit foreign labor and resources in Latin America, and we won-



der why Rockefeller—the symbol of American business success—is greeted by violent demonstrations there.

Here in my home town, property owners—terrified that “ghetto” dwellers might ask for or demand their fair share—turn out in record numbers at the polls to reject the busing in of 60 to 200 elementary-school students from Queens.

From my vantage point, we are confronted with a worn-out set of values. For once, our underlying values are in direct conflict with the sort of institutional change required by political and socioeconomic circumstance, and the youth of today find themselves confronted with a majority firm in the conviction that the old values remain valid.

The question asked at this point is: How can we, as professed “liberals,” advocate defying the will of the majority? We are accused of being antidemocratic and totalitarian.

One can answer by saying that the right of the black man to eat and obtain an education; the right of foreigners to be free of American corporate domination; the right of the individual not to kill or participate in institutions that will lead to the death of others if he feels it immoral, as declared at Nuremberg; the right to real freedom of expression and information in our educational institutions; the right to freedom from invasion of privacy by our governmental institutions—all of these rights are higher, of more value and more worthy of defense—to death, if need be—than the right of the majority to deny them.

We have reached a point in our development when we must replace our “democracy in cupidity” with a “democracy of fraternity,” and when human rights must be placed above both property and majority rights.

We have reached a turning point. If we cannot see that it has been reached, God help us all.

P.S. I would be most grateful if you would forward this letter to James L. Robertson.

#### THE OTHER SIDE

(Reply by James L. Robertson, Vice Chairman, Federal Reserve Board, Washington, D.C.)

Dear Marc: Mr. David Lawrence has forwarded to me your very well-written letter commenting on my remarks on the turmoil on our campuses. Since you have taken the time and trouble to put down your views thoughtfully and dispassionately, I would like to give you my own reaction to the case you make. I want to comment on some of your key statements from the standpoint of their factual accuracy.

1. “American society has always been materialistic.”

If this means that Americans like human beings the world over, have always been preoccupied with supplying themselves with food, clothing and shelter, I agree. Man must of necessity supply his material requirements if he is to survive.

If, however, you mean to imply that Americans have been *exclusively* concerned with the accumulation of material wealth and have, in comparison with other peoples, neglected the development of spiritual and esthetic achievements, I have to differ.

Our country was initially settled, in part, by dissenters who came here not because life pioneering in the American wilderness was easier and more materially rewarding than it was in Europe but because they found here greater freedom to realize their spiritual needs.

I think if you will probe into American history and study the sacrifices that have been made for idealistic goals—whether by the early settlers in the colonies, those who fought for independence, those who gave their lives in the Civil War, those who fought in World Wars I and II to resist the authoritarian and totalitarian movements in Europe and Asia—you may conclude that Americans,

perhaps more than any nation in history, have been prone to sacrifice for great ideals.

I realize that there is a school of historians who seek to debunk all of this and would have you believe that behind every noble cause there has been a greedy motive. Charles A. Beard, the famous historian, was one of the popularizers of this idea, having written in his younger years a book called “An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States.” This purported to show that the men who drafted and secured the adoption of our Constitution were motivated entirely by selfish economic interests. Charles Beard himself later rejected this theory, but it has nevertheless lived on.

This base view of man’s motivations is plausible only when applied to people that we do not personally know. We all know from our own experience that there are many things we do that are unselfish. We know that our relatives and friends frequently sacrifice their own personal interests for the sake of others. What arrogance it is to assume that those whom we do not personally know, especially the great men of history, have been motivated only by the desire for personal gain!

I commend to your attention a new book by Milovan Djilas called “The Unperfect Society” in which he discusses how he came to realize the falsity of this concept which had been an essential ingredient of his faith as a Marxist. Condemned to prison for having written his scathing indictment of the Communist societies of Eastern Europe, Djilas asked himself how the Marxian theory of economic determinism could explain his own conduct—his sacrificing of his position of power and privilege as Vice President of Yugoslavia in order to expose what he considered to be error and injustice. He concluded that men were moved by ideas—not exclusively by selfish, material interests.

2. “The growth of democracy is one of the few—if not the only—totally good consequences of American materialism.”

The growth of democracy is not a consequence of materialism but a consequence of man’s thinking about ideal forms of political organization. It has taken centuries for the Western world to achieve the present degree of success in the operation of democratic institutions.

It would, in my view, be more accurate to attribute America’s economic progress to the fact that we have had a smoothly functioning democratic form of government that has encouraged individual initiative, enterprise, saving and investment. Men have been assured that they and their descendants could enjoy the fruit of their labor—that it would not be arbitrarily sequestered by a capricious ruler or by private parties who could, with impunity, disregard the law.

The less-developed countries of the world have learned or are currently learning that their own economic progress depends on developing similar conditions. For nearly two decades many of them were enamored of the idea that they could lift themselves by their bootstraps by means which penalized private initiative and enterprise, denied or seriously impeded the right to earn profits and acquire property, and discouraged saving and investment. They have found to their sorrow that these methods are not conducive to satisfactorily economic development. And economic development—an increase in material abundance, if you will—is something they very much want.

I should note that an increase in material abundance produces many good consequences. Our society does not require that anyone participate in the consumption of most of the vast array of goods and services, such as higher education, medical care, symphony concerts, etc., and anyone who so desires may freely elect to live primitively if he so desires. If he cannot find sufficiently

primitive conditions here in the United States, he is free to emigrate to a country where material abundance is lacking and where he can struggle unaided against nature. The fact that few elect to do so indicates that the overwhelming majority of people find material well-being more of a blessing than a curse.

3. “We are forced to live in a society which places property rights above personal rights and freedoms.”

First, let me point out that we erect no Berlin Wall around the United States. There is no off-limits zone around our borders—as there is in the Soviet Union—which can be entered at the risk of one’s life by anyone desiring exit from the country. Emigration is free and unrestricted, and thus it is untrue to say that anyone is “forced” to live in our society. On the contrary, one is free to move to a society that satisfies him better if he can find one. This you will no doubt concede.

But what about the cliché that our society places property rights above personal rights? The right to own and control property is a personal right and one of the most important that we enjoy. What you really mean, I suspect, is that the personal right to own and control property is placed above other personal rights. It is generally recognized that there have to be limitations on personal rights. My right to swing my fist ends where your nose begins. If this were not the case, your personal right to be safe from intimidation would not be worth much.

Thus your right to own property would not be worth much if the law did not prevent others from trespassing on your property against your will. This may curb the right of others to freedom of movement, but that is one of the compromises necessary to enable men to live together in harmony. This is part of the body of law that has been worked out laboriously over the centuries.

The right to own and control property is not, of course, absolute. The state exercises the right of eminent domain and may, under due legal process, deprive one of his real property to carry out public purposes, provided it pays just compensation.

The power to tax is also the right of the society to take part of one’s individual property in order to pay for governmental services. We have increasingly imposed what are known as transfer taxes, which take one man’s property in the form of taxes and use it for the benefit of others, such as those who are on welfare.

Society has decided that the personal right to property can be legitimately curtailed to the extent necessary to provide support to those who are unable to support themselves. As you know and as you will come to appreciate better when you yourself are a taxpayer, the burden of taxation is rather heavy and a substantial part of the tax revenue is used to pay for services which may not be of any direct benefit to the person or corporation that pays the taxes.

Let me offer a little vignette that may help you understand why men of “liberal” views have always placed high value on the right not to be deprived of one’s property capriciously:

Let me assume that you find a job this summer, work hard and save \$500. You use this money to buy a used car, and one of the first things you do after you get the car is to take your girl to the movies, parking the car in a pay lot. When you come out of the movie, your car is not in the lot. The attendant explains that a student from Nigeria came along and took your car.

You ask why he let him get away with it, and he explains that the student told him that he needed a car very badly to commute to his university. He obtained only a very small allowance from home and could not afford to buy a car. Being a foreigner, he was not able to get a job to earn money

here. The attendant says that he was convinced that the Nigerian student needed the car more than you did and he therefore let him have it. When you protest he says: "Are you the kind of person who would place property rights above human rights?"

If you were true to your philosophy, you would have to admit that he had a valid point, and I suppose you would drop the matter. You might wonder, however, what point there was in your working hard to earn money to buy a car if you were constantly faced with the possibility that someone might take it away from you on the grounds that his need was greater than yours.

Unless property rights are reasonably secure, man's incentive to work, save and invest is likely to be weakened and economic progress will be slowed. What is more—tensions and conflict will rise, since there are not many people who would take your broad-minded attitude and willingly give up to the first claimant the things they had sweated hard to obtain for their own use and enjoyment.

4. *"The most recent and graphic illustration of this (the placing of the right of personal property above other personal rights) is the 'people's park' incident at Berkeley."*

I do not know all of the details of this incident, but I notice that "The New York Times" of June 14, 1969, quotes Governor Reagan of California as saying that Chancellor Roger W. Heyns of the Berkeley campus had repeatedly expressed willingness to discuss the "people's park development" with "squatters" prior to erecting a fence around the tract. "The Times" states: "But at no time, the Governor added, did the 'squatters' designate a committee with which he could negotiate." The Governor pointed out that the leaders of the demonstration had subsequently issued a 13-point manifesto which included these points:

"We will shatter the myth that the University of California is a sacred institution with a special right to exist."

"We will demand a direct contribution from business, including Berkeley's biggest business—the university—to the community until a nationwide assault on big business is successful."

"We will protect and expand our drug culture."

I wonder if it is not possible that the confrontation over the "people's park" was not engineered for political reasons somewhat akin to those that motivated the SDS in creating an issue over Columbia University's plan to build a gymnasium. Are you sure that it would be desirable to have a system in which the use to which property was put was determined by according primacy to "squatters' rights"?

5. *"The challenge presented by affluence ... and the black revolution have shown American institutions to be totally inadequate ... Our institutions don't have the capability to adjust."*

This is a prediction that our institutions will not be able to surmount: (1) difficulties caused by our affluence and (2) the discontent of some of our Negro citizens.

I remember similar predictions when the challenge was that of deep depression. There were many then who thought the country was doomed. They were wrong.

After World War II, there were many who forecast dire trouble for America. Andrei Vyshinsky, for example, was quite confident that we were headed for a cataclysmic depression in 1949 when the economy went into a recession. That forecast, too, was wrong.

How much nicer it is to have to worry about the crisis caused by affluence than the ones caused by depression!

In my judgment, our biggest problem is that bright young men such as you—who should be full of pride in what unfettered human beings have accomplished under a political system that pessimists 150 years ago

said would never work—are even more negative than those eighteenth and nineteenth-century authoritarians who were convinced that the common man could not be entrusted with political freedom.

Instead of exhibiting enthusiasm for what has been accomplished already and determination to make our institutions work even better in the future, you talk as though we had been rushing madly toward the precipice for 200 years and were now on the verge of tumbling over. There seems to be some lack of historical perspective here.

I am confident that our institutions can adjust to changing conditions in the future as they have in the past. I hope that young people like you will prove capable of facing the future with optimism and understanding of the true nature of the challenges confronting you. This can only come from better understanding of the nature of the challenges that those who went before you met and overcame.

6. *"In the midst of ... affluence, millions starve because Americans believe that once you have property, it is sacred—no matter that your neighbor starves and lives with rats."*

I wonder if you could document the statement that millions of our people are starving. I commend to your attention an article in "U.S. News & World Report" of April 28, 1969, entitled "Truth About Hunger in America." The article reports on a study entitled "The National Nutritional Survey," directed by Dr. Arnold E. Schaefer, who is in charge of nutrition programs for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. "U.S. News & World Report" stated:

"In a nation of 201 million people, no outright starvation has been found." This conclusion was based on a careful study of a sample of 12,000 people—80 per cent having family incomes of less than \$5,000 a year. That there is malnutrition no one would deny, but starvation is apparently very rare.

If it were true that millions were starving, I presume that it would have been a simple matter for CBS [in a TV program] to find a child dying of starvation to portray in its now-famous documentary "Hunger in America." Instead, it has now been proven, I understand, that CBS showed a baby dying of complications related to premature birth that had nothing to do with nutrition and falsely told its viewers that the baby was dying of starvation.

This points up one of our serious problems—the willingness of people to exaggerate and distort the facts in order to prove a point. This misinforms, misleads and creates conflict and tension, because people who have a different understanding of the facts will probably reach very different conclusions and will advocate different policies. We need much more dedication to factual accuracy to reduce tension and conflict.

I have commented in No. 3 above on the idea that Americans believe property is sacred. I would like to point out that New York City alone spends about 2 billion dollars a year, representing property taken from taxpayers, to support those who are unable to support themselves. I have traveled in many countries of the world, and I have seen no people more inclined to give to support their neighbors in need than are the Americans. This has been manifest not only in our domestic programs but in our assistance to foreign lands as well.

Since 1946, we have expended 173 billion dollars in aid to foreign countries, including substantial amounts given to aid the enemies we defeated in World War II. Never before in history has a victorious power shown such generosity—demanding no reparations or tributes but giving huge amounts of aid to help the defeated survive and revive their economies.

There may be those who will tell you this was all done for ulterior motives. These are

the people who seem to be unable to conceive of human beings acting for noble reasons. Perhaps this is a reflection of their own character.

7. *"American corporations exploit foreign labor and resources in Latin America."*

American capital has played an important role in assisting Latin-American countries in the development of their resources and in providing employment for their people. If putting up the money to bring in machinery, build roads and pipelines, erect plants and build communications networks is exploitation, American businessmen will have to plead guilty. If hiring and training workers for higher wages than any local employer is willing to pay is exploiting labor, again our businessmen will have to plead guilty.

The simple fact is that most of the Latin-American countries have not only welcomed "exploitation" of this kind but are complaining that we are not doing enough of it today. Countries that have not benefited from such "exploitation" in recent years—such as the U.A.R. [United Arab Republic], which has been fiercely socialist—are beginning to wonder how they can get some of it. Here is what Dr. Mohamed Abu Shady, chairman of the National Bank of Egypt—a government bank—wrote in the leading Egyptian paper, "Al Ahram," on Jan. 15, 1969:

There is agreement on the necessity of working to attract foreign capital, in one way or another, because there can be no real development otherwise. However, the solutions presented take only a partial view of the problem ... because the situation, first and foremost, calls for creating a suitable atmosphere for bringing in foreign capital."

Dr. Mohamed Abu Shady is more practical than some who think that they can obtain the benefits of foreign investment in their countries without permitting returns to the investors that are attractive to them.

8. *"Human rights must be placed above both property and majority rights."*

This is the nub of the debate. What you are saying is: "The majority does not agree with my values. Down with the majority. Don't waste time trying to reason and persuade. The evils are so great and so intolerable that they must be swept away by decree as fast as possible."

And so it is that tyrannies have always begun. After the abdication of the Czar, the leadership of Russia fell into the hands of the Social Democrat Kerensky, who respected democratic processes and the preservation of civil rights, including the ownership of property. That was not satisfactory to Lenin. Democracy was overthrown, and the leadership fell to a highly "righteous" minority—the Bolshevik elite.

The result has been, in the words of Djalil, the clamping down of an iron fist under which "there is room for neither air nor light." The personal right of property, which so troubles you, was abolished—with the result that every citizen became completely dependent for his livelihood on the exclusive elite who controlled all property. The sturdy yeomen known in the U.S.S.R. as *kulaks* were starved and slaughtered. Literally millions were put in slave-labor camps.

The privileges of the few abounded; the rights of the many ceased to exist. And all this was done in the name of placing human rights above property rights. That slogan has an evil sound to the oppressed people of Eastern Europe, China, North Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba. Where, they ask, are the most-elementary human rights that they used to enjoy under the regimes the Communists overthrew? At least, they say, let those of us who do not want to live under the iron fist leave.

This is all that Boris Kochubinsky, a Jewish engineer from Kiev, asked of the Soviet state: He and his wife wanted to go to Israel. They were forced out of their jobs and then



arrested last November. Two weeks ago Boris Kochubinsky was sentenced to three years in prison because he and his wife dared to publicly protest the fact that they were denied permission to emigrate to Israel.

I do not know whether Lenin and his associates thought that their demand for placing human rights above property rights would ever lead to this tragic absurdity. But it has. And once you institute a system of government that gives you or anyone else the right to dictate, this is what you risk.

#### LIMITATION ON FAT CONTENT IN COOKED SAUSAGE

**HON. DAVID R. OBEY**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, it is refreshing to occasionally see an individual or a businessman who places public interest above private gain.

Recently I received a letter from a distinguished Wisconsin citizen and businessman, Mr. Richard D. Cudahy, president of the Patrick Cudahy Meat Packing Co., urging strong Federal action to limit the fat content in cooked sausage. His support of the public interest should not go unnoticed. I include the letter at this point:

PATRICK CUDAHY, INC.,  
Cudahy, Wis., June 24, 1969.

Re cooked sausage hearings.

Mr. B. J. HOLSTEIN,

Hearing Examiner, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HOLSTEIN: Please put Patrick Cudahy Inc., a major producer of cooked sausage (wieners and bologna), on record as supporting an appropriate limitation by regulation of the fat content of this type of sausage product. Although we strive successfully and consistently to maintain the leanness of our product, in the long run the competitive pressures in the direction of increasing fatness can be contained only by reasonable regulation in the public interest.

In addition, since we have nothing to hide in the composition of our sausage, we would welcome a workable requirement for labeling of sausage products to disclose their contents in terms of protein, fat, moisture, spices or whatever might be of concern to consumers. This is not a requirement for which cooked sausage products should be singled out; other food products which may be the subject of concern should meet the same standards. Certainly to the extent humanly possible the consumer is entitled to know what he is eating.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture has a fine tradition of leadership in consumer protection and the meat industry an equally distinguished record of leadership in the provision of wholesome food at low cost. We feel both traditions would be well served by the establishment of a reasonable limitation on the fat content of cooked sausage as well as by a requirement for labeling to disclose sausage contents.

Our industry is best served when the consumer is protected beyond the slightest cavil or doubt. We support the Department's efforts to provide that protection through the proceeding now being conducted by it.

I respectfully request that this letter be made a part of the record of these cooked sausage hearings.

Your very truly,

RICHARD D. CUDAHY,  
President.

#### WHAT IS MINERAL KING?

**HON. PHILLIP BURTON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, recently I introduced H.R. 8753 which would have the effect of preventing commercial development of one of the most beautiful parts of California. I refer to the Mineral King Valley which the National Park Service has turned over to Disney enterprises to develop as a popular resort.

At the urging of the Governor of California, the State and the Federal Government are planning a \$22 million road into this valley to carry a horde of visitors.

The Honorable John G. Schmitz, a senator of the State of California, assured in a letter dated June 3, 1969, that this would not simply be a highway for tourists. Mr. Schmitz stated:

If the sole purpose of building this highway were to provide access to the Disney project, in view of its great cost there might well be reason to question it.

I have discussed plans for this road with two other Senators very familiar with the area and with the highway needs of this State, and they assure me that the road will be extended beyond the Disney project, first to make possible the extraction of lumber from forests which are now inaccessible so that old trees simply fall to the ground and rot, and later to form part of the new east-west highway system across the Sierras. These future uses of the road should be taken into account in evaluating the desirability of building it.

Indeed they should. If Senator Schmitz is correct, the National Forest Service and the State of California have embarked on a plan to gouge out not just one beautiful valley, but an immense part of the unspoiled wilderness of the Sierra Mountains.

Mr. Speaker, the disaster which is about to befall the virgin purity of Mineral King has been clearly described in a pamphlet of the Sierra Club. That eminent group of citizens concerned with preventing the despoiling of our Nation's natural beauty has published the following report:

#### WHAT IS MINERAL KING?

The name "Mineral King" refers to a scenic alpine valley in a 15,000-acre portion of public land surrounded on three sides by Sequoia National Park in the heart of California's Sierra Nevada, about equidistant from Los Angeles and San Francisco. A 26-mile access road turns east from the main highway to Giant Forest, passes through a section of Sequoia National Park, and dead-ends at an elevation of 7,800 feet at a small cluster of cabins called Mineral King village. (See map)

Mineral King has special natural characteristics and recreational attributes of great value. Although its scenic and ecological features are reminiscent of many other regions of the High Sierra, Mineral King is in many ways unique. Here, a primitive road reaches to the headwaters of a major river (East Fork of the Kaweah) providing direct access to at least five alpine passes. Yet the two-mile long valley is essentially unspoiled. Mineral King's U-shaped basin is rimmed with peaks rising three to four thousand feet above the valley floor to heights of over 12,000 feet. Six streams cascade into the valley from the heights

above, and join to flow through meadows and groves of aspen and cottonwood. A number of alpine lakes are within less than two hours walking distance of the roadhead from which trails radiate in all directions into the southern part of Sequoia National Park, including the magnificent Great Western Divide-Big Kern Sierra to the east, and into Little Kern territory of Sequoia National Forest to the south, over Farewell Gap.

Because of supposedly valuable mineral deposits, the Mineral King valley and its environs were left out of Sequoia National Park in the early days, even though the area is ecologically part of the park and comprises the headwaters of the East Fork of the Kaweah River which flows through the park farther downstream. The area is under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Forest Service, and was designated the Sequoia National Game Refuge by Act of Congress in 1926.

The "improvements" within the area consist of about 60 cabins, along or near the river, most of which are leased from the Forest Service for summer use. These cabins, a pack station, a small general store and post office, several campsites and a few remnants of the early-days mining activity occupy less than 10% of the total area of the refuge. The remainder is wilderness where mule deer and other wildlife abound.

In addition to its function as a wildlife refuge, Mineral King now serves as a natural recreation area for hikers, sightseers, campers, fishermen, and students of natural history. Some visitors remain near the rustic village and campsites on the valley floor, others travel on foot or on horseback into the unspoiled high country of the Refuge. Mineral King carries no "admission charge" and is accessible to anyone who wishes to take the leisurely and scenic drive along the narrow access road above the spectacular canyon of the East Fork of the Kaweah from the town of Three Rivers.

#### WHAT ARE THE "PLANS" FOR MINERAL KING?

The U.S. Forest Service has regrettably approved the master plan of Walt Disney Productions for turning this game refuge into a \$35,000,000 mass recreation resort designed to attract almost 1,000,000 visitors per year. This is roughly half the visitation that already causes a serious overcrowding in Yosemite, and Yosemite is approximately eight times the size of Mineral King! Moreover, the Disney resort will be primarily a summer resort with 60% of the total visitation expected during the summer months, when the impact of such a heavy visitation would be the greatest. At Mineral King this would mean that the tiny valley (300 acres) would be subjected to the tread of 5,000 to 10,000 people per day.

The plans call for an "alpine village" at the entrance to the valley where it would dominate the view from every direction. Included would be a five-story hotel complex of 1030 rooms designed to accommodate 3310 guests. As a standard of comparison, consider the fact that the 11-story Disneyland Hotel has only 608 rooms, and that the largest hotel in Los Angeles, the Biltmore, has 1500 rooms. Numerous restaurants (at least one atop a peak) would have the capacity to serve 2,300 guests at one time. A reservoir would replace the river and the meadow which now carpets the main part of the valley. There would also be a conference center, theater, swimming pools, apartments, specialty shops selling imported goods, a school, a golf course, tennis courts, a maintenance shop, and a depot for the cog-assisted railroad which would run between the village and the parking area a mile and a quarter away.

This auto reception center would include a hospital, a ski shop, housing for 800 employees, and an 8-10 level parking structure for 3,600 cars, adorned with a heliport. The latter is for the planned regular helicopter service between Three Rivers and Mineral

King which would cross Sequoia National Park.

To accommodate 8,500 skiers per day the Disney corporation proposes to erect 22 ski lifts (both chair lifts and gondolas). These lifts would initially penetrate into 5 of the 8 major basins surrounding Mineral King, and, with their steel towers and cables, would mar the landscape like high-tension power lines.

While the current development plan is over-sized, the original Disney plan, which was accepted by the Forest Service, specified a visitation level of 2,500,000! And even with that gigantic base, Walt Disney stated in the Disney bid, "All of us promise that our efforts now and in the future will be dedicated to making Mineral King grow to meet the ever-increasing public need. I guess you might say that it won't ever be finished." (Emphasis added.)

#### THE HIGHWAY

Since the present access road will not accommodate enough traffic to insure a profit to the Disney resort, the State of California plans to build a new 20-mile long highway, estimated to cost at least \$25 million (although some engineers' estimates run to twice that figure). This new standard highway would traverse Sequoia National Park for about 9 miles and would terminate at the auto reception center in the Sequoia National Game Refuge. California Highway officials desire to construct what they describe as an "expressway" consisting of two lanes with frequent passing lanes a half mile in length. It is designed for a capacity of 1,200 vehicles per hour and speeds of 40-50 miles per hour. Construction of the highway would require the removal of some 8 million cubic yards of soil, with attendant scarring and erosion of the steep hillsides to be traversed by the route.

A consultant for the National Park Service advises against a road with a capacity of more than 850 vehicles per hour and speeds of more than 30-40 miles per hour, and advises against passing lanes also. He also calls for as many as three bridges per mile so that two-thirds less scarring will occur. With as many as 2,500 cars destined to enter and leave the resort each weekend by the fifth year following construction, it is hard to see how the road's size can ultimately be held to the modest dimensions this consultant specifies for protection of Sequoia National Park.

#### WHAT IS THE SIERRA CLUB'S POSITION?

In an era when the diversity of the natural American landscape is fast being destroyed by those who seek economic gains from projects such as this, massive commercialization of Mineral King is a monumental mistake. A development of this size would cause irreparable physical damage to the region, destroying the remote, natural character, not only of Mineral King but also of surrounding areas of Sequoia National Park. The wilderness in and around Mineral King, by definition a perishable commodity, can easily be overwhelmed in the attempt to display it to the greatest possible number of people. Building a high standard highway into Mineral King in order to "make wilderness accessible to the millions," can only be self-defeating—a little like carving up Michelangelo's statue of "David" so that each of us might own one small chip of marble.

Natural landscape like Mineral King—the land and the life it supports—is important in itself, even when it is not being used or admired by large numbers of visitors. Apparently, those who wish to develop this area feel that the value of Mineral King is "wasted" during winter months when snows often block the present access road. It is no more wasted than any other conservation reserve that has been spared from commercialism.

It cannot be denied that the proposed Disney development would provide additional skiing opportunities for California, but in terms of planning for the future, it should be recognized that wild natural areas are becoming increasingly scarce and cannot be increased in number or in size, while ski centers and other man-made developments are constantly being made more abundant. California has other areas which are adequate for new ski developments such as Yuba Gap, Dunderberg, and Sherwin Bowl, although on a less massive scale.

The destructive effects of the Mineral King development upon the natural environment are grossly underestimated by the Forest Service and by Walt Disney Productions. Consider the potential for excessive erosion resulting from the clearing of timber for ski runs, from "slope preparation" by bulldozer, and from the construction of service roads to facilitate the placing and maintenance of the 22 ski lifts. As anyone knows who has observed other ski areas in mountainous regions of the West in the summertime, revegetation of slopes is extremely slow in an alpine environment.

Also, Mineral King has been designated by Congress as the Sequoia National Game Refuge. To our knowledge, no studies have been made of the effect of construction activities on Mineral King's habitat for wildlife, and the impact of almost a million visitors each year on a valley two miles long and less than half a mile wide. This is the place to learn from the lesson of overdevelopment in Yosemite Valley.

Furthermore, despite precautions presumably to be undertaken, the quality of water to be utilized from local sources by a project of this magnitude, and the quality of the treated effluent that eventually reaches the East Fork before it enters Sequoia National Park, present serious questions demanding more than cursory study.

#### WHAT MUST BE DONE?

The foregoing considerations emphasize the urgent need to include Mineral King in Sequoia National Park now that mining is defunct. The Sierra Club endorses National Park status as the best long-range solution to the problem of adequate protection for the fragile natural values of the refuge. Under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service, the future development of the upper reaches of the East Fork can be limited to a moderate level of improved camping facilities and other services commensurate with a "jumping off point" for the back country. Without this status for Mineral King, the pressure will always be present for ever-intensified commercialization.

To show that this potential danger is not being exaggerated, a condominium type development is being planned on 80 acres (for the initial stage) of private land at the road entrance to the game refuge. This private development is designed for an initial capacity of 1,000 visitors per day, equal to a third of the Disney capacity after five years. Furthermore, this proposed Wells-Seaborn development has substantial additional acreage on which to expand. This project, which can only serve to intensify the visitor impact on Mineral King, is immediately adjacent to Sequoia National Park and would impinge upon an outstanding grove of Giant Sequoias that extends across the park boundary in this area.

Neither the Disney nor the Wells-Seaborn project would be possible without the construction of the \$25 million highway through the semiwilderness of Sequoia National Park to the west. The Sierra Club feels that the taxpayers' money must not be spent to construct a new highway through a national park to accommodate private developers. A minimum of \$22 million in State highway funds would be required for the construction—money that could better be spent for

urgent highway needs elsewhere in southern California. Further public funds would be expended to plow the road during the ski season.

This road has been authorized for construction without benefit of a congressional hearing on the impact such an expressway would have upon the natural environment of Sequoia National Park. For example, in a study prepared for the California Division of Highways by an ecologist having long-term familiarity with sequoia forests, these statements appear:

"... there are a total of at least 103 giant sequoias below the proposed highway. Of these, 45 are in a position of possible jeopardy because of road construction."

"This exquisite canyon (Redwood Creek) will undoubtedly require the greatest care of all to cross with a road. . . . In several places, the slope exceeds 100%. . . . In spite of plans to bridge this deep canyon because of the depth, accelerated erosion is very likely to be a major problem no matter what engineering activities occur there. . . . Of the 32 groves of giant sequoias familiar to the author, this drainageway provides one of the most unique communities of plants he has seen in association with sequoias. This in itself makes the utmost protection desirable."

Besides the scarring caused by the construction itself, with attendant erosion dangers on the steep hillsides, the heavy volume of traffic on summer weekends would shatter the quiet atmosphere of the East Fork canyon and its presently untrammelled sequoia forests on both sides of the river. The forested slopes to the south of the river as it flows through the national parks are in true wilderness condition now, and are proposed by the Park Service for inclusion within the area to be formally designated the Hockett Wilderness, but the "sights and sounds of civilization" from the traffic across the canyon would become all too evident should the expressway be built.

This compromise of national park values was forced upon the National Park Service before the public and its congressional representatives had adequate opportunity to express its views on the principle involved. Nor has the public had the opportunity to express its opinion as to whether a part of its heritage of national forest lands should be turned over to a multimillion dollar resort development. Investments of this magnitude might better be made in areas nearer to the large segments of the California population who are economically disadvantaged and who are truly in need of outdoor recreational opportunities close to home.

#### REORGANIZING THE POSTAL SERVICE

#### HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I heartily support the President's recommendation to completely reorganize the postal service.

For the past century the quality of service afforded by the Nation's postal system has been greatly declining. At the same time, mail volume each year has continued to jump by leaps and bounds. Postal rates have likewise gone up and are continuing to rise. Postal facilities are wearing out and becoming inadequate to handle modern-day personnel and the increased mail load. Newly constructed



facilities are oftentimes too small before they are completed. Old ones are obsolete because they were not constructed to house today's necessary mechanical mail-handling equipment. The number of postal employees is at an all-time high. They are represented by 14 different employee unions. Postal employees, because of poor working conditions, low wages, and very little chance of advancement, are becoming more militant each day and are threatening walkouts and strikes which will paralyze our Nation's economy.

Over the past years we have had a lion's share of competent and dedicated Postmasters General who, in due time, have all realized the terminal illness of today's postal structure. Each of them has made diligent efforts to bring about constructive changes in an effort to avert eventual postal collapse. Despite their good intentions, however, each of them wound up their tenure of service "putting out fires" but accomplishing nothing toward getting the Department back on its feet.

Our new Postmaster General, Winton M. Blount, has started off differently. He refuses to limit his responsibilities to simply fighting fires. Through President Nixon, he has called upon this Congress for legislation amounting to a complete postal reformation. If enacted—and it should be—this legislation will enable the Department to operate free of pressures and on the basis of sound economic principles.

#### AMERICAN NATIONAL THEATER AND ACADEMY

#### HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, on June 18 of this year, the RECORD carried an article on the National Council of Arts. As a result, the board of directors of the American National Theater and Academy (ANTA), on June 30, passed a unanimous resolution opposing this attack. The board said it was "appalled by the misstatements contained" in the RECORD under the headline of "Lameduck Handouts in Federal Arts Funds."

Donald R. Seawell, chairman of ANTA, has asked the "opportunity to set the record straight." I am appending a portion of a letter he has written:

#### ANTA

First of all, the American National Theatre and Academy (ANTA) was created by Congress in 1935. It was designated as the American national theatre and was charged by Congress with a mandate to "Extend the living theatre beyond its present limitations bringing the best in theatre to every State in the Union." Thus ANTA joined a select handful of organizations operating for the public good under a Congressional charter. The Smithsonian Institute, the American Red Cross and the Boy Scouts are among other such organizations.

The creation of the National Council on the Arts and National Endowment for the Arts furnished a better opportunity for ANTA to fulfill its Congressional mandate. It, also,

created the necessity for these organizations to coordinate their activities to further the purposes for which they were established by Congress. Accordingly, I was authorized by the ANTA Board to explore the situation with the National Council and National Endowment to arrive at an agreement under which we could best serve the American theatre and achieve our mutual goals. These negotiations extended over a period of almost two years. One of the important elements of these negotiations was the use of the ANTA Theatre. In the early fall of 1968, it was agreed that the Theatre should be turned over to the Federal Government, and on November 13, 1968, this agreement was ratified by the ANTA Board.

The description in the June 18 RECORD of the transaction leading to the agreement to transfer the ANTA Theatre to the Government is inaccurate in every respect. As indicated above, the transfer took place after long negotiations involving dedicated members of all the Boards concerned, who could receive no possible private gain, and who gave their talents freely because of their dedication to the non-profit theatre. Far from being a "ball out" operation, as was described, ANTA had a firm offer for the theatre at the time of the agreement in the amount of \$2,500,000. ANTA also had an estimate that the theatre could not be reproduced in a similar location for less than \$8,000,000. The Board recognized the great need for a first-class theatre in New York, where non-profit theatre groups from all over the country could be seen. Accordingly, it determined to grant the theatre to the Government in the public interest and in furtherance of its Congressional mandate.

Incidentally, the Government is not the landlord for the production mentioned in the RECORD. The theatre has been leased for the past five years to commercial producers on a four walls basis. The lease will expire at the end of this month. After that the theatre will not be available for commercial productions. Plans have been formulated for the theatre for the coming theatrical year. A major part of these plans will be bringing to New York the best of regional theatre from all over America. This will be possible through the joint efforts of ANTA and the National Council and will be the first time such an event has been possible.

Mr. Stevens is not chairman or even a member of the ANTA Board. I wish he were, for no other man can contribute so much toward the achievement of ANTA goals and the betterment of the American theatre. Mr. Stevens was offered membership on the Board but turned it down. I hope he may some day be persuaded to change his mind. At this point I should say that every member of the Board is serving without compensation. It is, also, my understanding that while Mr. Stevens was required to draw a salary as Chairman of the National Council, he has served for eight years as Chairman of the Kennedy Center without compensation.

#### STUDENTS STRESS NEED FOR CHANGE

#### HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, as we all know the 1969 graduating classes throughout the Nation have been matriculated and another generation goes forth into the adult world. However, the class of 1969 may well be different than similar classes of previous years. This year, students, as never before, are

aware of the ferment within our Nation and, as never before, they are voicing strong moral opinions about the status of our society. Their message must be heard and I would like to include for the RECORD some remarks from the 99th commencement exercises of the Nutley, N.J., High School:

[From the Nutley (N.J.) Sun, June 26, 1969]

AT 99TH COMMENCEMENT: NHS STUDENTS  
STRESS NEED FOR CHANGE

(By Raphael Sonenshein)

"We are the children of 1969—and in that lies all the difference."

That was the way one of seven student speakers summed up Nutley High School's 1969 commencement theme—"Involvement and Change." The addresses delivered by the young people in Nutley reflected many of the ideals that youth is vibrating throughout the nation today.

Nutley's commencement talks are prepared without dictation from the school administration which has brought much praises to the local graduation program over the years. The 99th commencement at Nutley High last week featured seven student speakers who attempted to articulate some of the ideals which arouse today's student generation.

The speakers were unanimous in their support of student involvement in school decision-making. (Complete texts of the student talks are published on pages 10 and 11 of today's Nutley Sun.)

Salutatorian Richard Thompson, son of Mr. and Mrs. William J. Thompson, 38 San Antonio Avenue, commented that "the administration should not only respond to student opinion and criticism, but it should also encourage them. . . ."

Underlying the speakers' emphasis on involvement was their conviction that today's students possess the maturity and mental skills requisite for participation. "The student of today is not an uncertain or confused child. He is a determined adult who can uncover the weaknesses of his education," declared Salutatorian Charlene Vaglio, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Angelo Vaglio, 34 Valley Road.

Several speakers considered the question of confrontation and conflict among students, parents, and administration. Senior Class President Gregory Stoute praised the new importance of the Student Council and the Student Advisory Board and monthly meetings of students with Superintendent Dr. Robert Fleischer and Police Chief Francis Buel: "We have learned through these experiences that we need not resort to violence and walk-outs in order to be heard." Stoute is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Allen Stoute, 64 Edgar Place. Thompson warned the administration not to ignore "unfavorable and unpopular opinions since it is through non-recognition of a student's grievances that the administration might inadvertently stimulate active protest and militancy."

No speaker expressed a desire to be disruptive, but most were intense in their belief that their non-disruption should never cause the school administration to ignore their opinions.

Several speakers reached out to discuss problems beyond their own education. Valedictorian Robert Kotzen expressed his concern over school-community relations, a problem which is of great importance in college communities. Kotzen, son of Mr. Sidney Kotzen and the late Mrs. Helen Kotzen, believes in a reciprocal relationship between the town and students: "The community must provide adequate facilities for all-around development of youth and must encourage this development through such means as scholarships, contests, and work experience programs. Along with material assistance there must be public understanding and tolerance of the attitudes of the

youth of today . . . Just as the community must awaken to the needs of youth, especially its recreational needs, youth in turn must involve itself by working with adults in setting up programs for the betterment of the community."

"We dream of schools where teachers and students are frank, we dream of governments that are truthful and operate through a more real democracy, we dream of a military budget that's questioned not only by the science community but more important, by the tax-payers." Miss Sherman is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Seymour Sherman, 300 Walnut Street.

There is a different set of dreams today, perhaps expressed by Class President Greg Stoute who regretted that "it must be easier to invent a hydrogen bomb than to put your hand out to someone and say 'I understand . . . I sympathize . . . I love you because I am you.'"

### SMUT PEDDLERS—PART I

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, hardly a day goes by that I do not receive complaints from individuals within my district or from elsewhere in the country complaining about the flow of pornographic and smut material through the mails.

The complaints are well justified. Our Post Office and Civil Service Committee has been working constantly on this problem, carefully considering every suggestion on how to curb the flow.

I have introduced new legislation aimed at blocking the mailing of smut into homes where minors reside. This is an area where I believe we can reasonably legislate and our subcommittee will be scheduling hearings soon.

Already on the books is the law which permits any postal patron to demand that his name be taken off a mailing list used to send him smut through the mails. While helpful, that protection comes after the fact; that is, the first mailing has been delivered.

The public justifiably is becoming alarmed at the ever-increasing flow of this material through the mails and the inability of legal authorities to be effective under present laws.

Indeed, the most effective deterrent has been the local volunteer effort which has been started in many communities.

A former House colleague, the Honorable O. K. Armstrong, wrote an article for the September 1965 issue of Reader's Digest which is still very timely. The article follows:

#### THE FIGHT AGAINST SMUT PEDDLERS

(By O. K. Armstrong)

A dramatic and significant battle is swirling across the United States today. Fighting on one side are the publishers, distributors and sellers of obscene material—a business estimated to gross currently more than a billion dollars a year. In the opposite camp are public prosecutors, parents, teachers and other citizens alarmed at the rising tide of newsstand and mail-order pornography and determined to do something about it.

The stakes in this battle are high. For the peddlers of smut it means the right

to maintain and expand their markets. Newsstands flaunt magazines loaded with suggestive nudity and paperback books filled with detailed portrayals of illicit and abnormal sexual relations. To impressionable youths, this flood of pornography conveys the notion that adultery and perversion are acceptable, that moral standards are passé.

#### APPEALING TO THE PRURIENT

The battle began in earnest in 1955, when, following a Kefauver Committee investigation of the pornography racket, U.S. cities launched intensive crackdowns against obscenity. But the resulting court cases produced conflicting rulings and confusion over what is legally obscene. Guidelines were imperative if the drive on obscenity was not to collapse.

In June 1957 a decision by the U.S. Supreme Court supplied those guidelines—most important, an explicit definition of obscenity. Known as the *Roth* ruling, it affirmed convictions of Samuel Roth of New York and David S. Alberts of California, both possessors of long records as pornography distributors. Writing the historic opinion for the majority of the Court, Justice William J. Brennan declared:

"Implicit in the history of the First Amendment is the rejection of obscenity as utterly without redeeming social importance. We hold that obscenity is not within the area of constitutionally protected speech or press." The ruling then proceeded to this definition: "Obscene material . . . deals with sex in a manner appealing to prurient interest." The test should be "whether to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole" makes such a prurient appeal.

Champions of decency hoped that the new decision would clarify the issues in obscenity cases once and for all. Among them was Charles H. Keating, Jr., a Cincinnati, Ohio, attorney who, in 1956, founded Citizens for Decent Literature. Keating recognized that the *Roth* ruling, along with the state and local laws it guarded, could serve as a powerful weapon in the attack on commercialized filth.

Lawyers who defended pornography dealers, however, immediately denounced the *Roth* decision as "vague and unworkable." And, apart from the *Roth* ruling, other problems were apparent. A bookseller in Detroit, for example, had sold a paperback novel to a detective. He was convicted of violating a Michigan law forbidding the sale of publications containing materials injurious to youth. Then the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the state law. The Court ruled that the law's effect was "to reduce the adult population of Michigan to reading only what is fit for children." This decision made it clear that laws covering the sale of materials objectionable for children must not be applied to the public in general.

Another case, *Manual Enterprises, Inc. vs. Day*, which came before the Supreme Court in 1962, illustrated a pitfall of improper procedure. In this case, three members of the Court stated that the Postmaster General should not seize material and require the vendor, through an injunctive action, to prove his right to distribute it. Thus, "prior restraint"—censorship before distribution or sale—by the Postmaster General was a major factor in this reversal of a lower-court judgment.

#### LEARNING THE PITFALLS

Keating was not disheartened by such decisions. The trouble, he saw, was that the smut dealers were often represented by wily specialists in obscenity law who were ready and willing to pull every legal trick in the book to defend their clients. On the other side were police chiefs and district attorneys with heavy case loads and limited, sometimes inexperienced staffs.

Keating now began an intensive study of the legal pitfalls, to help representatives of the public to compete. He talked with police officials and public prosecutors and examined the obscenity statutes in the 50 states. During his researches, he met James J. Clancy, a deputy district attorney in Burbank, Calif., who had been highly successful in preparing obscenity cases for prosecution.

Both men saw that obscenity laws varied from state to state. Some of these statutes needed updating, others rephrasing to bring them into line with the *Roth* ruling. Citizens for Decent Literature started an educational campaign for the revision and strengthening of these laws.

Next, Keating and Clancy offered their knowledge and experience to any prosecutor who wanted it. Today Keating spends a substantial amount of his time helping to prepare briefs and advising prosecutors on details of obscenity statutes. Clancy's CDL work became so demanding that he joined the national staff as full-time legal counsel. The two men have filed *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) briefs to assist prosecutions in a number of obscenity cases.

Another strong arm is the U.S. Department of Justice. Because of the big increase in obscenity cases in recent years, the department's general-crime division has established a staff of legal experts responsible for dealing with pornography in the mail and in interstate commerce. Two specialists in this field, Edward J. Pesce and Theodore Kleinman, are assigned full-time to the work. They help federal district attorneys follow correct procedures.

#### SHIFTING THE BALANCE

Through such efforts, the balance of power is now shifting in the legal fight against obscenity. Since the *Roth* decision, scores of convictions in obscenity cases, obtained in state and federal courts, have not been appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. Records also disclose that from June 1957 to June 1965 the highest court has denied review in 22 criminal convictions for obscenity-law violations.

While these signs are encouraging, some court decisions are alarming—as, for example, a 1963 ruling by Judge J. Irwin Shapiro in the trial court of Queens County, N.Y. The officials of a news-distributing company had been arrested on charges of selling books alleged by the district attorney to be obscene. Judge Shapiro admitted in his ruling that "fully 90 percent of each book is filled with lurid descriptions of sexual activities, in sufficient detail to act as an erotic stimulus to those so inclined," and then dismissed the defendants with this astonishing dictum:

"In the opinion of the court these books are unvarnished trash, but novels and stories of no literary merit have a place in our society. There are those who, because of lack of education, the meanness of their social existence, or mental insufficiency, cannot cope with anything better." Shapiro's ruling prompted *Life* magazine to ask editorially, "Is any book legally obscene anymore?" The case is currently on appeal.

More ominous still was the thinking of two U.S. Supreme Court Justices in voting to reverse two Florida civil-proceedings decisions which found the books *Tropic of Cancer* and *Pleasure Was My Business* to be obscene. The Supreme Court reversed these judgments in June 1964 by a close 5-4 verdict, with concurring votes cast by Justices Hugo Black and William O. Douglas. In their opinion, the *Roth* test was unconstitutional. Both Black and Douglas held that freedom-of-press guarantees forbid restraint on what may be published.

Fortunately, this is a minority view among Supreme Court Justices. To date, the Court has never ruled in favor of pornography or obscenity *per se*. In a recent decision, Chief Justice Earl Warren underscored the responsibilities that officials and citizens must face:



"Courts are often presented with procedurally bad cases, and in dealing with them appear to be acquiescing in the dissemination of obscenity. But if cases were well prepared with the appropriate concern for constitutional safeguards, courts would not hesitate to enforce the laws against obscenity."

#### MEETING THE CHALLENGE

This challenge can be met if a three-point program is followed:

1. *Police and prosecutors must study obscenity laws and know the proper procedures to enforce them.* If prosecutors are inexperienced in handling pornography cases, they should secure the aid of veteran legal fighters of the racket. District attorneys should concentrate on prosecuting the worst snut peddlers in their areas, attacking the sale of filth so offensive that its meaning and menace are self-evident.

Laws and ordinances should, if necessary, be revised so that their wording is consistent with that of the Supreme Court's decision in the *Roth* case. State legislatures and municipal councils should keep in mind these principles:

(a) Prior censorship (before distribution, showing or sale) has been practically outlawed by the courts.

(b) Nudity and obscenity are not synonymous; the manner and purpose of the showing of nudity, and the intent to arouse prurient interest, determine the offense.

(c) District attorneys should draw on a federal law enacted in 1958, which allows prosecution of pornography purveyors not only in the locality where they mail their filth but also where it is delivered. This law is proving a powerful weapon.

2. *Try all obscenity cases in a criminal court, before a jury.* The criminal court, with jury, is the forum that assures the greatest chance of success, for the 12 person jury, drawn from the local community, can best assess offending materials on the basis of known "community standards." Chief Justice Warren has declared: "It is my belief that when the court said in *Roth* that obscenity is to be defined by reference to 'community standards' it meant community standards—not a national standard, as is sometimes argued."

Appellate courts are reluctant to overturn verdicts of juries in criminal trials that are properly conducted. In some states, however, the prosecution does not have the right to a jury trial if the defendant waives it. The law should be changed to give the prosecution this right in all criminal cases.

3. *The public must strengthen and use every legal means to fight obscenity.* "The main reason obscenity laws are not enforced," says Keating, "is public apathy." Citizens in any community can organize to battle the traffic in filth. They should be widely representative of all churches, of parent-teacher associations, women's clubs, civic clubs, business and labor organizations. These citizen groups should study the news stands and bookstores and file complaints with public prosecutors when material appears to violate obscenity laws. In addition, they should become familiar with the laws that control obscenity, demand revisions where necessary, and insist upon enforcement.

Here is a crusade against a rising evil which all of us—with our courts—should pitch into and win!

#### CUBAN CONTRIBUTIONS IN MIAMI

##### HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, recently I read a very interesting editorial in a

Miami Spanish language newspaper, *Diario Las Americas* of June 22, 1969.

*Diario Las Americas* serves our Cuban community well. In an age when communication is the key to understanding, cooperation, and friendship, this newspaper bridges the gap between both Spanish-speaking and English-speaking citizens in the Miami community.

The Cubans have made great strides in the cultural, civic, economic, and educational spheres of Miami life. They have overcome the barriers of varying customs, mores, and language to augment the number of Miami professionals. Cubans and Latins can be counted among the doctors, lawyers, bankers, and private businessmen of the community.

Cuban students have also made advances in and contributions to our culture and have received many awards for excellence in numerous academic and sports fields.

The courage shown by Cuban refugees who had to leave all of their worldly possessions in Cuba in their quest for freedom must be admired. The fortitude they have shown in the face of the obstacles of living, working, and adapting to a foreign culture is just as commendable. We in Miami are proud of the Cubans in our midst, proud of the courage they showed in coming to America, proud of the contribution they have made to our community, and proud that such courageous and energetic people chose to live in our city.

I would now like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the editorial comments:

Undoubtedly those who do not live here and visit Miami frequently are the ones who notice more what the contribution of the Cubans in the cultural, spiritual, civic and economic aspects represents in benefits for the growth of this great Floridian city.

Of course, those who live here can also notice all that which the many thousands of Cuban families have brought in favor of Miami, though for obvious reasons of seeing it every day, the differences are not seen with the same clearness as by those who periodically or from time to time visit the city.

Taking into consideration the extraordinarily difficult conditions, unprecedented in the history of the Americas, in which the Cubans arrive to the United States, it is mandatory to acknowledge the great merit they have in achieving progress, in the midst of great sacrifices, until getting to constitute, as in fact they do, a powerful cultural, civic, and economic group for the American communities where they live, especially in the Miami metropolitan area.

If there did not exist a cultured intellectual capacity, vocation for work, and honesty to perform it, as well as if there did not exist spiritual strength, the Cubans would not have been able to be elements to whom can be assigned, with enough reason, a high percentage of the progresses of this Miami area in the last few years.

Not only the Cubans, but also the Latin Americans in general who live in the United States and especially in South Florida, feel pride and satisfaction over what this community has done, giving thereby testimony of its positive virtues, testimony which includes, undoubtedly, a condemnation for communist imperialism that forced them to leave their country. Those who came were not parasites, but persons capable of succeeding under difficult material and spiritual circumstances. The latter because no Cuban forgets the tragedy of his homeland.

In Cuba there is still a gigantic number of persons who would like to leave the com-

munist inferno and who, in general, have the same attributes of their countrymen in exile. And those cubans in the island—for patriotism—do not cooperate with the communist regime, and because of this the sugar crop is extremely low though the regime has made desperate efforts to improve it.

The Federal and local authorities, as well as the American community in general have proof—and they acknowledge it in different ways—of how much the hard-working and cultured community of Cuban exiles represents for the prestige and prosperity of Miami.

#### SAN ANTONIO IS MAKING GREAT STRIDES AS MEDICAL AND EDUCATIONAL CENTER

##### HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, it is doubtful that there is a metropolitan area in America which is making greater strides today in fields of medicine and education than is to be found in San Antonio, Tex.

Three bills passed by the 61st Texas Legislature promise to make San Antonio one of the Nation's major educational centers.

Three new institutions have been authorized for San Antonio—a school of clinical nursing, a dental school, and a 4-year university, all to operate as a part of the University of Texas system.

The University of Texas Dental School represents the first such school approved in Texas since 1905. Authored by Representative Guy Floyd in the house and Senator Joe Bernal in the Texas Senate, the bill provides for the enrollment of up to 150 first-year students. It will also offer training for dental hygienists and dental assistants. The cost for construction is estimated at \$15 million.

The dental school will be located adjacent to the new University of Texas Medical School on the 100-acre University of Texas site in northwest San Antonio at the South Texas Medical Center. This land was donated to the University of Texas system by the San Antonio Medical Foundation. Medical School Dean F. C. Pannill recently predicted that the first class may begin as early as the fall term of 1970, using classroom and laboratory space available in the medical school and the Bexar County teaching hospitals.

The University of Texas School of Clinical Nursing will be located in the same area as the medical and dental schools. The new Bexar County Hospital, which adjoins the medical school, will provide facilities and services for the nursing school at no cost to the State. While the school is being established, students may take the prerequisite liberal arts courses required for their nursing degrees.

Acting on the fact that San Antonio is the only major metropolitan area in Texas without a 4-year, State-supported university, a bill to establish the University of Texas at San Antonio was signed in June by Gov. Preston Smith.

This new university, unlike any other school in Texas since 1923, will have to start from the ground up. For that rea-

son, the University of Texas at San Antonio will begin modestly, perhaps starting in 1972 or 1973 with one or two buildings and 4,000 students. Expansion will be gradual.

Dr. Harry H. Ransom, chancellor of the University of Texas system, has noted that the new university at San Antonio will offer the system the first opportunity for a "complete university." He added in a recent newspaper interview that the school should be distinctive, perhaps looking southward to Latin America for its programs. He said the school will also have a unique opportunity to work in the area of bilingual education.

The coordinating board of the Texas college and university system has placed a \$29.7 million price tag on the institution. Currently, the search is underway to find the appropriate site for San Antonio's new academic institution.

AN ADDRESS ON UNIVERSITY STUDENTS BY JOHN A. SCOTT, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER, LAFAYETTE, IND., JOURNAL-COURIER, SOUTH BEND ROTARY CLUB, JUNE 18, 1969

## HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, one of the most distinguished citizens of the State of Indiana is John A. Scott, editor and publisher of the Lafayette Journal-Courier and former mayor of the city of South Bend.

On June 18, 1969, it was my privilege to be able to hear Mr. Scott deliver a most impressive address on the subject of some of the problems facing American universities today. This address, which was delivered at the South Bend Rotary Club, follows:

ADDRESS BY JOHN A. SCOTT

We have recently passed through a period of national bereavement because we lost General Eisenhower. It is not only because he was universally loved that we miss him. He represented values that seem to have slipped away with him. Values like serenity, the quietness of power, unity, and the people's love for their leader. He bridged the generation gap as though it were a 9-iron shot, and he seemed to make life restful.

Now we are beset with anxieties and collisions. Confronted with a tempest all around us, we seem persistently to overreact to our frustrations.

No place, it seems to me, are we overreacting more than on the campuses of America. I am not referring to police activity at this point, although this, in my opinion, soon may become an area of grievous concern.

I am referring here to public reaction as expressed through the legislative and executive branches of state government.

Here in Indiana we have a fascinating example of the management of turmoil on the campus.

At Purdue University, a conservative school by almost all standards, we had a protest movement which in the first semester failed to attract enough students to stage anything more than a caricature of campus unrest.

Then, after the General Assembly cut the university budgets and forced a substantial increase in Purdue tuitions, the movement erupted into demonstrations and finally into

a sit-in at the Memorial Union. 229 students were arrested, suspended for the summer and put on probation for next fall. Their cases are still pending in court and their families have been put to great expense in terms of bail bond, transportation for court appearances and legal costs.

It is amusing for some to say that they got exactly what they asked for, except that the ones who were guilty, the leaders of the demonstrations, evaporated as though they had fallen through trap doors just at the point of confrontation. The ones who were arrested were largely adventurous kids who found some kind of exhilaration in the cause or an aphrodisiac in the cloister at the Union Building. While the leaders of the movement are now stirring the pot on some other stove, these kids are taking the rap. They are getting an overdose of "justice" on behalf of the rebels who lured them into the dissent with an attractive target. What we are doing to these students is a remarkable demonstration of how to alienate the moderates.

And the paradox of the alienation is that these adventurous kids really did have a cause.

It was discussed by the founding fathers when they considered the first constitution for Indiana. One portion of it said "It shall be the duty of the General Assembly as soon as circumstances permit to provide a general system of education, ascending from township schools to a state university, wherein tuition shall be gratis and equally open to all."

The present state administration gives excellent speeches on the Constitution, but instead of implementing the original idea of free education, the government has made higher education more costly. So there is a cause.

It is true that some zealots or revolutionaries have tried to twist the cause toward anarchial goals, but the logic of the dissent persists, and the tuition increase has dismayed a lot more than the professional rebels.

Many observers, including me, were disgusted with the human litter in the union building, and there is no question that the scene was conspicuously disgusting. But to judge Purdue by these characters would be like judging South Bend by the number of its muggings and assault cases.

Those people who cop out now on education are more guilty of overreaction than the kids they condemn. Because they won't be tightening their purse strings on the offenders; they will be damaging the very kids who themselves are disgusted with the sit-in. It is a paradox of the present campus that the innocent suffer more than the guilty. The 20,000 moderates will take the beating for the outrages of some spoiled punks, the product of affluent, indulgent parents who have given their progeny all the material things of life and very little understanding of values and virtues. Some of them, of course, are treasonable conspirators, but most of them are naive idealists.

Another simple notion that is kicked around by the general public is the thesis that campus problems are due to gutless university presidents. "They need to smack those kids down, show some backbone", roar the critics over cocktails in the Caribbean.

Spinelessness is not the problem. It would be no trick at all to win a war on the campus. The police and even the national guard are only a phone call away, and there is no question about the power of the state to take over the universities. Where courage is required is in solving the problem without force, or, at most, with a minimum application of force. The reluctance of university presidents who militarize the campuses and lock up the dissidents has little to do with their personal fortitude: they are engaged in a much more heroic effort, namely that of preserving the free university.

And it should not be forgotten that the protest movement has accelerated some reforms that we should applaud with vigor. Complacent administrators have been stirred into action revising procedures, examining curricula, justifying their bookkeeping, checking faculties more carefully and generally working harder. The spotlight has been focused on a lot of administrators who are inept, lazy, self-important and inefficient. And moderate student leadership has been stirred as a wholesome antithesis to the demagoguery that has soiled the Alma Mater.

The old ideals are adequate if they can be preserved. And the place to preserve them is in the free university. Those who would at this critical juncture try to treat the symptoms of the present sickness by starving the university will only be joining the ranks of those they loathe most: the enemies of freedom who would destroy the educational system.

It is the right of each new generation of youth to discover its own "thing" and believe they discovered it. As they mature, they come to realize that they merely re-discovered old truths shaped in new life styles. One truth is that force begets force and violence begets violence.

Here, I think is the danger to us all in this year of convulsion on the campus. If students ignore the established agencies for adjudicating grievances and resort to force, then there exists the potential for counterforce of much greater magnitude. The direction of society then shifts from left to right and the moderate balance of the free culture is shadowed by a new peril which represents some form of democratic fascism.

This is why the young new left tampers not just with the system but with the potential for their own captivity. While it is now a platitude that freedom must be accompanied by responsibility, there is a new urgency and vehemence in that statement when every measure of public opinion indicates that the new left is inviting the methods of despotism.

This unhappy potential ultimately may prove a point that seems so elementary as to be demonstrable already in some portions of the nation. Violence begets violence, and the more the destructive activism from the Left, the more likely will be more demand for repression from the Right. While we may be so big as a country that a police state is unthinkable, it is not unthinkable that we may have enclaves of provincial police control. It will be interesting to watch the city of Berkeley, California, next fall to see whether the cynical process of radicalism versus law and order produces a municipal rigidity that ends up in an absolute disciplined community. Because both sides feed on each other. The more violence from the Left, the more suppression from the Right; the more suppression from the Right, the more attrition of the Moderates as they join the Left in a sympathy movement. The winner is easy to pick. It will be law and order, but the price for everybody may be extravagantly uncomfortable.

What is the answer? Well, I'm not sure what the question is. But one thing is certain. The moderates aren't winning. While we can comfort ourselves in the statistic that only 9% of the students are "anti-establishment," last year at this time the figure was 5%.

One thing we certainly need to do is to start communicating and stop giving lip-service from sanctuary to the counter-militants. We need to encourage campus leaders who want to reform the institution without burning it up. Next fall when school begins, take a campus leader to dinner. See if he can use you as a friend. He represents the brightest college generation we ever produced and if you want him to preserve the values you think should endure, you'd better be able to talk with him. And listen to him.



## SDS AND THE NEW LEFT

## HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, testified before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on April 17.

A portion of his testimony dwelt on the New Left movement, its finances, interlocking membership with other groups, and its threat to our country.

I include that portion of Mr. Hoover's testimony relating to the New Left movement, being pages 522 to 532 of part 1 of the Committee on Appropriations hearings:

## INTERNAL SECURITY WORK

Mr. HOOPER. In discussing our field investigative work, I will first turn to our widespread and important internal security work which during the past year has been highlighted by stepped-up activities of the New Left movement, continuing antiwar activity, various kinds of demonstrations, and the proliferation of mass membership organizations, such as certain militant black nationalist groups, whose programs have the effect of undermining respect for law and order.

## NEW LEFT MOVEMENT

During 1968, the New Left movement in the United States continued to reveal itself as a firmly established subversive force dedicated to the complete destruction of our traditional democratic values and the principles of free government. This movement represents the militant, nihilistic and anarchistic forces which have become entrenched, for the most part, on college campuses and which threaten the orderly process of education as the forerunner of a more determined effort to destroy our economic, social, and political structures.

The discontent expressed by the movement in this country is also found in other countries. As a result, the New Left movement is a new specter haunting the Western World. It is a movement that is united to some degree by common issues, such as the Vietnam war, civil rights matters, so-called capitalist corruption, and a so-called archaic university system.

## FINANCES

New Left funds are generally obtained from contributions, dues, sales of literature, benefits, advertisements, and its publications and fund drives. The main sources of revenue are contributions, and it is estimated that nearly 60 percent of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) funds, for example, come from this source.

Although the majority of gifts are in the \$10 to \$50 range, wealthy benefactors who have acquired their fortunes in the United States have contributed substantial amounts in support of the New Left movement and in support of the activities of the SDS in particular. Included among these, for example, are a Cleveland industrialist who has long been a Soviet apologist; the wife of an attorney in Chicago who is a millionaire; an heiress in the New England area who is married to an individual prominent in the academic community who has been active in New Left activities; and a wealthy New York lecturer and writer who for years has been linked to more than a score of Communist-front organizations and has contributed liberally to many of them. These individuals alone have contributed more than \$100,000 in support of New Left activities.

The New Left has also received money from several foundations. A very prominent

foundation in New York, for example, has contributed more than a quarter of a million dollars from 1961 to 1968 to various individuals and groups, most of which have been identified as either present or past members or sympathizers of the Communist Party—U.S.A. or New Left movement.

Demonstrations are frequently financed by fundraising and collections. For example more than \$25,000 was collected from participants and spectators by the organizing committee during the march on the Pentagon in 1967. The organizing committee raised \$10,000 from the sale of buttons during an anti-Vietnam war demonstration early in 1967 in New York City.

Funds for antidraft activity by the New Left also have been supplied by organizations such as that known as Resist, located in Cambridge, Mass. This group was formed in 1967 by approximately 300 professors, writers, ministers, and others who signed a statement pledging to raise funds to aid youths who resist the draft and denounce the Vietnam war.

Communist Party-U.S.A. leaders have recently urged party members to give time and money to "New Left demonstrations and causes."

Much of the nationwide travel engaged in by prominent New Left leaders is paid for by honorariums paid to them, generally out of student funds, for their guest speaker appearances on college campuses.

## STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

At the core of the New Left movement in the United States is the Students for a Democratic Society, an organization which became well known in 1968 for its disruptive tactics at a number of universities in this country, the main one being Columbia University in New York City. And if the leaders of the Students for a Democratic Society have their way, they will attempt to create chaos on many more campuses. Their desire is to let the "Columbia Spirit" prevail.

The Students for a Democratic Society advocates, in the terminology of a considerable number of its leaders and members, revolutionary communism. Along this line, at the organization's 1968 national convention, two of the newly elected national officers publicly identified themselves as Communists "with a small c," as many New Left adherents do to signify that while they are Communists they are a brand apart from those in the old-line Communist movement.

While the distinction may seem important to them, it is irrelevant to the rest of Americans because the basic objective of both New Left and old-line Communists and their adherents in our society is to completely destroy our form of government.

The militant mood of the 1968 national convention of the Students for a Democratic Society was obvious from the subjects discussed and the suggestions made at its various workshops. For example, at a workshop dealing with sabotage and explosives, the participants discussed such things as disrupting selective service and police facilities during riots; mailing letters dipped in combustible materials; flushing "bird bombs" in toilets to destroy plumbing; using sharp, tripod-shaped instruments to halt vehicles; jamming radio equipment; firing Molotov cocktails from a shotgun; using electronic firing devices; and inserting "thermite bombs" in manholes to destroy communications.

The same militant mood was evident in suggestions made for a proposed pamphlet by participants in a workshop on self-defense and internal security. Suggested articles included starting rifle and karate clubs; infiltrating right-wing organizations; starting rogues' galleries of police officers and spotting plainclothesmen by observing them as they testify in court.

The 1968 SDS convention also adopted a resolution on the military. This resolution

created a project for "GI organizers" and established a coordinating office for the project in New York. The project will support individuals who wish to continue the "struggle against imperialism" by entering the military service in order to "politicize" and organize those in military service to resist authority. The project is to establish "GI drop-in centers" near military facilities in order to offer a political program to aid servicemen in their organizing efforts within the military.

In addition, the resolution encourages local SDS chapters to organize a campaign to involve servicemen in social and political activities; establish a military counseling service; provide support for deserters; and give support through demonstrations and publicity to radicals within the military service.

The meeting of the National Council of the Students for a Democratic Society held in Ann Arbor, Mich., over the recent Christmas holidays was highlighted by a power play by SDS members who are also members of the pro-Peking Progressive Labor Party (PLP). The struggle concerned two main issues. One was the participation in proposed demonstrations at the time of the Presidential Inauguration. The resolution for SDS support and participation in the Inaugural demonstrations was defeated and generally regarded as a PLP victory. The PLP considered the SDS to be unprepared for a confrontation with authorities and also their action would endanger black revolutionary work in the Nation's Capital.

The other issue stemmed from the advocacy by the PLP element for the creation of a broad-based revolutionary group consisting of students and workers. While this resolution was unsuccessful, its defeat by an extremely narrow margin was indicative of the PLP's increasing attempt to influence the SDS and the student New Left.

An SDS National Council meeting was held in Austin, Tex., from March 27, 1969, to March 30, 1969. Michael Klonsky, SDS national secretary, among other things stated, "Our primary task is to build a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement." The PLP, continued in its bid to control SDS, however, was unable to pass many of its resolutions. This organization still continues to wield considerable influence in SDS; however, it is now receiving competition from the Communist Party-U.S.A. and the Young Socialist Alliance (youth affiliate of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party). The influence of these two groups in competition with PLP is growing in SDS circles and by the time the next SDS annual national convention convenes in June 1969, it can be expected that there will be considerable dissension within SDS ranks as to what course to follow.

It can be fully expected that old-line Communist groups will make every effort to insure SDS follows Marxist-Leninist doctrine for guidance in their activities and building a revolutionary movement.

Although the PLP represents a minority of the SDS members, it is able to wield a disproportionate influence on the national office level due to the militancy of its members and the cohesiveness of its Maoist line. The PLP's ability to seize upon situations ripe for violence was certainly revealed by the Columbia University riots when it attempted to guide the riot leadership.

The PLP is one of several Communist splinter extremist groups formed during recent years to enunciate the tenets of Communist China and Mao Tse-tung. The majority have been ineffectual paper organizations. The PLP, however, is one group which has emerged with a broad-based membership making significant organizational strides in major U.S. cities and on a number of college campuses. It is headed by such devoted revolutionaries as Milton Rosen, one-time labor secretary of the Communist Party, New York State, who was expelled from the Com-

munist Party for extremist views, and William Epton, who, following his participation in the Harlem race riots of 1964, was found guilty of conspiracy to riot, conspiracy to advocate criminal anarchy, and advocating criminal anarchy. Appropos of the strong rapport existing between the PLP and the Communist Party of Communist China, the latter group informed top-level PLP members in 1967 that it considers the PLP the only revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party in the United States.

There can be no doubt that the New Left movement is a threat to established law and order and to the stability of our society. Through it a comparative handful of revolutionaries have displayed total disregard for the rights and privileges of the overwhelming majority of millions of dedicated and responsible college students. The Students for a Democratic Society will continue to be at the forefront of the organizations making up the New Left movement in taking every opportunity to foment discord among the youth of this country.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I will have to leave in a few minutes and I wonder if I may ask a couple questions?

Mr. ROONEY. Yes, Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. A couple years ago, I thought we were told the Students for a Democratic Society were about to be put on the Attorney General's list.

Mr. HOOVER. They have never been put on the Attorney General's list.

Mr. SMITH. Are they likely candidates to be placed on that list?

Mr. HOOVER. I do not know. The Internal Security Division of the Department would determine that based on all the material we have sent to them.

Mr. SMITH. That is all.

Mr. HOOVER. I now turn to the antiwar and antidraft activities.

#### ANTIWAR AND ANTIDRAFT ACTIVITY

Antiwar and antidraft protests and activities continued throughout 1968. Scarcely a day passed that did not see demonstrations by various "peace" groups.

The major antiwar demonstrations held in cities throughout the United States in April 1968 grew out of proposals made at a conference of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam which was held in Chicago, Ill., in January 1968. This conference was attended by leading young members of the Communist Party-U.S.A.; the Socialist Workers Party and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance; the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a militant black nationalist group; and the Students for a Democratic Society.

Nearly 50,000 individuals participated in a New York City demonstration. Many of the demonstrators carried Viet Cong flags and photographs of Ho Chi Minh and "Che" Guevara. A demonstration at Los Angeles, Calif., attracted some 2,500 individuals who heard speakers, including a member of the Communist Party-U.S.A., urge withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam. At San Francisco, Calif., approximately 10,000 individuals heard Fred Halstead, the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, denounce U.S. foreign policy.

In May 1968, the National Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam, which is headed by David Dellinger who is self-described as a Communist although not the Soviet variety, and which includes representatives of various subversive organizations, such as the Communist Party-U.S.A. and the Socialist Workers Party among its members, planned its Summer of Support. This is a program to establish coffeehouses near military installations throughout the United States for the purpose of attracting military personnel and to serve as alternatives to the "militaristic, drab, occasionally violent Army town environment." Some such coffeehouses have been set up.

Rennie Davis, one of the leaders of the Joint Community Union, the community action group of the Students for a Democratic Society, was selected to head Summer of Support. A letter issued by the group explains that Summer of Support is a national program to support GI's and their right to come home. Sponsors of it include the Reverend James Bevel, an official of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference who has been active in antiwar demonstrations; Marlon Brando, a prominent actor; the Reverend William Sloane Coffin, Jr., who has been convicted for a violation of the Selective Service Act; and David Dellinger.

The Student Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam, which is controlled by members of the Young Socialist Alliance, the youth group of the Socialist Workers Party, sponsored anti-Vietnam war demonstrations in various cities throughout the United States from April 4 to 6, 1969. Many antiwar protest groups participated in the demonstrations which had two main themes—namely, to bring servicemen home from Vietnam and to achieve free speech for servicemen advocating antiwar sentiments. The principal demonstrations were conducted in New York City; Chicago, Ill.; and San Francisco, Calif. At New York City, 30,000 individuals participated in a march and rally. Among the demonstrators were members of the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and its youth group, and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). At Chicago, approximately 10,000 individuals participated in a march and rally. One of the principal speakers at the rally was an official of the Black Panther Party. At San Francisco an estimated 10,000 demonstrators marched through San Francisco to the Presidio, a military base. Several arrests were made by the San Francisco Police Department and several military policemen were injured when the marchers attempted to force their way into the Presidio.

#### ACTS OF VIOLENCE

During the past year we have seen some protest groups turn more and more to violent plans and tactics.

In December 1967, Greg Calvert, a national representative of the Students for a Democratic Society, stated at an SDS chapter meeting in Oklahoma that the SDS and other New Left groups were organizing and planning efforts to disrupt the national "war-making effort" all over the country.

In January 1968, a pamphlet entitled, "What Must We Do Now? . . . An Argument for Sabotage As The Next Logical Step Toward Obstruction and Disruption of the U.S. War Machine," was prepared in Canada and copies were mailed from Toronto, Canada, to anti-Vietnam war groups in this country. The pamphlet referred to the need for increased radicalization of the antiwar movement and urged the utilization of incendiary devices to immobilize local draft boards, Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) buildings, other Government agencies and war industries. Other acts of violence were also proposed and detailed instructions and diagrams were contained in the pamphlet for the construction of simple incendiary devices. The pamphlet strongly emphasized the clandestine nature of such violent activity and urged that only two or three persons be knowledgeable of any action in order to preclude compromise.

In September 1968, within a 5-day period three ROTC establishments were sabotaged and a fourth threatened at diverse points across the Nation. On September 13, 1968, Callahan Hall, the Naval ROTC building at the University of California at Berkeley, was damaged by explosives which caused in excess of \$25,000 in damage. Two previous attempts were made to firebomb this building in 1968. On September 15, 1968, several firebombs were thrown into the ROTC armory at the University of Delaware damaging or

destroying 300 military uniforms and public address system equipment. On September 18, 1968, a fire of undetermined origin caused extensive damage in Clark Hall, the Naval ROTC building at the University of Washington in Seattle. Prior to this date members of SDS at this university had announced the Naval ROTC unit as one of their "targets." Furthermore, at the scene of the fire, Robbie Sterns, self-described SDS activist, was observed chanting, "This is No. 1 and the fun has just begun; burn it down, burn it down."

In Storrs, Conn., a source reported that SDS was planning to blow up the ROTC building on September 17, 1968, at the University of Connecticut; however, the bombing attempt did not take place.

On September 29, 1968, the local CIA office at Ann Arbor, Mich., was bombed. Ann Arbor is the home of the University of Michigan where there have been numerous New Left activities in the past several years. The New Left at the university, and specifically SDS, has claimed credit for the bombing of this CIA office.

The New Left by innuendo made additional claims of violence in September 1968, when on September 29, at a Navy and Marine ROTC unit at Eugene, Oreg., a crane was damaged with explosives and several military vehicles were destroyed by being set afire. On September 10, 1968, five heavy army trucks were destroyed in explosions and fires at the National Guard armory at Van Nuys, Calif.

A 16-year-old narcotics addict advised the Detroit Police Department of identities of subjects involved in four recent bombings in the Detroit area. To date, over 10 New Left individuals have been charged with being implicated in these bombings which were: the September 10, 1968, bombings of a Selective Service Office, Roseville, Mich., and of a U.S. Army vehicle, Detroit, Mich.; the September 29, 1968, bombing of CIA headquarters at the University of Michigan; and the October 14, 1968, bombing of the Science and Technology Building at the University of Michigan.

Five persons active in various phases of the New Left have thus far been charged with a number of bombings in the San Francisco, Calif., area, including the destruction of three Pacific Gas & Electric Co. towers in June 1968.

On February 20, 1969, Michael Siskind, a student at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., and SDS member, on a plea of guilty on Federal court at St. Louis was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment in connection with charges stemming from the attempted firebombing of the ROTC headquarters on the campus, December 3, 1968.

Between January 20, and January 28, 1969, high-power transmission towers were dynamited in and around Denver, Colo. On February 14, 1969, Cameron David Bishop, an SDS activist, was indicted by a Federal grand jury in connection with these incidents and is currently being sought as a fugitive.

It is certainly coincidental that in June 1968, at the SDS national convention, as I pointed out earlier, one of the workshops dealt with sabotage and explosives. Many of those who attended the SDS national convention returned to school in September 1968, and as noted previously, acts of violence occurred early in the school year. And the SDS continues to make available information regarding the use of explosives. For example, at a national council meeting of the SDS held in Boulder, Colo., from October 11, 1968, to October 13, 1968, copies of a pamphlet captioned "Sabotage" and setting forth instructions on how to make bombs and incendiary devices were left on the stage of the auditorium where the meeting was held.

The selective service facilities of this country have also been the targets of antiwar violence by individuals, including clergymen,



resulting in destruction of or damage to selective facilities or records.

Other acts of violence have occurred during some of the numerous demonstrations erupting on various college campuses since the beginning of 1968. These protest actions have ranged from those directed against the school administration, to those matters relating to the defense effort, such as the war in Vietnam, the draft, and the appearance of military and war industry recruiters on campus. Several of these demonstrations resulted in severe damage to the school facilities. For example, the total costs of the riots at Columbia University in April and May 1968, by the Students for a Democratic Society and other New Leftists, were approximately \$500,000. This amount included damages to grounds, furnishings, and buildings and other related expenses.

Those incidents which concern damage to Federal facilities or property receive our immediate investigative attention and the results of the investigation are turned over to the Attorney General for prosecutive consideration. Where no Federal jurisdiction is involved, the matter rests with the local authorities.

#### DISTURBANCES AND RIOTS

There has been no lessening of racial tension in the United States. A particularly aggravating factor in the past few years has been the increased activity of emboldened Negro agitators and revolutionaries affiliated with black extremist groups who exhort and promote hate and violence. Their appeal to destructive action and guerrilla warfare has intensified, spreading a mood of lawlessness among sympathetic followers and among the young criminal element, thereby increasing the potential for violence.

For example, the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., on April 4, 1968, was seized upon by extremist and criminal elements in Negro areas throughout the country as an excuse to riot, loot, vandalize, burn, snipe, and kill. Violence in varying degrees, ranging from minor disturbances to major riots erupted in more than 100 cities across the land following King's death. In the remaining months of 1968, serious disturbances occurred in more than 40 other cities across the Nation.

The April outbreaks and the subsequent disorders resulted in more than 60 deaths, injuries to thousands of persons, and millions of dollars in property damage. In a number of instances, the summoning of the National Guard and Federal troops to help restore law and order was found necessary. Acts of violence and disorder on college campuses and in the lower schools by black student groups, often aided by outside agitators, have reached alarming proportions and have added to the racial strife.

I would like to point out that in connection with recurring disturbances and riots, we have no jurisdiction over the protection of persons and property nor do we have responsibility for the policing or controlling of riotous conditions. Our responsibilities center around the development and dissemination of intelligence data concerning these situations, being ever alert to the detection of violations of Federal laws over which the FBI has investigative jurisdiction, including violations of the antiriot provisions of Public Law 90-284 which was approved on April 11, 1968.

As to intelligence data, through expanding coverage a great deal of valuable information relating to a variety of cases of violence and planned violence has been developed. This information is widely disseminated throughout the executive branch of the Government. In addition, where pertinent, State and local authorities have been kept advised of information developed in this field and the prompt dissemination of such information often enables them to take preventive meas-

ures to forestall acts of violence and to combat violence as it develops.

We were able, for example, through our coverage to provide the Baltimore, Md., Police Department identifying data regarding several members of the extremist Black Panther Party from New York City who were reportedly responsible for the firebombing of a supermarket in Baltimore, Md., in late August 1968.

#### DEMONSTRATIONS AT THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

Months before the National Democratic Convention was held at Chicago, Ill., in August 1968, all appropriate Federal and local authorities were fully aware that the convention was the target for disruption and violence by various dissent groups and individuals from throughout the United States.

It was clear from the information received that these groups and individuals desired to deliberately bring about a hostile confrontation with the established authority. Preconvention plans for various demonstrations by New Left, antiwar, subversive, and other militant groups were made. In addition to these plans, allegations involving assassination plots against Vice President Humphrey, Senator Eugene McCarthy, and some prominent Negroes were also received. In view of this background, authorities were compelled to devise necessary and effective security precautions.

Numerous groups and their members were involved, in varying degrees, in the activities aimed at disrupting the convention. These included such organizations as the Communist Party-U.S.A., Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Youth International Party (also known as Yippies), Students for a Democratic Society, Black Panther Party, and the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

This latter organization, a coalition organization representing a variety of antiwar, New Left and subversive groups, emerged as the dominant coordinating force in planning disruption at the convention. It is the organization, headed by David Dellinger, which I spoke of earlier and which has sponsored a number of major demonstrations—some of them violent—including the mass assault on the Pentagon during the March on Washington in October 1967.

Although the organizers boasted of having from 100,000 to 200,000 supporters converge on Chicago, only some 10,000 at the most actually appeared. These, however, were well organized for disruption.

Demonstrations held during the convention period included taunting of the police: they were referred to as "pigs," they were spat upon, obscenities were shouted at them and they were the targets of all kinds of unbelievable abuse; on several occasions undisciplined mobs intent on marching to the convention site without legal authority had to be repulsed by the police and National Guard. Reportedly many of the hippies used drugs regularly.

The demonstrations resulted in mass arrests. Also, there were numerous police and demonstrators injured. Approximately 650 arrests were made by local authorities and nearly 200 police officers were injured during the confrontations with the demonstrators. It has been estimated that more than 900 persons obtained emergency treatment for injuries received during the disorder.

Although the disorders were violently disruptive, it should be noted that not one life was lost. Also not to be lost sight of is the fact that the convention itself was not interrupted and the city was not paralyzed.

As an outgrowth of the confrontations with the authorities, numerous allegations were made of violations of Federal civil rights and antiriot law statutes. As to civil rights violations, the FBI investigated over 150 civil rights cases involving more than 200 victims. Nearly 1,300 antiriot law cases

were investigated. More than 3,400 reports totaling over 26,000 pages setting out the results of more than 12,000 interviews were submitted. A Federal grand jury at Chicago on March 20, 1969, returned indictments charging eight persons with violating the new antiriot laws, seven police officers with violating civil rights statutes, one police officer for committing perjury before the grand jury and a former employee of the National Broadcasting Co. for concealing a microphone in a meeting room at the time of the Democratic National Convention.

Indicative of the tremendous drain placed on our manpower, the handling of civil rights and antiriot laws cases stemming from the convention demonstrations involved not only virtually our entire Chicago office special agent staff of some 275 in addition to 45 special agents brought in on special assignment, but the investigation was so widespread that general instructions as to the handling of it went to all of our offices.

#### DEMONSTRATION AT PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURATION

Subsequent to the violent demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention, the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam headed by David Dellinger addressed a paper to groups active in protesting the war in Vietnam. This paper called for demonstrations during the election campaign and called for a national action on January 20, 1969, during the Presidential Inauguration. Subsequent planning by the committee led to a program calling for workshops and conferences on January 18, 1969; rallies, a march, and a counterinaugural ball on January 19, 1969; and an "organized presence" along the inaugural parade route on January 20, 1969.

Rennie Davis, an official of the National Mobilization Committee, was appointed coordinator of the inaugural demonstrations. Local chapters of Students for a Democratic Society and other militant organizations, such as the Coalition for an Anti-Imperialist Movement, the Yippies, and Women Strike for Peace, endorsed the demonstrations.

The demonstration activity at Washington, D.C., over the inaugural weekend began on January 18, 1969, with 600 to 1,000 individuals participating in workshops and conferences which were described as completely disorganized and chaotic. Among other activities on January 19 were a march by approximately 4,000 individuals and demonstrations including one at the Smithsonian Institution where a reception was held for Vice President Agnew and his wife. Some of the demonstrators threw clods of dirt and other items and, as a result, it was necessary for police to break up the demonstration. During the meetings on January 19, 1969, several of the demonstrators called for a confrontation with the police on January 20, 1969. The counterinaugural ball, which was held by the demonstrators on the evening of January 19, 1969, was poorly attended and disorganized.

On January 20, 1969, 600 to 800 of the demonstrators positioned themselves along the inaugural parade route, particularly from 12th to 15th Street on Pennsylvania Avenue. They attempted to disrupt the parade by throwing objects, including a few smoke bombs, but were unsuccessful in their attempts. However, their actions made it necessary for police to disperse them.

During the 3 days of demonstrations, 119 individuals were arrested, the majority on charges of disorderly conduct. During the 3 days, six of those arrested were charged with mutilation, burning, or desecration of the U.S. flag. Of those arrested, 10 were juveniles.

It is interesting to note that a source advised that David Dellinger, the leader of the demonstrations, and his group, the National Mobilization Committee, lost control of the activities of the demonstrators during the inaugural parade.

**CHARLES SMITH: RESPECTED WISCONSIN CONSERVATIONIST**

**HON. DAVID R. OBEY**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 8, 1969*

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, eloquent testimony to the fact that Vietnam war sentiment in this country does not divide merely on partisan or philosophical lines came to my office last week in the form of a letter from one of my most distinguished constituents, Mr. Charles F. Smith, Sr., of Wausau.

In private life, Mr. Smith is a distinguished attorney and a highly respected citizen. In public life Mr. Smith has distinguished himself as a member of the Wisconsin Conservation Commission for 25 years; as chairman of the Wisconsin Conservation Commission for 3 years, and a member of the Wisconsin Resources Development Board for 1½ years.

Lest some would erroneously conclude that Mr. Smith is an impractical "peacenik," it should be pointed out that he has a long record of supporting what he has considered to be necessary and unavoidable use of military force—even to the point of criticizing President Roosevelt in 1944 for not being tough enough against World War II aggressors.

His letter starkly points out the degree to which the Vietnam war has infected and corroded all of society and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

*JUNE 11, 1969.*

Congressman DAVID R. OBEY,  
Longworth Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I feel constrained to join in the argument now going on in both Houses of Congress and throughout the country on the war in South Vietnam, which is increasing by leaps and bounds to the point of real danger to this country.

Everyone seems to agree first that the South Vietnam war was a mistake as it is now being waged, and, secondly, that this terrible war is really one of the principal causes of our (1) inflation, (2) our riots and (3) our poor reputation with other countries, and practically all our other serious problems.

President Nixon cited all of these matters in his campaign for the presidency and promised an early end of all of these terrible results of this war. What has he done—practically nothing, except to continue the Johnson policy of "waiting" and "promising," all of which have been repudiated by the people of this country.

What is this policy of waiting really accomplishing—(1) increasing inflation, (2) increasing our school riots to the possible breakdown of our colleges and universities, and (3) deteriorating our position with foreign countries as evidenced by the recent South American opposition to Rockefeller's visit to their countries, and finally by killing more thousands and thousands of our youth and spending this nation into possible financial trouble.

Obviously, this waiting game of Johnson and Nixon is a game of trying to save face for political reasons. I ask, is the value of saving face equal to our losses of money, prestige in the world, our own national safety, and last but not least, the lives of thousands of our best young men?

Now, what can we do? Obviously, we are reducing our demands on North Vietnam by the month to the point that we are showing that we intend ultimately to get out of Vietnam on North Vietnam's terms. If so, and North Vietnam knows this, why not admit our mistake now and get out now on terms we know and North Vietnam knows we will finally turn to.

I suggest that if in four or five years we have not been able to train the South Vietnam troops to take over we will never accomplish this. Let's tell South Vietnam that from now on "this is your war, we are going to withdraw not the piddling 25,000 men as suggested by President Nixon, but 50,000 now and another 50,000 more at least every six months, so that the remainder of our soldiers with you can be withdrawn in safety and by a definite time and still allow you time to replace them with your own troops. We have done everything, more than you asked for in the beginning. We must turn this war, your war, over to you and get busy with safeguarding our own country."

Our immediate war, problems of inflation, riots, disrespect for our country and terrible loss of lives and money necessitates this action and far outweighs any further duty that we may owe to South Vietnam.

I urge you, let's forget political or other "saving of face" arguments and consider only "saving our country."

Respectfully,

CHAS. F. SMITH.

**SDS FLUNKS TEST OF PRACTICAL POLITICS**

**HON. GEORGE P. MILLER**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 8, 1969*

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, a provocative editorial appeared in the San Leandro, Calif., Morning News on July 1, 1969, which I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues, as follows:

**SDS FLUNKS TEST OF PRACTICAL POLITICS**

The recent national convention of Students for a Democratic Society in Chicago was more than ridiculous. It was sad.

These representatives of the now generation, the concerned generation, the love generation, may have liberated themselves from the stultifying restrictions of good taste in speech and dress, but they demonstrated that they possess in abundance all the human failings that have plagued mankind through the ages—belligerence, disputatiousness, factionalism, prejudice, self-righteousness and closed mindedness.

It is no criticism of the SDS that its convention was split between two factions and that one of them is apparently going to set up a rival organization. This has happened in other political parties. It can happen anytime a minimum of two persons have a meeting, even if it is only the local garden club.

Nor is it important to know the names of the factions or which one emerged with control, or the claim of control, of SDS. Both are so far out of the mainstream of American thought and political practices that they are not to be given serious consideration.

What is disturbing is that such apparently bright people are ignorant of—nay, opposed to—something that all other successful parties have had to learn in order to survive as responsible entities. That is the art of compromise.

There must be room in any political organiza-

tion, if it hopes to gain power in a democracy or at least to exert influence on the party that does have power, for a variety of shades of opinions—although the party as a whole may be weighted toward the right or the left.

Compromise is not an unalloyed virtue, of course. It frequently requires the watering down of principles for the sake of expediency and unity. But the give and take of compromise is the only workable method men have arrived at for making orderly progress.

American society needs reforms, and it needs them urgently. It is discouraging that the young and presumably idealistic activists like the SDSers, or ex-SDSers, are the last people one should look to for any hope of accomplishing those reforms.

**REWARDING BUT THANKLESS**

**HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 8, 1969*

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, Newark, N.J., my home city, is losing the services through retirement of the very dedicated and outstanding public servant, Mr. Louis Danzig. Lou Danzig has served for the past 21 years as executive director of the Newark Housing Authority and has written a record of sound and progressive accomplishments in the field of low-income housing. His tenure of service and strong leadership in the field of public housing will not be soon forgotten, and I simply want to add my voice to his many admirers who wish him well in the years to come.

An editorial from the Newark, N.J., Star-Ledger, follows:

**REWARDING BUT THANKLESS**

Twenty-eight years ago, when Louis Danzig entered the public housing field, it was an era held in low esteem. In too many instances, it was bitterly opposed and rallied against by a private sector that had strong feelings about subsidized housing for low-income families.

Much of the original resentment and antagonism has been dissipated by the economic realities of a modern society, which has been compelled to assume a more responsible social stance in ameliorating the deprived circumstances of millions of Americans.

Louis Danzig, who retired recently after 21 years as executive director of the Newark Housing Authority, has been intimately involved with the transition of low-income housing from its struggling, unwanted infancy to its present maturity as a useful adjunct of governmental function.

Subsidized public housing, conceding its deficiencies in some areas, has been transformed into a constructive social instrumentality, filling a fundamental human need of decent, habitable housing at rentals compatible with minimal income.

For Danzig, the administration of public housing and the city's redevelopment programs has been a difficult, and in recent years, an unpopular responsibility. The redevelopment agency, in particular, has been involved in controversy that attended the location of the New Jersey College of Medicine and Dentistry on urban renewal land assembled by the Housing Authority.

Even the critics of the city's housing and redevelopment programs would concede that Danzig has exerted an enormous influence in the long and costly restoration of an all-



ing, declining municipality. During his tenure, more than 5,000 public housing units have been built, with another 2,500 apartments for senior citizens.

Louis Danzig would be the first to concede that the programs he developed in housing and redevelopment had critics, but neither does this detract from the elemental fact that the agencies he directed were strong, potent forces in the complex transition of a changing urban center, a painful rebirth that will eventually change the face of the state's largest city. In many ways it was a thankless job, but for the retired housing official there must be a sense of satisfaction and personal fulfillment.

## THE INCREDIBLE DREAM: A WALK ON THE MOON—PART II

### HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, 9 years ago, America gambled—and it will pay off with next week's moon shot. Technology has put the United States ahead of the Russians in the race to the moon. But the untold story of a multi-billion-dollar gamble is revealed here by New York Daily News science editor, Mark Bloom, for the first time in complete detail. In "Blast-Off Minus 8," the second of his series leading to next week's space spectacular, Mr. Bloom tells of the major gamble that paid off—the decision to use liquid hydrogen. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include this article which tells of the decision which put the United States into the big leagues of rocketry:

[From the New York Daily News, July 8, 1969]

#### BLAST-OFF MINUS 8: LIQUID HYDROGEN, A MULTI-BILLION-DOLLAR "IF"—BUT IT PAID OFF

(By Mark Bloom, Science Editor)

Back in the first two weeks of this decade, when Apollo was still the name of a Greek god, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration took a major gamble with America's future.

Hardly noticed at the time, a brief Nasa statement said the agency had decided to use liquid hydrogen fuel for the upper stages of what was to become the Saturn 5 moonrocket.

By putting its money on liquid hydrogen, the space agency was either laying the groundwork for sending men to the moon in the 1960s or setting the stage for one of the biggest fiascos in history.

With this decision, Nasa turned to a highly exotic, totally unproven rocket fuel for its future. It was a fuel so delicate that it would boil away if its temperature rose to over 423 degrees below zero.

But liquid hydrogen—if it could be made to work—would carry almost twice the punch of kerosene, the conventional propellant for rockets. It would vault America into the big leagues of rocketry.

It was a multi-billion-dollar "if." And it paid off.

While learning to handle liquid hydrogen was the biggest technological hurdle the space agency had to pass in the \$24 billion Apollo man-to-the-moon project (which was not announced until almost 10 months after the exotic fuel decision), it allowed:

the use of a 7.6-million-pound thrust first stage for the moon rocket, a feat which could be handled with 1960s technology, instead of the much-discussed 12-million-pound thrust Nova first stage, which would even now still be in the development phase.

A manned landing on the moon by Americans in 1969 since the Nova did not have to be developed.

America to take over the lead in rocket muscle from the Soviet Union, which is believed to be still attempting to master liquid hydrogen technology.

Victory for the United States in the grand prize of the space race—the first manned landing on the moon.

Fittingly enough, the suggestion that liquid hydrogen would be an ideal fuel for upper stages of huge rockets originated from America's great rocket pioneer, Robert H. Goddard, in a paper published in 1909.

Goddard was an astounding half century ahead of his time. And on Jan. 13, 1960, Nasa was also ahead of its time with the liquid hydrogen decision.

Still 10 months away was the formal start of the Apollo project to land men on the moon "sometime in the 1970s." Not until March 25, 1961, did President Kennedy call for an acceleration of the project which climaxes with Apollo 11.

And not until Nov. 7, 1962, did Nasa make the final decision to drop the Nova concept, and concentrate all of its energies on the Saturn 5. But with that little-noticed 1960 gamble, it had three precious years of liquid hydrogen development under its belt.

Because by that time, the two major upper stage contractors and Nasa were beginning to realize the enormous challenge they had accepted.

Everyone has seen on television the mighty Saturn 5 blast away from Cape Kennedy, a 700-foot-long tongue of orange flame trailing the booster as it climbs rapidly out of sight over the Atlantic.

But enormous as it is, the Saturn 5's first stage—from a technological standpoint—is little more than gigantic V-2 missiles.

And it is not surprising that they would be giant V-2s. The man whose genius led to the development of the V-2 for Hitler Germany is the same man who guided the development of the Saturn 5—Werner von Braun, now director of Nasa's Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville, Ala.

Of course, it was a big step from the V-2, a single-engine vehicle with 56,000 pounds of thrust, to the first stage of the Saturn 5, known as the S-1C.

Built for Nasa by Boeing under the direction of the Marshall center, the S-1C stage is 138 feet tall and 33 feet in diameter.

Its five F-1 engines are fueled by 212,846 gallons of kerosene and 346,372 gallons of liquid oxygen, all consumed in about 2½ minutes of flight.

Development of the F-1 engine began in 1958, within months of Sputnik I. No one at the time was sure what use there would be for such a super rocket engine, but in another wise early decision, steps were taken to build one anyway in a contract given to Rocketdyne, a division of North American Rockwell.

If a go-ahead had been given for Nova, the booster's first stage would have had 12 F-1 engines clustered, a far more complex undertaking than the cluster of five F-1s in the S-1C.

Rocketdyne, which makes 12 of the 14 major rocket engines in the Apollo project, was also tapped for the J-2 engine, which burns the more exotic liquid hydrogen/liquid oxygen fuel in the Saturn 5's two upper stages.

Each of the five engines of the rocket's second stage, known as the S-2, was designed for thrust of 230,000 pounds—a total of 1.15 million pounds. Compare this with the 76,000 pounds of thrust of the one stage Red-

stone which sent Alan Shepard into space in 1961.

The problem faced by North American Rockwell's Space Division, which had the assignment of building the S-2 stage for Nasa, was to build a container which could hold 282,555 gallons of liquid hydrogen at a temperature under 423 degrees below zero, and 85,973 gallons of liquid oxygen at a temperature under 297 degrees below zero.

The container had to be so air-tight, and so well insulated, that Cape Kennedy's balmy weather an inch and a half away—the thickness of the stage's skin—would not affect the temperature of the fuels.

And the difference between the liquid hydrogen's temperature and a normal, summer day at the Cape is more than 500 degrees.

Furthermore, the container had to be built so that the relatively warm liquid oxygen would not heat up the liquid hydrogen. The two fuels have a temperature difference of 126 degrees.

For this insulation, an ingenious "common bulkhead" was developed, said by many authorities to have been the most difficult single feat of the entire Apollo project.

This wall, which forms the top of the liquid oxygen tank and the bottom of the liquid hydrogen tank, measures from one-tenth of an inch to 4¼ of an inch thick, and its development saved about four tons from the total weight of the stage.

It is this type of technology which, according to reliable sources, the Russians are still trying to match, and the failure of Soviet engineers to do it is the reason Americans will be first to walk on the moon.

The third stage of the Saturn 5, known as the S-4B, had many of the same problems in development as the S-2 stage, though its smaller size eased some of the difficulties.

Built for Nasa by McDonnell-Douglas, the third stage, however, had one major requirement the second-stage development did not have to face. The third stage had to be restarted in earth orbit in order to hurl the Apollo spacecraft up to its moonward speed of 24,600 miles an hour.

Powered by a single J-2 engine (identical to the J-2's on the second stage), the third stage carrier 77,680 gallons of liquid hydrogen and 20,107 gallons of liquid oxygen for its two firings—the first to slide the Apollo into a 115-mile-high parking orbit for check-out before starting for the moon.

The major problem encountered in developing the capability for a second firing turned out to be sloshing of fuel in their half-empty tanks.

The solution turned out to be the installation of small solid-fuel rockets on the stage, which fire a few moments before the main engine starts, pushing all the fuel to the bottom of the tanks where pumps can reach it.

Finally, atop this huge stack of three stages, is the instrument unit, a three-foot-high stage filled with computers, gyroscopes and accelerometers.

Built by IBM, this is the brain of the Saturn 5, the unit which keeps track of where the booster is going, and feeds guidance information to its rockets as man starts out for the moon.

## EXPANSION OF THE NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE

### HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to learn that yesterday the New

York Stock Exchange opened a new, totally modern extension to their trading floor. This first major expansion of the exchange's trading facilities since 1922 is a tribute to the progressive character of private enterprise in the United States.

The additional room will provide a 20-percent increase in trading facilities. This new area is needed to handle the ever increasing volume of trade which has tripled in the last 8 years and now approximates 13 million shares daily.

The new annex is designed to meet the rising demand for trading space until the exchange's new quarters are completed in about 1975. Furthermore, a number of valuable electronic innovations characterize the new room. The room is lit by incandescent bulbs which automatically increase the intensity of light to ease eye strain as the trading day goes on. The walls are lined with a sound-deadening fabric which reduces the noise level significantly. Finally, the new display system is computerized, automatically updating the last sale prices and bids as well as the asked quotations of stocks traded at the posts.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Legal and Monetary Affairs of the Government Operations Committee, I have been particularly interested in any steps that our stock exchanges are able to take to meet the increasing demands of the millions of Americans who buy and sell stocks.

I wish to take this opportunity to express my congratulations to the New York Stock Exchange for their modernization effort which represents not only a more efficient method of security trading but also a significant contribution to scientific progress.

#### THE LIBRARIES DESERVE BETTER FINANCING

### HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the libraries of the United States have suffered a serious setback by the Nixon administration's decision to reduce the Federal commitment from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to our library system by \$191 million. This is an 80-percent reduction as compared with last year. The administration has also seen fit to reduce educational funds down to \$3.2 billion. This is a decrease of 25 percent.

The progress of our Nation has depended upon our ability to acquire new knowledge, insights, and talent. The development of our educational system has meant a thrust for equality and responsibility. Now more than ever, with the great knowledge available to all, centers to accumulate this information are a necessity. Educational opportunities cannot be expanded or properly utilized if libraries are deprived of adequate funds.

When educational facilities are financially neglected, the institutions and societies they serve fall into disrepair. I consider the financial crisis that now confronts the libraries to be a dangerous situation equal to the college protesters occupying our campus. They both will not allow those wanting and needing education an opportunity to utilize the treasures of our libraries. Cutbacks might be nonviolent, but they are as detrimental as violence. One cannot reduce a commitment by 80 percent and still hope to maintain the same level of achievement. Now is not the time to retreat. Now is the time to move American education forward.

#### MIDDLE EAST SITUATION: CAROL KOVNER REPORTS

### HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, last October, Miss Carol Kovner, managing editor for Kovner publications in Los Angeles traveled to the Middle East to get a firsthand view of the turmoil in that tense region.

Over the past months, the Kovner newspapers have carried Miss Kovner's reports on events within the Arab and Israeli countries. Recently, she returned again to Los Angeles and these are her final stories from her venture.

I include the following four stories by Miss Carol Kovner in the RECORD at this point:

#### SOME REALITIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST: ROOTS OF MANY PROBLEMS SCRUTINIZED

(By Carol Stevens Kovner)

There is a small suburb outside of Jericho, on the West Bank, near the Jordan River. It was used as a winter home before the 1967 war, initiated on this front by the Jordanians, by many Jordanian and Arab diplomats and businessmen. It is abandoned, the once luxurious homes empty, plumbing torn out, light fixtures gone, windows and doors smashed. Goat droppings litter the floors of the rooms. One home was obviously used as a stable this winter. Mortar shells lie scattered around the gravel streets. Trees and shrubs are dying for lack of water and fences are pushed over at crazy angles. A Jewish star is on the wall of one house.

The Israel Defense Forces were quartered here for one year following the victory, then left, promising compensation to the owners for all damage by them. When we visited it we found a fresh cigarette box from Amman on the ground. The two Jordanian Arabs and the Israeli journalist with me were convinced that the Fatah were using the houses as a day hideout.

One of the Arabs, who was born in Jerusalem, was working as a policeman for the Israelis. We were curious why he was cooperating so openly with them. "The Fatah will get you," the Israeli joked with him, but he was very young and serious about his job. "I must work," he said simply. "I can't work in a factory."

When we entered Jericho, he removed his jacket and in the suburb where we found the Amman cigarette box he was frightened. Later he said he was coming to America to work for his uncle in New York. There are

Jews in New York, too, we told him. "Are you planning to do what Sirhan Sirhan did to Kennedy?" the Israeli joked. The boy smiled, "Politics and business are separate."

We lunched at a large restaurant that had been popular with tourists before the war and now was empty, the patio pool full of scum. "Jazz music" or machine gun fire sounded in the streets while we ate. A swimming pool was filled with Israeli soldiers getting relief from the muggy heat.

We visited a former refugee family that had settled in Jericho. The Israeli who was a historian and worked on the Dead Sea Scrolls dig had known them for years. The host, dressed Kuwaiti style in a long white robe, was very hospitable. There were three brothers and four wives with 27 children living in three houses next to each other. It was a happy family, prosperous seeming. The children wandered in to be teased by the Israeli and to shake everyone's hand around the room. They were part Negro, descended from slaves.

On the way back to Jerusalem, we passed huge deserted refugee camps built of mud wattle and slowly melting back into the red earth in the salty ominous air. High above, plastered against a cliff like a bird's nest, was a Christian monastery. Below, in a fruit tree grove was a mosaic synagogue floor with the Hebrew words "Peace upon Israel." As it was getting dark, the Judean hills would soon be dotted with the flashlights of soldiers, looking for Fatah terrorists who traveled at night to get into the city. Very few did.

One hundred terrorists were rounded up in Jerusalem after the SuperSol explosion in which two students were killed. Most were residents of East Jerusalem, Gaza and Ramallah. Evidence was found proving the Fatah cells in Jerusalem were being directed by the Egyptian government.

A chain was reconstructed from professionals in Jerusalem, including a clergyman of the Anglican church in Ramallah, a prominent doctor, a lawyer, and teachers, that extended to an escaped woman terrorist now based in Amman. From evidence, said the police spokesman David Barell, who announced the cracking of the ring, it was obvious that she received her orders from the Egyptian Embassy in Amman. Enough explosives was discovered, some in private houses, to blow up the heart of Jerusalem. While the terrorists were being rounded up, crowds of children in fanciful Purim costumes paraded the streets of Jerusalem for days and life went on normally.

The group is believed responsible for much of the student demonstrations in Gaza and the West Bank this winter. Israelis are inclined to wink at the demonstrations by school girls because they feel the youngsters are easily led at that age, by radio or by leaders such as those arrested in Jerusalem. They feel the schools are not up to standard anyway, and the additional missing out of classes hurts the students most. Not the Israelis.

Shooting along the Suez Canal, initiated by the Egyptians says General Odd Bull, Chief UN Observer, has cost them heavily. In the exchange, which has gone on intermittently for days, and seems a political maneuver for many, for the purpose of attracting big power attention to the area before the talks, Suez oil refineries, and tankers were hit, and Major General Riad, Egyptian Chief of Staff was killed.

The sudden death by heart attack of Israel's Prime Minister Levi Eshkol will put Golden Meir at the Helm until the next elections. The former Foreign Minister, she is reputed to be a hard liner, unlike Eshkol who would take second best when he could not get first best. Eshkol kept the quarrelsome political parties in the National Unity Government together and it looks as if the



same government will be kept until November.

There are many jokes in Israel about Mrs. Meir not listening to the "people in the street," only her labor Party or the Old Guard. A cartoon by Dosh, showing a startled young Israeli looking at the reflection of Golda Meir in a mirror (she is 70) sums up the mood of the "street," the young Israelis.

#### THROUGH SANDSTORM AND RAIN OUR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT TOURS THE SUEZ

(By Carol Stevens Kovner)

The Sinai at night is the total blackness of the desert, a remote searchlight shooting out and stinging your eyes with the unexpected brilliance. Wind and rain pummeled the buses as our group of newsmen were driven to a tour of the Suez Canal, where extensive artillery duels had taken place, the worst since the 1967 war.

Grey ghostly buildings with pieces bit out of them came temporarily into view as we passed through anonymous towns. In the watery dawn light of the sandstorm they turned to a drained and tired yellow, pocked with bullet holes. Israeli soldiers were always within sight in the vast Sinai.

Our way led through the Mitla Pass, where Egyptian casualties had been terrible from a huge convoy trapped by the Israeli army as they tried to retreat to Egypt. Piles of stones along the road covered we suspected, the bodies of soldiers mummified by the dry air of the desert. Boots and articles of clothing still lay in the sand among the wreckage of war machines and empty ammunition boxes.

Wind whipped over the Pass erasing the traces of death, filling a boot, burying the twisted rusting hulks of tanks, protruding from the fireblackened desert floor like the humps of dinosaur skeletons.

At Suez we could see the city clearly. The fire in the oil tanks from the last artillery duel had been put out the day before. A tall lanky bashful soldier, Captain Yosse, Life's cover boy as he was introduced, told us, "There is no firing now. If there was you wouldn't be here."

Like most of the Israeli soldiers, he looked touchingly young, but his posture was one of confident ease, the ease born of "know-how". The Israeli military fortifications are no secret now, he went on. They are holding up very well. There are very few casualties and the shells were raining down.

At another point the press corps climbed an embankment and got a better view of the tree-fringed city of Suez on the bank of the green water of the canal. A very tough officer, who apparently was the chief "shepherd" for the "flock" of newsmen, smiled and remarked wistfully, "It is such a beautiful view—why do they want to shoot?"

On the Israeli side, a lone building stood with Hebrew graffiti scrawled all over it. Deep bomb craters surrounded it. The land was flat and open and bare except for the hillocks holding the fortifications, the only relief the rolling rainclouds and a jeep scooting across the network of roads.

Passing the Bitter Lake we could see the trapped ships, hazy in the sand and rain. At Firdan Bridge, a drawbridge that once opened across the canal to let ships pass, there is a UN Observation post manned by an Austrian and a Burmese, both extraordinarily cheerful considering they were hit three times in the duel. They have a strong bomb shelter of sandbags near the post.

At Kantara, East, we stood in the empty mined streets of a town 80 per cent destroyed by Egyptians. Before the war there had been 10,000 people, only two years before. Now two or three dogs scavenged for food in the cratered streets. Forced to leave by the shelling—most were repatriated to West Kantara, directly across the canal. Some went to El Arish. The town is now a shock of destruction, whole houses collapsed into miniature landslides or rubble.

A briefing officer told us, "At this sector of the canal it was relatively quiet. We don't shoot, they don't shoot, in general, until about two weeks ago. They started sniping, then as you know, they started shelling. The artillery duels were fought here too. Now it is quiet. We hope it will stay quiet."

The Kantara Control Center, the United Nations Observer Headquarters of the ceasefire operation of the UN, is here. They have a large building where at one point you can see the UN flag, the Israeli flag and the Egyptian flag flying in close proximity. There are 18 posts, 9 on each side, interlocking each other. The distances make it hard to report accurately, we were told by a tall Scandinavian officer with extremely guarded eyes. Some of the observer's jeeps were laced with bullet holes but most were in working condition. The deep sandbagged bunkers were fully equipped for communications.

Still harried by the sandstorm and the rain, we returned along the road that follows the Mediterranean Sea to El Arish, from there to Jerusalem, a 24-hour trip:

We passed date groves in oases, camels with riders crossing the desert, and endless bullet-riddled towns, all inhabited. The rails had been removed from the rail road along the highway, used to strengthen the Israeli fortifications by the army engineers. Casualties in shelling were very light compared to last year.

The heavy shelling and artillery duels in the past two weeks happened for two reasons, say the Israelis. To halt the building of the fortifications (already completed for the most part) and to focus attention of the Big Four on the Suez before the big power conference, and worry them into an imposed settlement.

There is high morale at the Suez front in the IDF. The troops are firmly dug in. They can give back good as they get and better, since the vulnerable targets are all on the Egyptian side, as we could see.

#### ISRAEL'S IRON JEWISH MAMA: PRESS CONFERENCE WITH PRIME MINISTER MEIR

(By Carol Stevens Kovner)

At her first press conference after being sworn in as Israel's first woman Prime Minister, Golda Meir rejected categorically a Four-Power solution to the problems of the Middle East.

Referring to the idea of a new United Nations peace force composed of the United States and Russia, she was mildly surprised at Russia being one of the two, "since its contribution to peace in the area has been so outstanding." Russia was never the staunchest friend we have ever had, she added at another point in the press conference with a wry smile.

She described the "evaporation" of the UNEF troops just before the 1967 war (the Egyptians asked them to leave), and said, "we are asked to put our faith in the same force for the third time . . . So what? Will it be any different than 1949 and 1967? You all know what happened—they were asked to leave and they left."

On West Bank policy, she said, "As long as there is no peace agreement with us and our Arab neighbors, we stand where we are. We will do our duty to all the inhabitants of the West Bank. We will do everything possible for welfare, education and so on. They will find out it is not so terrible to live with us."

"I don't understand the world sympathy to the lack of will of Arabs to come to a peace settlement. The question is this, are the Arabs ready to live in peace with us? It is too simple. Maybe that is why it is so hard to explain to our friends."

"Until they are, nothing will happen. The Arabs have to be faced with the problem. We say yes to peace . . . they have 101 answers, but not one to open the road to a peaceful solution."

She told reporters she was ready to go to

Amman to meet with Hussein for negotiation, although Golda Meir in Amman is not exactly what the little King, as he is called in Israel, needs right now. Between Nassar and the terrorists, he doesn't need the iron Jewish Mama, too. "I don't think he has any doubts. He knows Israel is ready to meet him. If he is prepared, certainly we are," she told reporters.

"Nobody has proved to us why it is so outlandish to expect a signed peace settlement. The only peculiarity is that the party that won the war is asking for the agreement. It is not something new for Arabs and Israel to sign an agreement . . . but it seems we must now convince our friends there is no alternative to a peace settlement."

On negotiating with the Fatah, "Not today, not for several years from now can we consider them as partners in negotiation. Their heroism is expressed in marketplace murders. That does not make them a partner for negotiation to my mind."

"Jordan civilians may have been hurt but no one can say rightly that Israel attacked civilians. If Fatah bases are built near civilian villages, we are sorry about hitting them, but no one can compare that with marketplaces. A supermarket is not the military base of the Israeli Army."

Regarding the new settlements in the occupied areas, she said, "How many settlements did we put up in the first months after the war? If Israel is worried about security, it is its duty to do everything possible, if necessary to put up settlements on the other side of the 'Green Line,' so that children don't have to sleep in shelters."

It would be too good, she said with gentle humor, if there was an agreement right away with President Nixon. It is natural to have different views, not necessarily contrary ones. The talks with the President and his cabinet will go on.

But the United States and our other friends must realize we must have borders that will not tempt the Arabs to attack us, as the former borders on the Golan Heights (transformed to one long underground fortress overlooking the farms below), she explained.

Asked what Israel would do if the Four Powers try to force Israel to an imposed solution, she said, "When life depends on decisions a little country will take them. We will not depend on the good will of Nasser or a UN force—we want secure borders. The Arab countries must have no natural advantage over us. We do not fool ourselves—war breaks out between those countries with peace agreements."

Golda Meir looked in good health, her voice clear and feminine, her manner positive and down-to-earth. Her face normally stern, lit up when someone asked her if she considered herself a "stopgap" until the October elections. "Did I call myself a stop gap," she laughed.

Mrs. Meir has been 48 years in Israel. She was born in Kiev, Russia in 1898. Her family moved to the US, to Milwaukee, in 1906. She still has a pronounced Midwestern accent. When she married she moved to Israel with her husband. She had a son and a daughter. Some of her long government experience was gained in the Mo'etzet Hapo'alot or Pioneer Women in 1928 which launched her on her public career. She came out of retirement to become Secretary-General of the Mapai and later the united Israel Labor Party. In August, 1968, she again resigned.

She was reluctant to accept the premiership because, she said, "Obviously I'm am not an infant. It was the decision of my party to take this post—I took it."

#### TWO STUDENTS KILLED IN TERRORIST BOMBING OF JERUSALEM SUPERMARKET

(By Carol Stevens Kovner)

While the Friday morning dynamite took the lives of two immigrant students and injured nine other shoppers in the terrorist ex-

plosion at the Jerusalem SuperSol market, I was interviewing a woman who calls them freedom fighters.

Wife of the former Jordanian Ambassador to England before 1967 and onetime Defense Minister, Mrs. Anwar Nusseiba is a pretty young darkhaired woman, softspoken and the mother of six children, two grown daughters with families. She has a reputation as a militant feminist and a militant nationalist. Her husband is now legal consultant to UNRWA.

The Nusseiba home is on the former border between East and West Jerusalem, next to what is left of the Jordanian Army Headquarters, mostly rubble. To reach it from Mea Shearim or the Jewish Orthodox Quarter, you cross the former Mandelbaum Gate area and pick your way across the old no-man's area where there is a new street but few sidewalks. The house looks battered from the outside because it was in the most furious part of the battle for Jerusalem, but it is pleasantly furnished inside.

Both the Nusseiba family and the El Ghoussein, her family from Ramla, are old wealthy landowning families. The Nusseibas have held the key to the Holy Sepulchre since the 12th Century. "We owned property in Ramla, orange groves, in Gaza, all over the area," Mrs. Nusseiba told me. "My mother grew up in wealth and I will never forget when we left, she had to beg for a blanket to cover me. We had to walk 90 kilometres to Jordan."

I responded to her painful memory, but I also remembered a girl I had met on the Greek ship coming to Israel. Her mother's wedding ring, all that was left to her after property, business and belongings had to be left behind, was taken from her before they would let her leave Egypt. It is a familiar refugee story Mrs. Nusseiba told, but I have heard countless Jewish versions the past months, recent refugees from the Arab countries, not Europe. From communities that are hundreds of years old, or were. There are two sides to the coin.

"They want to live peacefully they say," she went on. "Look at what they are doing with Jerusalem. Katamon. This is all Arab property. Is this a legal thing?"

Katamon is a very poor district geographically situated on the outskirts of Jerusalem, a slum really. It is where thousands of refugee families from the Arab countries were settled in haste in jerry-built stone and stucco apartments that look as if they will tumble down any minute. Many who live there still wear Arab dress, but they are all Jewish. Old Bucharians, with rags wrapped Oriental-style around their heads and necks against the Jerusalem cold, ride every day on the bus with their grandchildren who dress well and speak Hebrew. But the old folk still speak Arabic. Katamon could be an Arab village if you did not know the origin.

The Pioneer Women nursery for working mothers I visited in Katamon is filled to overflowing with the children of the immigrants, tiny boys with little black cheek curls, little girls, all very dark skinned. Just over the back fence outside their playground is the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv railway. Before the 1967 War, the Jordanian border was on the other side of the tracks, a few hundred feet away.

Why are they there? Because before the 1967 war, Jerusalem was the dumping ground for thousands of destitute families and they had to be put into homes and quickly. Not clapped into camps for 20 years and left to rot as in Gaza, but absorbed into the only country that would accept them all, the sick and destitute and the old.

"In the long run, we are going to live together," Mrs. Nusseiba said once, "but we don't want all this conflict they are creating. We don't want their rule. In Jerusalem they are bringing their people here . . . there should be a Jewish side and an Arab side, but one city with some legal connection." This was a rare moment of logic in the stream of

resentment and hatred she poured out on the Israeli occupation. "The Jews are the last people in the world to do this to another people," she cried.

"After 2000 years of being refugees, 20 years you can't go back? I have to laugh when I talk to them and they say they can't go backward."

The woman who showed me the Katamon nursery had been in tears the whole trip. A boy who had shown great promise had just been killed the morning before. His father had been a brilliant general in the 1956 war and killed in Sinai. In Tel Aviv a friends sister-in-law is slowly going mad, crying her womb is poisoned. She lost her 6-year-old daughter to the violence of Arab villagers who raped and killed her. She has just lost her son while doing his term in the army. Go backward 20 years to what, they would ask if they were alive, these sabras who were born in Israel.

"Politics is the real barbarian," Mrs. Nusseiba told me. "It is a monster to the Arab people. With their politics the world is killing the Palestine people. The Russians, the British, they are killing us. Where is the human consideration?"

"Why do they feel with the Jews? Do they expect us to live under his thumb?" she asked. "It is my land, my water, my history! But it is very difficult to go back. If we could have the 1947 partition, we could have some of the Arab rights."

"The freedom fighters," she exclaimed as her face lit up, "how can they be called terrorists?" At that moment the bodies of two students were carried away, in the market I would have been in if I hadn't been talking with Mrs. Nusseiba, for the SuperSol is where I shop every Friday morning.

"We want our name, our nationality, same as any nation in the world." What about the idea of a federation of states in the area, I asked her. It might be a good idea, she said, but I don't know politics. She was one of the most politically-minded women I have ever met.

When asked at a public meeting whether he favored an independent Palestine state General Dayan said, "Were elected representatives of the occupied territories population to approach Israeli government and negotiate for peace, I would advocate we sit down together."

He administers the areas with as light a hand as possible. In the recent school strikes, he went to Gaza and the West Bank schools and told the students and their teachers the Israelis would not interfere with their demonstrations if they were contained in the schools. The Israel government has lifted some of the restrictions on employment from Gaza to ease the situation there a little. Although the Vocational School in Gaza that I visited erupted the next week, it is quiet now.

The terrorism and unrest is to be lived with, say the Israeli leaders, if necessary, for a long time. Until there is an agreed peace and secure borders.

#### VIEW FROM GAZA—MOST DENSELY POPULATED AREA ON EARTH

(By Carol Kovner)

The road into Gaza town from Beersheba is through a large Moslem cemetery, where little girls play in the dust between the monuments and young men loiter against them watching traffic pass.

The unrest rippling through the Gaza Strip these past weeks was not evident among the townspeople who were conducting business, what there was, as usual. The bus depot is also a market place, the most uninviting imaginable. Israeli passengers on the bus, which runs every half hour from Beersheba, were for the most part Jews originally from Arab countries who had come for produce bargains to be wrangled over in

their native Arabic. Getting into a rickety cab we careened through the town to the UNRWA compound.

Gaza town is very ugly. Aside from its two refugee camps, it is poor and rundown, bullet holes unrepaired in its buildings and the majority of the population in worn clothing. The reason is because the Gaza Strip is the most densely populated area on earth, with three times more population than the Netherlands, most populated of the European countries. What money there is goes for food and medicine and education.

The Strip has 70 per cent refugees on the UNRWA registration and the rest local population. The huge labor pool has forced the wages of nearly all down to a subsistence level. The only sources of work available, as there is no industry to speak of, are in other Arab countries for the graduates of UNRWA schools and for local labor in the citrus fields, fishing, or handicrafts for the women, mainly embroidery sold through an UNRWA shop in town. Practically the sole employer of Gaza refugees on a meaningful scale remains UNRWA.

UNEF also provided some jobs the secretary of the UNRWA Director told us at the compound, openly resentful of the moveout. Her attitude reminded us of the Poverty War organizations, many of which were also temporary in nature. When they are discontinued there is great resentment because employees have lost good jobs they may not be able to replace. The UNEF troops departure ordered by Nasser left many refugees dependent again only on the UNRWA dole, a 1600 daily calorie diet—a reducing diet in the U.S.

Israeli authorities understand this employment situation. After Dayan toured the Strip recently he told the Israeli public that the unrest is due to the difficult economic conditions there, urging that 35,000 work hours be allotted to the West Bank and Gaza to maintain a decent economic level. The Military Governor of the Strip, Tat-Aluf Mordechai Gur, has also said there would be fewer acts of terrorism if the standard of living was raised. Israel should invest more in industry and vocational training, he said.

At the Gaza UNRWA Headquarters, Mr. Geaney the Director had gone to trouble-shoot at the vocational training center where the students were out of classes and "demonstrating in sympathy to the political situation," a phrase used by most Palestinians we talked to about the strikes. Mr. Filfil, a translator at UNRWA, drove us over to see the center, which was what we had come for. Mr. Geaney was trying to persuade the students to return to class. He said later they would probably return by the end of the week.

The students, who live on the premises in new dormitories were well dressed and well behaved. Most were young men in their twenties. They were sitting in groups on the lawn. The large airy well lighted rooms stood empty, the new equipment imported from Europe lying idle. The teachers waited to see what the students would do.

They were meeting in delegations with the principal, Mr. H. Hammad, a harried Palestinian who had studied in Haifa, then gone on scholarship to England. The students were striking in sympathy to the political situation, he told us. There were 513 at present, but only 1 in 6 were accepted who applied. Since 1954 when it began there have been 1496 graduates all taught by refugees who were given scholarships abroad in England, Switzerland, Sweden, and returned to teach.

What was the employment situation for graduates? There were 380 graduates not able to work in Gaza and not being accepted by the Arab countries, as before the war. Only local residents, not refugees, are taken for labor by the Israelis, untrained labor mostly.



Mr. Hammand said there was enough money and equipment for vocational training; in fact, too much attention was being paid to the vocational training school. It is understandable that he felt this way with his graduates not working and the school being expanded to 556 in September.

Back at UNRWA Headquarters, which was as poor and rundown as the rest of Gaza town, we talked with Mr. Geaney. He has been in Gaza since July, 1967 and with UNRWA since 1952 when he had also served in Gaza. The students can't do less than their colleagues he said, because there is great cohesion among them. If they act any differently, they are looked down upon.

This checked with what an Israeli official had told us in Beersheba, that the people in Gaza are afraid to cooperate remembering 1956 when Gaza was returned to Egypt and "collaborators" were killed. Now they create disturbances so that they can have a piece of paper to show they have been in prison for making trouble for the Israelis. It is not like a school demonstration in Los Angeles where the students are demanding improvements long overdue.

The Jerusalem Post said, "It is widely believed that the demonstrations are instigated by local political activists with the aim of emphasizing the Palestinian element, especially in view of the Four-Power negotiations on the Middle East. They have concentrated on school children to evade counter-measures."

Beside the economic situation and the school strikes in Gaza, the shortage of doctors caused by the Egyptians leaving worried Mr. Geaney. Most doctors come on a volunteer basis or for a very low salary. There are no mental hospitals in Gaza. Mental patients are sent to Israeli hospitals.

There is a \$9 million budget for 313,152 registered refugees. (Non-refugees number 141,000.) Those not in the eight camps number 113,378.) There are 39,305 registered children not on the UNRWA ration list because of lack of funds. Somehow, they get fed though, Mr. Geaney told us. When a refugee becomes a wage earner of 1120 liras per month, his ration is cut. Were the rolls inflated, we asked. That has been greatly exaggerated, he said.

There is no vocational training for girls, but there are two six-month sewing courses a year that women can take, and embroidery is encouraged. UNRWA provides for up to the 9th grade in separate girls and boys schools.

What about the anti-semitic textbooks that were used by UNRWA schools and found by the Israelis when they took over the Gaza Strip, we asked. Many were objectionable he said, and are not being used now. UNESCO has taken over that responsibility. In order for a student to graduate in a host country, it was necessary for UNRWA to follow that country's curriculum, it was felt. A strong position was not taken because the students would not be accepted in the Arab universities unless they studied these textbooks. Only a few students leave for Amman or Beirut at present. Higher education is at a standstill now in Gaza, he summed up.

The stumbling block may be the Arab university examinations, but we still feel that distributing hate textbooks was a peculiar thing for a humanitarian organization like UNRWA to do. An Israeli told us that Jewish children are not taught to hate the Arabs because first it is your enemy you kill with hatred, later it can be your brother . . .

Why can't Israel annex Gaza and work with American Jews and the international community to settle the refugees, we had asked the Israeli official in Beersheba the day before. No, he said, it is a political problem and we can't. In Gaza it would not be the same as Jerusalem where there is daily contact and the reality of the united city.

In Newsweek Magazine, in answer to Nasser's interview in the same magazine, Prime Minister Eshkol has said, "any refugees returning now to Israel would be a time bomb. We cannot take them back but we are ready to pay compensation."

The only solution the Israelis feel is for the Arab countries to take them in, because for one thing, Israel hasn't the water to support them. Then almost 50 per cent of the Israelis are of Oriental background. This means they came from the Arab countries, so most Israelis feel it was an exchange of populations. An exchange, Arab politicians like Nasser, have turned into a convenient political football which is not a life or death issue to them, says Eshkol.

So the 380 graduates of the Gaza Vocational Training Center run by UNRWA, ready for careers in radio, TV, mechanics, what the Arab world needs most, vegetate. As idle as the ships in the Bitter Lakes and as caught.

THE HONORABLE HENRY P. EVE,  
AUGUSTA, GA.

HON. ROBERT G. STEPHENS, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 2, 1969

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of my colleague, Mr. FLYNT, and myself I wish to pay tribute to the memory of the Honorable Henry P. Eve, of Augusta, Ga., who departed this life Sunday morning after a sudden and unexpected illness.

Mr. Eve was a prominent citizen of Augusta and Richmond County of which he was a native and lifelong resident. He was a senior member of the law firm of Cumming, Nixon, Eve, Waller & Capers, and a former president of the State Bar of Georgia. It is significant and worthy of note that three members of this firm have served as president of the State Bar of Georgia or its predecessor organization, the Georgia Bar Association.

Henry Eve was a dynamic, unselfish, and effective public-spirited man. He gave unstintingly of his time, his talents, and his abilities.

During World War II he served in the U.S. Navy and was decorated for outstanding combat service, as will appear more fully in the editorials which are incorporated in these remarks.

He represented his county and his senatorial district in the house of representatives and the State senate of the General Assembly of Georgia and served with distinction in each house of the legislature of our State.

He is survived by his wife, the former Caroline Hull; and one daughter, Mary Hull Eve; his mother, Mrs. William R. Eve; and one brother, William D. Eve, all of Augusta.

Mrs. Stephens and Mrs. Flynt join my colleague and me in extending our sympathy to his wife and daughter and other members of his family.

He was a fine lawyer, a good citizen, a loyal public servant, and a staunch and devoted friend. With his family we share their loss. We, too, shall miss him.

Mr. Speaker, as a part of my remarks, I include editorials which appeared yes-

terday in the Augusta Chronicle and the Augusta Herald. These editorials follow: [From the Augusta Herald, July 1, 1969]

HENRY PRONTAUT EVE

One of the Augusta area's most outstanding and highly-regarded citizens was taken from us with the untimely death Sunday, at the age of 51, of Henry Prontaut Eve.

Throughout his career as an attorney, in his business undertakings, and in his many civic activities, Henry Eve served his community well and unstintingly. His honors in return were many. He did special credit to his chosen profession of the law, serving as president of the State Bar of Georgia and of the Augusta Bar Association. Strongly oriented toward civic service, he was a director of the Augusta Chamber of Commerce and was active in the Committee of 100 and the United Fund. His other offices included presidency of the Augusta Country Club, the Augusta Assembly, directorships of the First Georgia Development Corp., the Richmond County Bank, and the Pinnacle Club. In all of these, the warm and dynamic Eve felt it a privilege to be of service to the community and its people.

In his active life, that service took still other forms. Even before the United States entered World War II, Henry Eve was called to the colors as a reserve apprentice seaman. A man of unflagging cheer and good spirits, he served in combat duty in every theater of war, winning a commission only four months after entering active service. In a naval career that included the torpedoing of his ship off New Guinea in 1942 and rescue after three days at sea in an open lifeboat, he rose ultimately to the rank of lieutenant commander. His decorations included a Bronze Star for outstanding duty as executive officer of a ship involved in action against an enemy submarine.

Interest in and concern for good government took Henry Eve into the halls of the Georgia General Assembly, first as a state representative, and later as a state senator. In Atlanta he was active in sponsoring a bill to provide for absentee voting in Georgia, participated in passing new legislation calling for new and updated voter registration lists to prevent the voting of deceased persons, and in 1955 was a member of a commission named to create the first statewide probation system in Georgia.

Henry Eve gave of himself, his time, energy and dynamism, freely and warmly, and Augusta and the area and state are the poorer for his passing. His was a wide and strongly bound circle of friends. The Herald, which shared those bonds, joins them in extending to his bereaved its most earnest sympathies.

[From the Augusta Chronicle, July 1, 1969]

HENRY PRONTAUT EVE

The untimely death Sunday of Henry Prontaut Eve, at the age of 51, deprives Augusta and this area of one of its most effective professional men and dedicated civic leaders.

A recital of his career in law and of his business activities and honors is impressive. His election as president of the State Bar of Georgia, of the Augusta Bar Association, of the Augusta Assembly, of the Augusta Country Club; his directorships of the First Georgia Development Corp., the Richmond County Bank, the August Chamber of Commerce, and the Pinnacle Club, of which he was a charter member; and his work in the Committee of 100, his church, the United Fund, and various professional and social organizations, all testify to the high esteem in which he was held by his fellow attorneys and fellow citizens. Adding greatly to that esteem was his own vivid and magnetic personality.

But for a full appreciation of the contribution he made to his nation, his state and

his community, one must have a more intimate knowledge of his achievements. It may be recalled, for example, that he served his country in combat during World War II, being called to duty as a reserve apprentice seaman in September 1941, and being awarded a commission only four months later. He eventually attained the rank of lieutenant commander. His ship was torpedoed off New Guinea in 1942, and he was rescued only after three days in a lifeboat. He served in every theater of war, and was awarded the Bronze Star for outstanding duty as executive officer of a vessel engaged in action against an enemy submarine. Even in hazardous duty, as in peacetime, his never-failing cheerfulness was always evident.

Henry Eve was vitally concerned with good government for Georgia and Richmond County. As a state representative and later a state senator, he opposed the Cracker organization. He sponsored a bill to provide for absentee voting in Georgia. He participated in putting through legislation requiring possible new registration lists, designed to make it impossible to vote the names of persons who were deceased or removed. He was appointed in 1955 to a commission to create the first statewide probation system for Georgia.

To Henry Eve, the concepts of honor and duty were held in consistently high regard. He has set a noble pattern for all who knew him, and who mourn his departure. These were many, for he radiated charm and warm friendliness. To those friends and his family, *The Chronicle* extends its heartfelt condolences.

#### UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS SYSTEM EXPANDED

### HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 8, 1969*

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, during the course of the recent 61st session of the Texas Legislature, numerous bills were passed which greatly expanded the jurisdictions of an already massive university system. The University of Texas system now is charged with the responsibility of twice as many institutions as were included in the system 3 years ago. The increase has been accomplished through the creation of new educational institutions, unlike the growth of many of the higher educational systems which have grown by absorbing existing institutions.

The seven new institutions are: the University of Texas at San Antonio; the University of Texas at Dallas; the University of Texas of the Permian Basin; the University of Texas Medical School at Houston; the University of Texas Dental School—site to be selected; the Institute of Texan Cultures at San Antonio; nursing school at San Antonio; and nursing school at El Paso.

These new institutions will give the University of Texas system general academic institutions in Austin, El Paso, Arlington, San Antonio, the Permian Basin, and Dallas. The legislative actions will add the Houston Medical School to ones in Dallas, San Antonio, and Galveston. The University of Texas system will have dental branches in Houston and another new one at a site to be selected; and nursing schools in Galveston, Austin, San Antonio, and El Paso.

The Institute of Texan Cultures at

San Antonio will pass from the State exhibit for HemisFair 1968 to a research-study facility for the University of Texas system.

The legislature in the bill relating to the transfer of jurisdiction said:

The Institute of Texan Cultures shall continue to be used principally as a center concerned with subjects relating to the history of culture of the people of Texas, with collecting, organizing, and interpreting information on Texas subjects, and with producing films, film strips, slides, tapes, publications, and exhibits on these subjects for state-wide use on television, in classrooms, in museums, and at public gatherings for the benefit of the People of Texas.

There is already an academic base in Dallas for the University of Texas at Dallas. A very generous offer by the founders of the Southwest Center for Advanced Studies in North Dallas County made it possible for the University of Texas system to request the legislature to allow the University of Texas to accept a \$17 million gift of buildings and land which will serve as a base for this institution. There is some 1,000 acres in the University of Texas at Dallas tract of which about 250 acres will be dedicated to the new institution. The University of Texas at Dallas Advanced Research Center will continue to operate as such but control will pass to the board of regents of the University of Texas system from the board of governors for the Southwest Center for Advanced Studies.

In establishing a 4-year academic institution in San Antonio the legislature directed the board of regents to organize an academic program including bachelor of arts, masters, and doctoral degrees and their equivalent with each being approved by the coordinating board, Texas college and university system.

The academic institution in the Permian Basin—Midland-Odessa—will initially offer bachelor of arts and masters degrees or their equivalent.

In establishing a University of Texas Medical School at Houston, the legislature made it possible for the University of Texas and the State of Texas to receive as a gift as a teaching hospital, the Hermann Hospital. The new medical school will be built adjacent to Hermann Hospital, which by the time the school is completed will be enlarged to a 1,000-bed hospital.

The new medical school, dental school, and two nursing schools were critically needed as Texas is well below the national average in graduating physicians, dentists, nurses, and people trained in the allied health fields.

The University of Texas system already has some 58,000 students and 22,000 faculty and staff personnel.

#### VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN OHIO

### HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 8, 1969*

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, the vocational education program in the State of Ohio stands as a model for the Nation. The success of the program is

best illustrated by the fact that Ohio's unemployment rate has been constantly below the national average in recent years. For the benefit of my colleagues and the American public I am inserting in the *RECORD* an article from the June issue of the *Wonderful World of Ohio* magazine, published by the State of Ohio Departments of Development, Natural Resources, Highways, and Agriculture. The article describes the outstanding vocational education programs in Ohio:

OHIO—PIONEER AND INNOVATOR IN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

(By Patricia W. Sperling)

Want to take a trip through Ohio without getting out of your chair? Come along on a unique, pictorial journey to see what's being accomplished in the dynamic, demanding field of Vocational Education . . . Vocational Education that has as its goal, "A Job For Every Ohioan and . . . An Ohioan For Every Job."

Come along with the cameras and discover how more and more young men and women are learning the vocational skills and technical knowledge, and developing the work habits and attitudes needed to ensure them a satisfying job in today's world, where "new technologies demand new job skills."

Come along and glimpse the thrilling future as life challenges education and educators.

Vocational Education not only prepares high school youth for jobs, it follows through with post high school technical training and retraining for the unemployed and underemployed. At the high school level, youth are enrolled in complete programs, which make them immediately employable upon graduation. The unemployed are retrained or taught skills through special courses geared to their specific future jobs. The skills of persons already employed are also upgraded. These people learn how to work with more sophisticated equipment and to adjust to new production techniques.

Since few students (only one out of every seven in Ohio) graduate from college, Vocational Education must fill the great need of all of the others who must qualify for jobs.

Vocational Education is now reaching more and more Ohioans, but more than ever need to be reached. People must be prepared for employment, and this preparation should be equally available to all of them. Future plans include an expanding vocational enrollment, the upgrading of programs in secondary vocational school classes and technical training at the college level.

On your trip with the camera, you'll see people of all ages learning in many educational fields, from agricultural mechanics and business office education to distributive education, home economics, trade and industrial and technical education to community service programs and Family Life Centers. Along your way, you will visit most of them.

Your trip will take you from schools in areas of low population concentration, to facilities in large, densely populated cities.

First, take a look at some adult education as the camera visits Lima, where firemen are learning to be teachers who can train other firemen. Before leaving Lima, ride a few miles out into the countryside to see a house completed by the members of a carpentry class at Lima High School.

Next stop is Penta County Joint Vocational School at Perrysburg, near Toledo. This school operates in the middle of an industrial park, where about 36 industries are already located. Its location carries out the new concept of job training in an industrial center, to provide trained people for the industries located there.

High school students from five counties are



taking courses at Penta County as an extension of their own high schools, from which they will graduate with a regular diploma. Technical students, in two-year post high school programs, are also taking training in many fields at Penta County. Penta County is a Joint Vocational School District, or center, serving 15 cooperating school districts.

At Penta County, your camera visits the Chrysler Plant that is employing some of the school's graduates, in addition to sending some of its people to the school for further training. The people at Chrysler provide concrete examples of the value of the vocational training at Penta.

The camera leaves Penta County and you travel southeast to Nelsonville to visit the Tri-County Joint Vocational School, which serves Athens, Hocking and Perry Counties. Tri-County has more than 400 high school students and 250 students in the technical institute at the same location.

In a relaxed, well-equipped atmosphere, with plenty of time to work and excellent surroundings, students at Nelsonville are learning to take their places in many rewarding careers.

At Nelsonville, the camera shows you a first in the nation . . . a Ceramics Technology course, geared to fit the needs of the Ceramics Industry. Ceramics Technology is a two-year program which prepares high school graduates for the glass, abrasive, pipe, clay, cement, porcelain and other ceramics industries.

Next, through the camera's lens, you will see a first in Ohio by visiting the Forestry Technology course offered to high school graduates at the Technical Institute. It provides professional training in the management, use and appreciation of the nation's forests and related resources. Since the school is in the Wayne National Forest, it is ideally located to prepare students for professional employment in forestry.

Your camera journey next takes you to visit the Southern Ohio Manpower and Technical Training Center in Jackson, where out-of-school youth and adults are trained and retrained for jobs. This Ohio center is the first residential retraining center in the country. Young people and adults live in Jackson homes while receiving their training.

The goal at Jackson is to make the trainees employable by teaching them skills, some basic education and good work attitudes, while they are living in a good environment. More and more employers are coming to Jackson to recruit the students, and 87 per cent of the graduates go right to work.

After seeing the welding, auto-body shops, accounting classes and landscaping courses at Jackson, it's time to go northward, to see what is being accomplished in Vocational Education in some of Ohio's large industrial cities.

In Akron you and the camera visit the Manpower Training Center, which has the only tire recapping training unit in the country. In addition to providing vocational training, the center reinforces the students' basic education by improving their reading, writing and mathematics skills.

Among the tire recappers who have finished the course is a graduate who is now in charge of an entire recapping center. Most of the programs at the Akron Center are presented to youths up to age 21.

Come along to Cleveland to visit some more large-city Vocational Education facilities. Let the camera take you to West Technical High School, one of the most comprehensive high schools in the state and an independent high school and area vocational school that services the city area.

West Tech has the largest greenhouse, in-school, program in the state. More than 90 per cent of its graduates are placed in Vocational Horticulture jobs.

Next, the camera stops on the shore of Lake Erie at Cleveland's Max Hayes Vocational school for boys, which offers both

tional school for boys, which offers both Vocational and Technical Education. Boys learn everything from advanced machine shop work to printing, and they learn both in school and on the job.

While Max Hayes trains boys, the new Jane Adams Vocational High School is for girls. At Jane Adams, girls are trained for many occupations, from food service supervisors to cosmetologists. Jane Adams offers both high school and post high school courses. Job placement is provided through the school for graduates as well as undergraduates, who work on a cooperative basis while they are being trained.

At Woodhill Family Center in Cleveland, you will see how residents are learning how to budget their money, shop, cook and make a good home.

The Family Life Program is based on the philosophy that "through small, but successful learning experiences, family members can change a self-image of defeat and failure to one of confidence. The long range goal is the development of the individual and her family."

Cleveland's Vocational Education program is attempting to reach people of all ability levels, to develop pride in accomplishments of all kinds. It aims at getting people ready for occupations, not fitting them to existing jobs, and at providing vocational, saleable skills.

Mahoning Valley Vocational School at Vienna is the first residential vocational school of its kind in the nation. It is pioneering vocational training for disadvantaged Ohio boys, 16 through 21, out-of-school and out of work. More than 70 per cent of the young men who have received training in at least 16 different vocational areas at Mahoning Valley are now employed in fields related to their training at Mahoning Valley.

Travel on with the camera to visit Clark Joint Vocational School at Springfield. On the same location as the high school, the school's technical institute offers post high school training in both practical nursing and registered nursing.

Clark offers occupational training for those in grades 11 and 12 and for two years of post high school. Students with the interest and ability to profit from Vocational Education courses enroll in the Joint Vocational School through the high school in their resident school districts.

Travel on, to Dayton, the home of John H. Patterson Cooperative High School. This school was established in 1914 and graduated its first class of 39 students in 1917. It was the first full-scale Vocational High School in the state.

Dayton's schools offer high school, post high school and adult courses, and provide a program for students who have not found the conventional school program meaningful, through the use of Occupational Laboratory (grade ten) and on-the-job-training (grades 11 and 12).

In the tenth grade, students attend required classes, plus two periods a days in the Occupational Laboratory. Students in the 11th and 12th grades spend a minimum of one-half day in school and the rest of the day on-the-job at actual paying jobs. The program helps students to complete high school and also to have work experience while still under the guidance of the teacher-coordinator. As always, job placement is the key to the success of this program.

Move with the camera to look at a 130-hour, in-service police training session, where volunteer policemen are meeting four hours, two nights a week at the Wayne Township Police Department near Dayton. All regular police officers also take further training.

When the camera arrives at Cincinnati's McMillan Center, you will see that the center offers a new way to acquire education. Students work part-time for pay while they are thoroughly trained for a job.

The Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation conducts the special services the school offers: evaluation tests, test analysis, individual counseling, group therapy, referral services and others. The public schools handle the actual instruction.

Students at McMillan Center are from the ages of 14 to 20, male or female, and can be either in or out of school when applying. They must be persons who can profit from the special services offered by the center, as its training focuses on those youth who do not find the most value in traditional classrooms.

Make a final stop with the camera at Eastland Vocational School in Columbus, where many more young people are being trained. Look in on the class for dental assistants; walk down the halls in this practical, attractive new school. Sense the spirit of awareness and the desire of the students to learn a productive, rewarding vocation.

Your camera trip has shown what's new in Vocational Education in Ohio and perhaps has provided a small insight into its challenge. Mr. Russell Bearss, plant manager of the Chrysler Machining Plant, located near the industrial park where Penta County Vocational School is operating, has said, "Vocational Education has reached a period where it is getting visibility throughout many walks of life. We are hearing and seeing everyone from the President of the United States on down to our local educational and business leaders discuss the shortage of skilled labor and technicians. There is nothing more powerful than an idea that has come of age."

The translation of this idea into the Vocational Education of people will meet one of the most important challenges of life in today's world, and as Governor James A. Rhodes has said of Ohio, "We shall not be content until we have a program that leads the nation."

#### BURGER STRESSES DEFENSE

#### HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

#### BURGER STRESSES DEFENSE

(By Gene Blake)

JACKSON LAKE, WYO., July 1.—U.S. Chief Justice Warren Earl Burger said here today the defense side of criminal cases needs strengthening more than the prosecution side.

His remarks to judges from six states conflicts with several analyses of his philosophy published since his appointment.

Burger referred to one such account as a "psychoanalysis" which reported he felt prosecutors had been weakened in recent years.

"That couldn't be more wrong," he said. "In the past the defense side has not been strengthened enough."

He said the whole thrust of a report by an American Bar Association committee on prosecution and defense functions, which he headed, was that the defense area must be strengthened.

"We must get better trained lawyers on the defense side," the Chief Justice declared. "The quality of all three legs of the stool—prosecution, defense and the judge—must be strengthened."

Burger was the principal speaker at the annual Judicial Conference of the 10th U.S. Circuit. State judges from Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Utah and Wyoming are special guests of the Federal judges.

"Talk of outside activities of judges is totally irrelevant to the matter of improving the administration of justice," Burger said.

"Far from withdrawing from such outside activities, I intend to intensify them."

Gov. Calvin L. Rampton of Utah told the judges that state legislatures have failed to reform criminal law and that is why the U.S. Supreme Court has taken the initiative.

He commended the court for its action, despite controversy over some key decisions.

Gov. Stanley K. Hathaway of Wyoming, in a welcoming address, referred to disclosures of outside activities which led to the resignation of Abe Fortas from the U.S. Supreme Court.

The danger lies not only in whether Fortas was guilty of unethical conduct he said, but in the impact the incident had on the court's public image.

Also attending the conference, which continues through Thursday, are Supreme Court Justices Byron White and Thurgood Marshall and retired U.S. Supreme Court Justice Tom C. Clark.

#### PITTSBURGH MAN PRIDE OF "PUBLIC TV"

#### HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, it is a great pleasure to bring to the attention of my colleagues a feature story appearing in today's Washington Post concerning Fred Rogers, one of my constituents in Pittsburgh, Pa.

His children's program, "Misterogers' Neighborhood" has been cited as the most popular program in all noncommercial television. This thoughtful, very creative man—who is additionally an ordained minister—has also been a recipient of the prestigious Sylvania and Peabody Awards for excellence in broadcasting.

WQED-TV, which was the first community educational television station in the Nation, is fortunate to have a person of Fred Rogers' enormous talents on their staff—and I might say, so are the children of the country. The Post article follows:

"MISTEROGERS": TV IDOL FOR THE TOTS

(By Lawrence Laurent)

PITTSBURGH.—John Macy, the president of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, told the Senate Communications subcommittee that the most popular program in all noncommercial TV is "Misterogers' Neighborhood."

William J. McCarter, vice president and general manager of WETA-TV (Channel 26 in Washington), says the same program has the highest rating of any program on the station.

The George Foster Peabody Awards committee—the most prestigious in broadcasting—tapped "Misterogers' Neighborhood" for a Peabody Award.

The chief reason for the success of this program is a soft-spoken, slow-speaking man who lives in Pittsburgh. He is an ordained minister of the United Presbyterian Church; ordained not for the pulpit and adult parishioners but "to work with children."

In one of broadcasting's most celebrated incidents, a radio performer named "Uncle Don" completed a reading of comic strips to children and—thinking the microphone was dead—he added: "That ought to hold the little—"

Such a thought would choke Fred Rogers. He has a deep interest in children. He does not patronize his viewers, although the series is aimed at youngsters between the ages of 3 and 8. He doesn't try to be a father figure, either. Nor is he "Uncle Fred."

"I try," he says in his quiet way, "to be a friend. I try to stress individuality, kindness and to provide some answers for the problems that all children encounter."

He may be the last man anyone would choose to become a television "star." Yet, when he visited the non-commercial TV station in Boston, thousands turned out to shake his hand. He had the same sort of reception when he visited San Francisco and Los Angeles.

The show ran out of money two years ago and production was shut down. Thousands of letters poured into the non-commercial stations, protesting the end of the series. The Sears Roebuck Foundation made a grant of \$150,000 to National Educational Television (NET), which matched the sum, to finance a new series of "Misterogers' Neighborhood" for national distribution.

Fred Rogers is 41. He grew up in Latrobe, Pa., the son of a prosperous manufacturer of silica brick (which is used in the steel furnaces of nearby Pittsburgh). He took a degree in musical composition at Rollins (Fla.) College, but shortly before graduation he became fascinated with the new field called television.

A personal friendship with then-president of NBC Niles Trammel landed him a job in television. He was an assistant producer of "The Voice of Firestone" and the NBC Television Opera Theater.

Before he left commercial TV to return to western Pennsylvania, he had been promoted to network floor director and supervised "Your Lucky Strike Hit Parade" and "The Kate Smith Hour."

In November, 1953, he joined the new non-commercial TV station in Pittsburgh, WQED-TV Station Manager William Wood told him to establish a schedule of programming.

One of his first productions, "Children's Corner," won a Sylvania Award. Fred wrote both script and music, performed and was the show's producer.

His first fling at performing for commercial TV came in the summer of 1955. He did four "Children's Corner" programs for NBC that attracted so much favorable mail that NBC continued the series for 26 weeks during the winter.

The "Misterogers' Neighborhood" emerged during the 1963-64 season that Fred spent with the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. (CBC) in Toronto.

He came back to Pittsburgh again, this time to the ABC-TV affiliate, with a daily 30-minute program. Those programs were acquired by the Eastern Educational Network (EEN), rebroadcast in Pittsburgh and seen for the first time in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Boston, Schenectady and over the Maine Educational Network.

After that, he became the proudest exhibit of non-commercial television.

Fred isn't much of an actor when he's in front of a TV camera. He behaves exactly as he does off-camera. His acting skills show only when he's doing a voice for one of the ten hand puppets on the show. (The voices for Dr. and Mrs. William Duckbill Platypus are supplied by Rogers' close friend, William P. (Bill) Barker. Off-camera, Barker is director of continuing education at the Pittsburgh Seminary of the United Presbyterian Church.)

The show is produced in a large room that was once the laboratory of Pittsburgh Plate Glass. This is part of a grime-encrusted Victorian mansion that houses WQED-TV. The station has a new home under construction, a huge modern building on ground furnished by Carnegie-Mellon University.

Fred drives a Volkswagen running from his home in the Squirrel Hill section of Pittsburgh to the station and to the Arsenal Child Study Center. The child center is a division of Western Psychiatric Institute of the University of Pittsburgh. At the child study center, Fred gets many ideas for his programs.

"A child seeing water running down the drain of a bathtub," he mused, "often worries that he may disappear the same way." Fred's solution is to do a program on plumbing and how it works.

Margaret B. McFarland, a Ph. D. who is director of the Arsenal Child Study Center, had this to say about Rogers:

"He is not only a talented creative artist, he is a well qualified child development specialist. He has a unique capacity for interpersonal relationships with children and is deeply empathic with their needs and feelings, and their perceptions of the world around them."

Fred neither drinks hard alcohol nor smokes. This is the result of a childhood bargain he made with an uncle. His wife, the former Joanne Byrd, does like a little wine with festive dinners.

Rogers' favorite wine is sacramental wine. "I like it," he said, "because it tastes like soda pop."

The Rogers family, including sons James, 10, and John, 8, like to retreat to "The Crooked House," their home on Nantucket in Massachusetts.

Rogers depends heavily on his director, David Chin, who was born on the mainland of China and who made his way from Taiwan to Syracuse University for a master's degree in communication. Fred has promoted Chin to associate producer for next season.

Chin has only one complaint about his boss. "When things don't go right, he never screams. He just sits there and I know he's bleeding."

To the children who watch him on TV, Rogers continually stresses "that good feeling of control." He advises parents that "play is the way children talk to us best."

Another of Rogers' observations: "Most of us talk a lot and that doesn't leave much time for listening."

He uses a direct, thoughtful approach and it is effective. When Rogers testified recently before Sen. John O. Pastore (D-R.I.) the senator commented: "I'm supposed to be a pretty tough guy and this is the first time I have had goose bumps for the last few days."

Only rarely is the calm poise of Fred Rogers disturbed. One of those times came last spring when Fred was at the Hotel Pierre in Manhattan to accept the Peabody Award. A 5-year-old fan stopped him in the lobby and demanded to know: "How did you get out of that box?"

Fred had heard the question before. He quietly explained to the child the difference between seeing a man in person and seeing him on television. The child nodded, smiled and as he started to walk away shouted one more question:

"How will you ever get back in that box?"

#### UNION OF CONCERNED SCIENTISTS OFFER DETAILED REPORT ON MIRV

#### HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, the delicate balance maintained in the sensitive world arms race—and in the increasingly important drive for strategic arms limitation talks—could easily be



thrown completely out of whack by completion of tests and deployment of our MIRV's—the multiple independently targeted reentry vehicles.

Over the past 6 months I have been seriously alarmed by the persistent campaign by the Military Establishment to deploy an ABM system—be it Sentinel, Safeguard or some other name, thick or thin.

Yet, as worried as I have been over the effect that actual ABM deployment might have on the arms race, I am even more upset at the prospect that this Nation is going ahead on MIRV no matter how high the risks. And I believe the dangers stemming from such moves—MIRV—are extremely more sinister than would be immediate ABM deployment.

Unfortunately, information on MIRV and on the overriding implications of MIRV testing has been quite limited until just recently. Lately, with MIRV beginning to crowd into the headlines, more information has been available, but even so, there have been few detailed studies that could be consulted.

Today, I am inserting into the RECORD a very important report just done on MIRV by members of the Union of Concerned Scientists. UCS is a nationwide organization of scientists and professors with extensive backgrounds in these areas of national importance.

The UCS report on MIRV reaches a series of ominous conclusions; it says MIRV is "unnecessary," "dangerous," "avoidable," and "imminent." I hope each Member will look closely at this crucial study of the MIRV system.

Mr. Speaker, I submit for inclusion the UCS report on MIRV in the RECORD at this point:

#### MIRV

Dwight D. Eisenhower, January 18, 1961: "We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and political machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together."

MIRV means Multiple Independently-Targeted Reentry Vehicle. The important words are Independently-Targeted; each MIRVed missile contains three or more warheads and each warhead can be aimed at a different target.

The conclusions of our study are these: MIRV is unnecessary. Our existing nuclear forces will, for a long time to come, be strong enough and secure enough to retaliate after any attack.

MIRV is dangerous. If we install MIRV, surely the Russians will also; and as a result, both sides will be less secure. Because MIRV puts a high premium on striking first, the chances that nuclear war will break out in any crisis will be greatly increased.

MIRV is avoidable. MIRV tests carried out by one side can be detected by the other. If we agree with the Russians not to test any further, each side will know whether the other is complying with the agreement. Such an agreement is the best way of preventing MIRV deployment, and is in the best interests of both sides.

MIRV is imminent. The US is ahead in MIRV development; our testing program is already well advanced. Unless we halt testing immediately, it will become much more difficult to prevent eventual MIRV deployment by both sides.

The Strategic Balance—Discussion of MIRV must begin with a description of the mili-

tary balance of terror between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The essential feature at present is that neither side has a first strike capability—the ability to launch a surprise attack so powerful that the opponent is unable to retaliate. On the contrary, each side can absorb an all-out attack, and still inflict unacceptable damage with the portion of its force that survives; both sides die together if either attacks. This is called second-strike capability or deterrence.

If one side had a first-strike capability, the other would be at its mercy. A successful first strike requires the simultaneous elimination of the opponent's ICBMs, his submarine-based missiles, and his strategic bomber fleet (or else a completely effective ABM). The attacker must have full confidence in his ability to accomplish all this; if there is any hitch, his homeland is destroyed. At the present time, neither side has even one of the capabilities required for a first strike; many major technological advances would be required in order to alter this situation significantly, and such improvements are not on the horizon.

For example, anti-submarine warfare techniques are highly ineffective, and the Navy has expressed high confidence in the invulnerability of the submarine deterrent well into the middle 70s (see Appendix 2). In addition, long-range radar provides about 20 minutes' warning of an ICBM attack. This is enough time for the defender's missiles to get off the ground before the attacking missiles arrive; the attackers would then hit empty silos. Although one is understandably reluctant to depend on a strategy that requires us to retaliate before knowing the nature of the attack, the mere fact that we could do so must deter the Soviets from launching a first strike.

Thus it is practically impossible for either us or the Soviets to achieve a first-strike capability in the foreseeable future. Nevertheless, much of the military planning on both sides seems to be based on the assumption that this is precisely what the opponents intend to do. American and Russian officials have made recent public statements expressing their fear of a first strike intent by the other side. If each side believes this (or professes to believe it) the consequences are as bad as if it were really true: more new weapons, and endless escalation.

Even though a first strike capability is out of the question, there is nonetheless an advantage to the side that strikes first in a nuclear exchange. This could lead to disaster in a time of crisis, when each side fears the other will attack. These fears reinforce each other. As the tension mounts, the leaders of one country may decide to strike first, knowing they will likely suffer many millions of casualties, rather than face total annihilation if the enemy should attack. Any factor that enhances the premium on striking first, or that introduces uncertainty as to the opponent's true strength, thereby increases the chances for nuclear war. We shall argue that the deployment of MIRV would have both these undesirable features.

How Big Are the Nuclear Arsenals? The American strategic arsenal at present consists of about 1000 Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs), over 600 Polaris missiles carried on 41 nuclear powered submarines, and about 2500 nuclear bombs carried by over 600 B-52 bombers. We also have some 7000 nuclear weapons deployed in Europe. These are generally referred to as tactical weapons, but (see Appendix 3) an appreciable number can be delivered on targets in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet ICBM force has expanded considerably during the past couple of years and is now approximately equal in numbers to the American. Many of the Soviet missiles, including the SS-9s with their

warheads of over 10 megatons, are liquid fueled. The US has a liquid-fueled, large-warhead missile (the Titan 2) which closely resembles the SS-9. However, all but 54 Titans have been replaced by solid fueled missiles carrying smaller warheads of about 1 megaton (Minuteman). Solid fueled missiles are considered superior because they can be launched in less than a minute, whereas the liquid fueled ones require as much as 15 minutes to get off the ground.

In addition to their ICBMs, the Soviets have about 100 missiles on nuclear powered submarines and about 150 long-range bombers which carry nuclear weapons; both these figures are considerably smaller than the corresponding American ones. In total deliverable warheads our lead is about 4000 to 1500; most of this advantage is due to the bomber force. The exact figures are less important than the fact that each of the superpowers has more than enough strength to devastate the other. A single B-52 carries more explosive power than was used in all the wars of history. It has been estimated that only 400 of our 1-megaton weapons could kill about 70 million Russians and destroy about 75% of Soviet industry. These figures refer to immediate destruction only, and do not include subsequent effects of fallout, contamination, epidemics, etc. The enormity of the nuclear arsenals should convince any sane person of the folly of continued escalation.

MIRV—An impending escalation of the arms race that has received too little public discussion is the introduction of the multiple-warhead missile—many smaller nuclear warheads replacing one large one and launched together by a single booster. The warheads separate in flight. In MIRV (Multiple Independently-targeted Re-entry Vehicle), each individual warhead is aimed at a different target; the targets can be as far apart as 100 miles or so. There is no sizable loss in accuracy in MIRVing. In a related weapon called MRS (Multiple Re-entry Vehicle) the component warheads are not targeted independently. Rather they are all aimed at the same target and are sprayed around in the manner of a shotgun blast.

Multiple warheads are in general more effective than a single large one. They can be used to exhaust an opponent's ABM defense. With many warheads there is greater likelihood that at least one will reach its target. Even though each smaller warhead naturally has a smaller area of destruction, this decrease is not in proportion to the yield of the weapon; the area of destruction of a 1 megaton bomb is more than half that of a 2-megaton bomb. (See Appendix 4 for more details.)

When a missile is "MIRVed" the total yield is decreased—that is, the combined megatonnage of the warheads is only some fraction of the megatonnage that the same missile could carry with a single warhead. The exact size of this fraction is highly secret; estimates as low as 1/20 and as high as 2/3 have appeared. The loss in yield is due to the extra weight of the complicated MIRV guidance and propulsion systems, and the casings and heat shields of the several warheads. Despite the yield loss, most experts consider MIRV to be an improvement in weaponry.

Present Defense Department plans are to replace about 500 of our 1000 Minutemen with MIRVed Minutemen III, and equip 31 of our 41 nuclear submarines with the MIRVed Poseidon missile. The Minuteman III is to carry 3 warheads of 0.2 megatons each, the Poseidon up to 14 smaller warheads. The testing program for both Minuteman III Poseidon began last August, and some half dozen tests of each missile have been carried out since then. The announced testing program was to be of 2 years' duration, with deployment due to begin in 1972 and be completed by 1974.

The Soviets have made three tests of a three-part warhead for their SS-9 missile. Their testing program for MIRV is substantially behind ours.

Still more sophisticated delivery systems are in the Research and Development stage. ARV (Advanced Re-entry Vehicle) is a MIRV in which each re-entry vehicle has its own propulsion system—allowing both improved accuracy and pre-planned evasive maneuvering against an ABM defense. SABRE (Self-Aligning Boost and Re-Entry system) is reported to have, in addition, a sensing mechanism to scan the ground below, and a computer which remembers where the warhead is supposed to land and controls the propulsion system in making last minute course corrections.

**Sensible Nuclear Policy.**—The nuclear arms race has resulted in a continuous decrease of our national security. Although our forces are vastly stronger today than in 1959, we are far less secure now; and in 1949 we were both less strong and more secure than in 1959. In the era of thermonuclear weapons our prospects for survival are determined largely by our opponent's strength, not by our own; and his strength has, on the whole, increased in step with ours.

Whatever stability exists in today's perilous situation is based on the fact that each of the superpowers has a reliable and universally recognized deterrent (second strike capability). Any action by one side that threatens the reliability of the other's deterrent—whether intentionally or not—is viewed as provocative. Such actions in the past have always been followed by reactions (usually by over-reactions) on the part of the opponent; the net result has been decreased security for both sides. There is no reason to believe that this will not continue to be the rule. Thus, with the vast economic and human resources of the superpowers, truly significant "nuclear superiority" is an illusory goal which neither side can hope to attain. A sensible policy is therefore one that preserves our own deterrent, but avoids moves that threaten—or appear to threaten—the Soviet's deterrent. Such moves are bound to be futile in the long run and can only lead to continued escalation.

One move that threatens the opponent's deterrent is to build an area or city ABM defense; to the extent that such a defense is effective, it limits the adversary's capacity to retaliate. An even more provocative act is to increase the capacity of one's own offensive force to the point where the opponent begins to doubt whether enough of his weapons could survive a first strike. In this connection, we must expect Soviet strategists to act as ours do; overestimate the effectiveness of the enemy's weapons and be excessively conservative in evaluating the effectiveness of their own. As a result, the Russians may feel strongly threatened by, and obliged to respond to, the deployment of a weapon which in our estimation has only a second-strike purpose. Such a situation is most likely to result from the deployment of MIRV, particularly if combined with ABM. We are like two swordsmen who cannot swim, duelling in a canoe over dangerous waters; our next lunge is likely to tip the canoe and drown us both.

It is a paradoxical fact of life in the nuclear age that weapons aimed at cities are considered retaliatory and therefore defensive. They are far less provocative than weapons aimed at the opponent's missiles, for any aggressor would strike first at the other side's missile force, in order to prevent him from retaliating. Of course, neither side can be certain how the other's missiles are targeted. But one strong indication of offensive intentions is a determined effort to develop missiles with extremely high accuracy. A retaliatory strike against cities does not require very high accuracy; the threat of a megaton nuclear bomb exploding anywhere in New York City

(or Moscow) is an effective deterrent. On the other hand, high accuracy is essential for an attack on missile silos, which are hardened to withstand anything except an almost direct hit. Therefore, a preoccupation with high accuracy suggests that missile sites are the intended targets, and can justifiably be viewed with alarm by the other side.

A sound policy is one that seeks to stabilize our deterrent, that avoids threats to the Soviet deterrent, and that increases the likelihood of a negotiated freeze in nuclear weaponry at the earliest possible moment.

Why MIRV?—All new nuclear weapons systems, defensive and offensive, must be evaluated in the light of the preceding remarks. Thus we ask the following questions:

1. Is MIRV a necessary countermeasure against an existing or potential Soviet ABM population defense?

2. Is MIRV a necessary reinforcement of our second-strike capability because of a potential Soviet first-strike capability?

3. Are Soviet military planners likely to fear that our testing and deployment of MIRV is a move towards first-strike capability, and react accordingly?

4. What will the strategic balance be when both sides have MIRV?

We do not ask: Should MIRV be deployed simply because it is a technically feasible improvement in weaponry? In the age of thermonuclear weapons this is not a sufficient consideration; all too often there are pressures to deploy systems in vast numbers just because they work well, with little heed paid to ultimate consequences.

Let us now take up the answers to these questions.

1. At the present time the Soviet Union has a rudimentary ABM system surrounding Moscow. It consists of only 67 launchers and is far more primitive than Safeguard. Long ago our ICBMs were equipped with penetration aids that allow them to pierce these defenses easily, without MIRV; it is therefore not surprising that the Soviets have refrained from installing the system at other cities. There have been no indications that they are contemplating an ABM system as sophisticated as Safeguard, and according to President Nixon even a greatly enlarged Safeguard would not provide adequate defense of cities against an attack by existing missile forces. Thus there is no Soviet ABM worth worrying about, either in being or in prospect. As a penetration aid against future Soviet ABM, MRV (multiple warheads without independent target) is as effective as MIRV but less provocative.

2. A Soviet first strike would entail the simultaneous destruction of virtually all our 1000 ICBMs in their concrete silos, our 41 Polaris submarines, and our 650 SAC bombers. Some 30 submarines are normally submerged in the ocean, their locations unknown to the enemy; 40% of our bombers are on 15 minute alert, and our ICBMs are easily launched during the 20 minutes between the detection of enemy missiles and their arrival at Minuteman bases. At this time and well into the 1970s, the Soviets are incapable of eliminating the Polaris fleet, and can not confidently synchronize an attack on our radars, ICBMs, and SAC bases so as to catch a major portion of our forces on the ground.

3. The destructive capability of MIRV depends very sensitively (see Appendix 4) on the accuracy with which the separate warheads can be aimed on their yield, and on the number of warheads per missile. With sufficient accuracy each MIRV warhead is capable of destroying a hardened missile silo. (A hardened silo is one built to withstand intense shock waves.) By watching our MIRV tests the Soviets cannot determine the accuracy of our missiles. They are therefore faced with a system, on the verge of deployment, whose potential capability is omniscient, while its present capability is largely unknown to them. They will know that the

greatest distance between separate warheads (of order 100 miles) coming from a Minuteman III is well suited to attacking ICBM bases, but rather too small for simultaneous attack on sizeable Russian cities (see Appendix 5). They will also realize that if we actually deploy Safeguard ABM, we will be a step closer to massive population defense. Finally, their suspicions will be buttressed by Secretary Laird's request of March 27 for additional appropriations to accelerate work which will "improve significantly the accuracy of Poseidon guidance, thus enhancing its effectiveness against hard sites."

Surely our own military, would, if placed in the Kremlin, be fully convinced that we are embarked on an attempt to achieve first-strike capability. They would not be impressed with any stated intention to attack missile sites in retaliation only. It would be foolish to assume that the actual occupants of the Kremlin will come to a different conclusion. Indeed, they are deploying large ICBMs and submarines at a considerable rate, and may be at the beginning of MIRV tests themselves. Each side responds to its view of the other's future plans, justifying its action with self-fulfilling prophecy.

4. If both sides have deployed MIRV and thus come a step closer to the illusory goal of first strike capability fears of attack by the other side will heighten. Since a single incoming warhead is capable of destroying an entire unlaunched missile with several warheads, there will be a much greater premium on getting missiles into the air first. The situation will be much more complicated, and instability even greater, if both sides have deployed extensive, but imperfect, ABM systems in addition to MIRV.

The period while MIRV and ABM are being deployed will be an exceptionally dangerous one. New military technology on such a vast scale always brings with it uncertainties about one's own system and ignorance of the opponent's. This confusion would increase both the chances of serious international crises arising and the chances of their resulting in nuclear war. And if we survive this hazardous transition period, will we then be safer than today? No, we will both be stronger, and correspondingly less secure.

Is MIRV inevitable? At the present time MIRV is in the testing stage. Because of its sophisticated nature—several warheads, each to be accurately targeted—extensive tests are needed. These tests require elaborate arrays of radar equipment which are readily recognizable from ships and satellites; the reentry and splashdown of the vehicles may be observed. It is thus possible to monitor the testing of MIRV by another power. On the other hand, after testing is finished it is very difficult to tell, without onsite inspection, whether or not MIRV is being deployed. Even with on-site inspection it may be necessary to take a missile apart to know the number of warheads it carries. Furthermore, once MIRV is deployed it is even more difficult to tell whether improvements are being made—more accurate guidance systems, for example. It is therefore clear that any agreement between the two great powers not to deploy MIRV is far more easily made before either power has finished its testing program.

Since August 1968, the United States has made approximately half a dozen tests each of MIRVed Minuteman and Poseidon. Most have been described as tests of parts of the MIRV system; the complete functioning of the entire system is not reported to have been fully tested yet. Soviet testing is less advanced. In his May 22 testimony before the House Appropriations Committee (released June 12, 1969), Secretary of Defense Laird reported that three tests of Russian missiles with multiple warheads have occurred. These were the first such tests reported. Secretary Laird did not classify them as tests of independently targeted warheads; they may well



have been tests simply of Multiple Reentry Vehicles (which we have already deployed on ten Polaris submarines). Presumably the array of Russian radar equipment was not sufficiently elaborate to monitor independently-targeted re-entry vehicles.

The present circumstances are exceptionally well suited to a meaningful agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union to halt MIRV testing. Such an agreement, if respected, would make it impossible for either side to deploy a MIRV system in which it had confidence. Each side could readily verify, without on-site inspection, that the agreement had not been broken. Such an agreement would have highly beneficial effects on international relations. Both great powers would have tangible evidence of the absence of first strike intent by the other, and the security of both sides would be enhanced. Other nations would have tangible evidence of a willingness on the part of the great powers to limit their counterproductive arms race. The agreement would be a productive start toward implementing the provision of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty which calls for good faith arms-control negotiations.

The time in which such an agreement is possible is sharply limited by the more advanced American testing program. If both sides stop testing, negotiations can proceed at their usual snail's pace without great danger. However, once our testing is complete, or more precisely, once conservative planners in the Soviet Union must assume it is sufficiently far advanced for deployment, any MIRV agreement will be much more difficult. When will this stage be reached? Indications are that we may pass the point of no return late this summer, perhaps sooner. There is, therefore, a pressing need for reconsideration of the MIRV program and its implications. A sensible and important first step is an immediate moratorium on American MIRV tests, as has been urged by many Senators and Congressmen of both parties. Such a step would in no way jeopardize our security. (See Appendix 8.)

If such a step is not taken and there is no MIRV agreement, there will surely be Soviet MIRV testing and eventual deployment. And then will come strong demands from our conservative planners for construction of new weapons; for superhardened missile silos, for maneuverable re-entry vehicles; for bigger ABM systems, and so on. It is no exaggeration to say that a MIRV agreement, besides its contribution to the security of both American and Russian citizens, would save American taxpayers many tens of billions of dollars in the next decade.

In brief, MIRV is certainly not needed as a countermeasure, it is exceptionally provocative and destabilizing, and its testing jeopardizes the possibility of meaningful arms control negotiations.

The present frantic rush towards MIRV is an irresponsible policy.

#### 1. THE NUCLEAR CONFRONTATION

##### United States

The Table below summarizes, as of early 1969, the strategic nuclear weapons and delivery systems possessed by the U.S. Some of the figures are not official, but represent educated guesses taken from knowledgeable sources: the Institute for Strategic Studies, London, which publishes yearly studies of world armaments, and Aviation Week and Space Technology, the "Variety" of the missile business. Note that:

(i) of the 41 Polaris subs, about 32 are normally on duty at a given time.

(ii) Polaris A3 is now supposed to be equipped with 3 MRV warheads. With the range of A3, no land target is inaccessible.

(iii) Poseidon is said to have twice the accuracy of Polaris, as well as twice the payload.

	Launch weight (pounds)	Range (miles)	Warhead (megatons)	Status
<b>Ground-based missiles:</b>				
Titan II.....	330,000	9,000	5	Being phased out; 54 remain deployed.
Minuteman I.....	69,000	65,000	1	650 presently deployed.
Minuteman II.....	70,000	7,900	2	350 presently deployed.
Minuteman III.....	76,000	( <sup>1</sup> )	MIRV	Testing: 500 due to be deployed.
Total deployed missiles, 1,054.				
<b>Submarine-based missiles:</b>				
Polaris A-1.....		1,400	0.8	Phased out.
Polaris A-2.....	30,000	1,700	0.8	Deployed in 13 subs (208 missiles).
Polaris A-3.....	30,000	2,900	0.8	Deployed in 28 subs (448 missiles).
Poseidon C-3.....	65,000	2,900	MIRV	Testing: 31 of the 41 Polaris subs to be refitted for Poseidon.
Total deployed missiles, 656.				

<sup>1</sup> About same.

<sup>2</sup> About.

**Strategic Bombers:** Principal strategic bomber is the B52, of which some 600 planes are operational.

Range: 12,500 miles without refueling.

Speed: About 650 miles per hour.

Bomb load: 75,000 pounds.

The B52 can also carry two Hound Dog Air-to-Surface missiles, equipped with nuclear warheads. Range: 700 miles.

Deliverable bomber-borne warheads: about 2500.

##### Soviet Union

Information available here on Soviet forces is less detailed than on ours, and upon close reading different authorities contradict each other.

The ground-based ICBM force is estimated at about 1000 missiles.

SS-9: Liquid-fueled, warhead of about 20 megatons. About 200 presently deployed, increasing by perhaps as much as 50 per year.

SS-11: Smaller warhead, about 1 megaton. Approximately 800 deployed. Either liquid fuel (must be kept in refrigerator) or storable liquid fuel (can be kept in missile for time periods) (conflicting published reports).

SS-13: New mobile, solid fuel, ICBM. About 25 deployed.

FOBS: Not deployed yet. Fractional-Orbiting Ballistic-Missile System. A relatively inaccurate weapon, its only first strike potential is against SAC bases.

Submarine-based missiles: about 125 deployed at end of 1968; 13 nuclear submarines and 30 conventionally powered ones carrying long-range missiles:

Serb: sub must surface in order to fire.

Sark: may be fired while submerged, but has short range.

**Strategic bombers:** Principal strategic bombers are the M-4 Bison of which some 110 planes are operational and the TU-20 Bear of which some 90 planes are operational; 50 of these planes are believed to be deployed as tankers.

Range:

(Bison) 6000 miles without refueling, and (Bear) 7800 miles.

Bomb load: (Bison) 40,000 pounds, and (Bear) 24,000 pounds.

Speed: about 600 miles per hour.

Excerpts from the Strategist's lexicon. Here we collect in one place some of the jargon which is used in discussing the nuclear confrontation.

**Counterforce:** A weapon used against opposing weapons, not population or industry, is called a counterforce weapon. Counterforce weapons may seem to be aggressive and are therefore destabilizing while anti-city weapons are defensive and stabilizing.

**Preemptive first strike:** A first strike made under the knowledge or suspicion that the other side is about to make a first strike.

**Counterforce or damage-limiting second strike:** A second strike aimed not against population, but against military targets. If one side makes a first strike against the other's forces, keeping in reserve sufficient power to threaten civilian targets, the "pre-

ferred" response may be against the aggressor's remaining weapons, not against his population.

**Launch on Warning Policy:** The policy of launching a second strike when Over the Horizon Radar, Ballistic Missile Early Warning System, and Satellite Early Warning System detect an enemy first strike. The government, for obvious reasons, does not say whether or not such a policy is in effect. It similarly does not say whether Minuteman missiles can be disarmed after launching in case a mistake has been made.

**Hardening and superhardening:** Construction of missile silos capable of withstanding large and very large pressures. MIRV work began when missile sites were soft and missile accuracies were relatively poor. After hardened silos were developed in the early 1960s, MIRV stayed in the R and D (Research and Development) stage until accuracies improved. (See Appendix 4.)

**Depressed trajectory:** a missile trajectory lower than the one which requires least fuel. An incoming missile, launched from a submarine, on such a trajectory is harder to detect by Radar and arrives sooner. There are plans for dispersing our strategic B52s over more airfields as part of our reaction to this possibility.

##### References

<sup>1</sup> The Military Balance, 1968-1969, The Institute for Strategic Studies, London, 1968.

<sup>2</sup> Aviation Week and Space Technology, March 10, 1969.

<sup>3</sup> Hearings before Subcommittees of the Committee on Appropriations, May 22, 1969.

#### 2. ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE

We discuss the submarine force in detail here as an example; we omit similar discussion of the other retaliatory nuclear forces.

The United States presently has 41 Polaris submarines in operation, each carrying 16 nuclear-tipped Polaris missiles. The missiles have a range of roughly 3000 statute miles and can be launched from a submerged submarine. This force is presently the most nearly invulnerable part of our strategic arsenal.

The primary purpose in using submarines as mobile bases is that they can navigate beneath the ocean's surface in a medium which restricts the propagation of light and radio waves (electromagnetic waves) to negligible distances. The salt water medium provides the best concealment available. Historic accounts of sea engagements in World Wars I and II testify to the remarkable effectiveness of this concealment.

In World War I in the Atlantic, a small force of German submarines, never more than 200 craft, nearly brought the British Empire to its knees. In World War II the Atlantic Allies had some 950 ocean escort ships and 2200 aircraft fighting 430 German U-boats.

In World Wars I and II, submarines were essentially surface vessels capable of only short submerged periods. This was their fatal weakness. Submarines had to surface

in order to run diesel engines and recharge batteries, and thereby became vulnerable to radar and visual detection methods and long-range kill weapons. The maximum undersea range of a non-nuclear submarine is only 130 miles.

The capability of nuclear submarines is incredibly superior to that of their fore-runners. In 1960 the USS Triton circum-navigated the world submerged. This eighty-four day voyage covered a distance of 41,500 miles. More than a remarkable achievement, this carefully executed operational test was of prime strategic importance.

During the two World Wars the purpose of the submarine was the destruction of the enemy's shipping capability and, to a lesser extent, his naval capability. This required the submarine to operate near shipping lanes and made it susceptible to attack by escort ships or other members of a shipping convoy. Our nuclear submarine, in its strategic role as part of our nuclear deterrent force, need not restrict itself to shipping lanes nor reveal its presence above the ocean's surface until the moment that its long range missiles pierce the surface and begin their rapid flight toward Soviet targets. This provides the strategic nuclear submarine nearly 100 million square miles of working habitat. Therefore any effective ASW system must be capable not only of detecting and identifying a submerged submarine, but also of rapidly scanning vast expanses of ocean. This task is considerably more formidable than that involved in our ASW activity in World War II. Then almost all submarine kills were achieved through visual or radar sightings and the theater of conflict was restricted to a relatively small part of the seas.

The performance of the Polaris submarines is excellent. Admiral Ricketts, late Vice Chief of Naval Operations, said in a speech on January 9, 1964, that "the missiles have proved remarkably reliable. The first Polaris submarine went to sea over three years ago. Since that time, no Polaris submarine has been late in deployment; no patrol has been aborted; no submarine has returned early from its patrol; no communication message has been missed. Over 99% of the time, at least 15 of the 16 missiles have been ready for firing, and all 16 missiles have been ready for firing over 95% of the time."

We can attempt to assess the Soviets' ability to neutralize our Polaris submarine deterrent force by studying our own ASW capability. The crucial problem in ASW is the detection and identification of a submerged submarine. Several kinds of ASW sensors have been developed, but only two are presently relevant to the detection of strategic nuclear submarines. They are the Magnetic Anomaly Detection device (MAD) and the underwater sound equipment commonly known as sonar.

MAD is a sensitive magnetometer which senses local anomalies in the earth's magnetic field. On land natural anomalies are common, but at sea local anomalies are rare because submerged bodies of ore are too remote from the surface for detection. However, when a metallic body such as a submarine nears the surface, the magnetic field disturbance can be measured. The favorable features of this sensor system are that it is unaffected by the surface and is invulnerable to jamming. MAD's severe range limitation of less than 3000 feet is its great drawback. This short range is due to a basic physical property of magnetic fields (magnetic field strength decreases in proportion to the inverse cube of range). This range limitation allows the system to be used only for final confirmation of contact and localization for kill. A system with a 3000 foot range will be

deployed beginning next year on the land-based P-3C Orion aircraft. It must be emphasized that MAD is inherently a short range sensor and will never be capable of searching large expanses of ocean.

Sonar has been, and continues to be, the mainstay of ASW sensor capability. There are two broad categories of sonar techniques, the passive sonar and the active sonar. Passive sonar devices simply listen for sounds created by the motion of a submarine through the water or the machinery of the submarine.

The sonobuoy, which may be dropped from aircraft or seeded by surface ship, is a passive device. It consists of a hydrophone suspended below the surface by a buoy. The sounds picked up by the hydrophone are transmitted to the monitoring ship or aircraft by an antenna protruding above the surface. An important variant of this technique involves the use of hydrophones fixed to a submarine, which can lie silently in the depths of the ocean listening for underwater sounds. Passive sonar techniques depend on noise generated by an underwater body. A submarine lying quietly and motionless will not be detected by this instrument.

The active sonar system sends out high energy sound waves which strike underwater objects and return echoes to listening instruments. Even quiet, lurking submarines can be detected by active sonar systems. The active sonar is the prime antisubmarine detection system used by destroyers. It is also used by aircraft.

Some of the weaknesses of sonar detection systems are easily anticipated. Audio signals provide considerably less information than do light signals. If radar or radio is not available, a thick fog at sea forces us to use sound to communicate. The human voice or a fog horn provide some assistance, but one still feels lost.

Some of the problems in the use of sonar detection systems are: (1) Radar on land or above the surface of the sea can report the number, range, and speed of attacking aircraft at great distances, and visual sighting can provide full identification as to the type of aircraft. But active sonar beneath the sea cannot distinguish between a school of fish and the side of a ship at much more modest distances. (2) Sound waves in water are quickly dissipated and absorbed, so that the range over which sonic disturbances can be heard is severely limited. Under normal conditions, sound at 1 kilocycle frequency is attenuated to 1% of its original strength in a distance of 3000 feet. At 100 kilocycles this distance is only 1000 feet. Furthermore, sound cannot be effectively beamed in a controlled fashion as can radar waves. (3) Depending on ocean temperature and salinity profiles, the sound velocity may vary considerably. This causes sound to scatter and to propagate in curved and unpredictable paths. A submarine may be detected and then dive below an ocean gradient which can act as a shield against detection. (4) Naturally occurring sounds of sea life, seismic activity in the ocean floor and wave action in heavy seas or against distant shores coupled with sound noise generated by the sonar listening system itself make "deciphering sonar reflections more black art than science".<sup>1</sup>

The United States ASW hardware deployed at the end of fiscal year 1968 included 23 airborne craft (P-5 seaplanes, P-2 land based patrol aircraft and S-2 carrier based aircraft); 163 escort surface ships including several aircraft carrier contingents; 105 attack submarines, 36 of which are nuclear powered; several types of conventional and nuclear explosive devices for converting detections to kills (ASROC—a torpedo delivery rocket used by surface ships, SUBROC—a torpedo rocket used by attack submarines, ad-

vanced torpedoes, and sophisticated depth charges employed by aircraft).

The expense of this effort is several billion dollars annually, and still we presently have no significant capability to detect Soviet nuclear missile-carrying submarines. Using presently existing ASW sensors or those projected for development in the next decade, one must conclude that the cost of ASW "defense" against the nuclear submarine threat will remain many times as expensive as that of "offense" and that this "defense" will not be highly effective.

One indication of how unlikely is the deployment of any effective ASW system in the near future is the lack of discussion of any possible ASW countermeasures. It is true that the development of a quiet submarine is contemplated, but there has been no discussion in the open press of sonar jamming devices or the possibility of decoying MAD devices with long pieces of magnetized or highly magnetic material shed by an escaping submarine.

Rear Admiral Levering Smith, Director of Navy Strategic Systems Projects, gave his views on the future invulnerability of the Polaris fleet in the Washington Post of May 12, 1969:

"1. I am quite positive that Russian submarines cannot and are not following any of our Polaris submarines under water. I am also quite positive that the new generation of Russian submarines that are getting close to operational status, that are now being tested, will also not be able to follow our Polaris submarines.

"2. The Russians have no specific new anti-submarine warfare methods the Navy knows of that would make the Polaris fleet vulnerable to attack, despite many reports of a superior Russian sonar system or satellite detection capability.

"3. Neither the United States nor the Russians can or will likely ever be able to use satellites to detect submarines under the water."

The Navy is working on two major projects to keep the underwater deterrent force invulnerable during the 1970s. One, called Project Sanguine, would spend \$1 billion to improve land-based communications with Polaris submarines. The other would spend many billions to build a whole new generation of Polaris submarines called "undersea long-range missile system" or ULMS.

The next decade holds little promise that advances in sonar or other sensor systems presently being studied will provide the basis of an effective (particularly cost-effective) ASW system. Consequently, barring unexpected breakthroughs in sensor technology, nuclear missile-carrying submarines will remain a credible second strike deterrent force through the 1970s. There is a possibility that the vessels can be shadowed by fast nuclear submarines from the moment they first leave port. This takes of course an outnumbering submarine force to encounter a submarine missile force. No such "submarine race" is yet in sight.

### 3. STRATEGIC USE OF EUROPEAN-BASED TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The Allied Command in Europe is responsible for the defense of all NATO territory. It has, at present, at least 7000 tactical nuclear devices and commands about 2250 aircraft and missiles to carry them. The nuclear explosives are maintained in American custody. The missiles are mobile but of short range, less than 400 miles. The aircraft are of strategic interest.

There are about 400 fighter bombers. These include 325 F-100s and F-4s. (We have not found the individual numbers.) The F-100 (Super Sabre) has a short, 575 mile range and is obsolescent.

The F-4 has a range without refueling of 2300 miles and can be refueled in flight. It

<sup>1</sup> M.P. London, Space/Aeronautics Magazine, p. 42 ff, April 1969.



operates at 1700 mph, more than two times faster than the B 52. It can carry up to 15,000 lbs in bombs, ample for several nuclear bombs totaling several megatons. Fighters of even higher performance are now being deployed, like the F111.

Inspecting a map of Europe, one finds a distance of 700 miles (or 25 minutes for the F-4) between Oslo and Leningrad or between Istanbul and Kiev; Moscow can be reached in about 40 minutes from either Hamburg or Ankara, and so forth.

We conclude that some of the so-called tactical nuclear weapons, together with the F-4 aircraft, constitute a considerable potential for a nuclear second strike on the highly industrialized and populated part of the Soviet Union east of Moscow.

#### References

<sup>1</sup>"The Military Balance 1968-1969", The Institute for Strategic Studies, London.

<sup>2</sup>Jane's "All Worlds Aircraft 67/68", McGraw Hill Publishing Company.

#### 4. THE MIRV EQUATION

In this appendix we consider the various factors involved in determining the probability that an attack on a hardened missile site be successful. A first strike is feasible only if this probability is very high. It is clear that the probability should increase with the number of incoming warheads, with their yield, and with the accuracy with which they can be aimed; this "kill probability" should decrease as the hardness of the site increases. There is an equation expressing these insights. The reader may notice in the press from time to time statements by experts, both inside and outside the government, on first strike capabilities and missile site destruction. Many of these statements, with their accompanying charts and tables, are merely applications of one simple formula. Armed with it, the reader can be his own expert.

First let us look at the kinds of arguments that enter. Consider two analyses of the MIRVed Minuteman III, those of a modest American general and of a conservative Russian general. The modest American general argues: Our MIRVed Minutemen carry three warheads, each with 150 kiloton yield, and with a CEP of 0.2 miles. CEP is the accuracy (see below); the smaller CEP, the more accurate. This is not a counterforce or first strike weapon; two of the three warheads are not sufficient to destroy a hardened missile site. The kill is not likely; such a missile is purely a second strike weapon. The independent targeting allows us to threaten nearby cities if only a small number of missiles survive a Russian first strike.

The conservative Russian general, on the other hand, estimates the warheads at 200 kilotons and the CEP as less than 0.15 miles and rates his own missile site hardness as something less than 300 psi (a measure of hardness: see below). He sees from the graph that two of the three warheads carried by Minutemen are adequate to kill one of his hardened missile sites. Our MIRVed Minutemen, he then calculates, are specifically a first strike weapon.

Consider, analogously, the dread SS-9. Using the MIRV equation we can deduce that a single 20 megaton warhead requires a CEP of 0.54 for a 90% kill probability against a missile site hardened to 300 psi. Here, the modest Russian general says the CEP is only about 0.75. Hence the SS-9 is not a counterforce weapon. Furthermore, he says, with at most 500 SS-9s by 1975 it is not possible even to contemplate a first strike. The reasons the SS-9 carries a large warhead are, he contends, to be effective against large cities, to allow destructive high altitude explosions at the fringes of the Sprint range when an ABM system is deployed, and to blind an ABM system with radar blackout. All three reasons are simply part of maintaining the credibility of the Russian second

strike retaliation to the threatened MIRVed first strike from an ABM protected United States.

Our conservative planners in Washington will, of course, not agree. Although there have been, as yet, no Russian MIRV tests, they point with alarm to the possibility of MIRVed SS-9s with, say five or six two-megaton warheads and CEPs of 0.5 miles or less. (The MIRV equation says 4 two-megaton warheads with CEP .5 give a 90% kill against 300 psi). This is a self-fulfilling prophecy; if there is no MIRV agreement, there will surely be Russian MIRV tests; in time Russian CEPs will improve and the Soviet strategic arsenal will continue to be, in fact, every bit as threatening to us as ours is to them.

Let us see how such calculations can be made. It does not require a detailed knowledge of weapons systems to derive the formula for kill probability:

$$P = \left( \frac{1}{2} \right)^{\frac{39y^{2/3}N}{H(CEP)^2}}$$

The meanings of the symbols are as follows:

P is the probability that the missile site being attacked will survive. (1-P is then the probability that it will be destroyed.) For example, if P is 0.1 the site has a 10% chance of surviving the attack, which implies kill probability of 90%. Note that on the right side of the equation, the fraction  $\frac{1}{2}$  is raised to a power; as that power increases, P decreases.

N is the number of incoming warheads attacking the missile site.

y is the yield (in megatons) of each of the incoming warheads. The square of the cube root of y ( $y^{2/3}$ ) enters because the shock from the explosion spreads over a volume of space proportional to y, hence over a geographical area proportional to  $y^{2/3}$ .

CEP stands for Circle of Error, Probable. It is the radius of the circle inside which half of the incoming warheads are expected to land. CEP is a measure of the accuracy of the incoming warheads; the more accurate they are, the smaller the circle in which they can be counted on to land. (CEP)<sup>2</sup> is proportional to the area of this circle. CEP is to be measured, in this formula, in nautical miles (a nautical mile is 1.15 miles). The values of CEP for the various ICBMs, American and Russian, are highly classified by each side (and each side's estimate of the other side's CEPs are also classified). Enough information is available in the press, however, to say that the CEP for new American missiles should be considerably less than 0.5 nautical miles and possibly less than 0.25. Soviet CEP values are generally conceded to be not so good (higher) than American ones and probably over 0.5. It should be emphasized that each power will make its plans assuming the CEP values achieved by the other side are smaller than is probably, in fact, the case. Experts look to the day when CEP will be less than one city block.

H is the hardness of the missile site under attack measured in pounds per square inch of pressure (psi). This number, too, is secret and probably not known too accurately. A value of H often quoted for at least some of the Minutemen sites is 300 psi. Super-hardening of missile sites refers to achieving values for H of over 1000 psi. (Heavy concrete buildings are damaged by pressures of 20 to 30 psi.)

The number 39 in the formula is a phenomenological parameter based on published reports of the results of various nuclear tests.

As an example of the use of the MIRV Equation, we can calculate the values of CEP needed to kill hardened missile sites with 90% probability of success. We require that  $P=0.1$  in the equation. Let us assume that

H is 300 pounds per square inch. We may then ask what CEP is required, given the number of incoming warheads (N) and the yield (y) of each warhead. Some results are given in the graph for values of N equal to 1, 2, and 10. The equation does not take into account the chance of missile misfire, which must be included in computing the likely results of nuclear exchange.

#### 5. MIRV CAPABILITIES

It is easy to make crude estimates of the dispersal of warheads from a single missile in a MIRV system. As explained in Appendix 4, this dispersal of the independently-targeted warheads can, for some purposes, more than make up for the obvious price paid in MIRVing. The price paid is the reduction in total yield. It buys the weight of the guidance system, the additional heat shields needed for the extra warheads, and the post-boost propulsion rocket.

One can imagine two essentially different systems. For a second strike, retaliatory, city-destroying capability, one might design a wide dispersal of warheads over several hundred miles, one to each city. However, for a first strike (sometimes called counterforce) capability, one is interested in a relatively narrower dispersal, say of 50 miles, corresponding to the dimension of a missile farm, since in this case the warheads would be targeted on missile silos.

What dispersals are possible? We estimate (see below) that a Minuteman with a 6000 mile range can obtain a downrange dispersal of a few hundreds miles, and that a submarine launched Poseidon, with its smaller range, can separate its missiles by only a few tens of miles.

A wide spread such as one might use in a deterrent to threaten several cities seems barely possible for Minuteman and impossible for Poseidon. Apparently one must resort to FOBS, low orbiting missiles which go around the earth the long way and whose landing spot is very sensitive to changes in velocity. These are relatively inaccurate because of complicated re-entry dynamics. Nevertheless, a very wide dispersal of warheads is possible with this type of weapon. They are only credible as second strike weapons. The United States is not developing them.

Of course the MIRVed warheads might be designed to strike very near each other, perhaps in order to penetrate an ABM system. In fact, penetration is the Defense Department's most recent justification for proceeding with MIRV.<sup>3</sup> For this purpose, MRV would do just as well, and it is difficult to see the point of the elaborate independent-targeting system.

The New York Times<sup>2</sup> recently quoted 20-50 miles as the spread of a MIRV. This number is consistent with ours, and if correct for Minuteman III indicates that we have been too generous in the parameters of our calculation. The spread of a Poseidon SLBM is certainly less.

One cannot see in these numbers any advantage for a second strike planner, especially if the report in the Times is correct, whereas the first striker clearly has a great advantage, particularly if the accuracy of targeting can be improved to overcome the loss of megatonnage. We get from the formula given in the previous section that a loss in yield of a factor of 10 for a single warhead can be overcome by an increase in accuracy of a factor of  $(10)^{1/2}$  or about 2. At the same time there is a gain in the number of warheads by MIRVing and hence an overall improvement of the first strike (silo-busting) capacity of the missile. The tremendous effort being expended on improving the accuracy of the guidance systems of Poseidon and MM III missiles suggests that the mission of these weapons is for silo busting, not for deterrence.

Footnotes at end of chapter.

## Technical Appendix

Basic mechanics allows one to determine the capacities of MIRV to disperse warheads, to the extent that one can guess a few numbers describing properties of the system. We outline the calculation here for the benefit of those who wish to explore it in more detail. The data needed are:

$f$  = weight of the fuel in the "bus" after launch but before separation of the warheads  
 $b$  = the total weight of the bus and warheads (payload weight)

$v_0$  = a velocity, characteristic of the fuel, which is the speed with which the fuel is ejected from the rocket.

Remember, we are talking about the MIRV-ing rockets, not the large launch rocket. For a given desired range  $R$ , there is a minimum launch speed  $v$ . Ignoring the small effect of the earth's rotation, one can determine  $v$  from the law of gravity. Let us measure in units of  $v_f$  (the FOB speed), which is the speed needed to launch a missile horizontally near the surface into a circular orbit;  $v_f$  is about 4 miles per second.

Define:

$$u = v/v_f$$

and

$$x = R/2E$$

where  $R$  is the range and  $E$  is the radius of the earth. Then

$$u^2 = \frac{2 \sin x}{1 + \sin x}$$

It follows by differentiation that for a small downrange change  $\Delta u$  in  $u$ , the range is changed by  $\Delta R$ , where

$$\Delta R = \frac{4Eu\Delta u}{(2-u^2)[1-u^2]^{1/2}}$$

By a similar calculation, the transverse spread  $\Delta T$  due to a transverse change  $\Delta u$  is

$$\Delta T = \frac{2Eu}{2-u^2} \Delta u$$

Thus if one can estimate  $\Delta u$ , one can find the spread of the MIRVed warheads.

If all the fuel in the bus is expended, it follows from the law of momentum conservation that

$$\Delta v = v_f/fb$$

Actually, (6) is correct only if  $fb$  is small, which is presumably the case. The general formula is

$$\Delta v = -v_f \log(1-fb)$$

We estimate  $v_f = 5$  miles/sec, or  $v_f/v_f = 1/10$ . The warheads weigh 1,000-2,000 lbs. per megaton, so let us estimate  $b = 1,000$  lbs. The types of rocket motors used in Trillblazer in the 4th stage RV tests weigh about 100 lbs.<sup>1</sup> We may guess that the MIRV rockets are about the same size, and estimate  $f/b = 1/10$ . The number is probably smaller;  $v_f$  is a chemical number, and might be as high as 0.2. The  $f/b$  estimate may be off by factors of 2 to 5, but probably not 10.

If we use  $1/10$  for both  $f/b$  and  $v_f/v_f$ ,  $\Delta u = .01$ . For a 6,000 mile trajectory,  $u$  is about 0.9, and therefore the down range spread is about 300 miles. For a 1,500 mile trajectory, perhaps typical of a Poseidon SLBM, the dispersion is more like 60 miles. In both cases  $\Delta T$  is comparable but smaller.

## References

- <sup>1</sup> The New York Times, June 14, 1969, p. 2.
- <sup>2</sup> The New York Times, June 9, 1969, p. 1.
- <sup>3</sup> Aviation Week and Space Technology, March 10, 1969.

## 6. MILITARY RECONNAISSANCE SATELLITES

For the past decade both the US and the USSR have been able to monitor the other's missile deployment and testing from reconnaissance satellites. These are apparently so successful that the US has softened its demand for "onsite inspection" as a prerequisite to arms limitation agreements, and presumably aerial reconnaissance such as the famous U-2 flights have been stopped. When it sees fit the government announces numbers of Soviet missiles, and even their dimensions, with what sounds like absolute certainty. The arms control danger in deployment and refinements of MIRV systems, in contrast to testing, is that these developments do not entail large new constructions

or operations that may be monitored from satellites.

Detailed information about military satellites and their capabilities is very difficult to obtain. Over the last few years there have been a few articles in the New York Times<sup>1</sup> and elsewhere<sup>2,3</sup>. Some information obtained by painstaking research has been assembled in articles by Jeremy Stone<sup>4</sup> and by Evert Clark.<sup>5</sup>

Most of the orbiting cameras are put into relatively low orbits between 100 and 300 miles above the surface, and circle the earth every hour and a half. There have been about 280 US military satellites launched and about 160 Soviet ones. Their orbits are specially chosen to monitor crucial areas.

Early satellites looked for spectacular tell-tale events—nuclear explosions or rocket launchings—and radioed their information back to earth. Present US satellites take high-resolution telephotos, and "drop" the film in a special capsule while the large satellite continues in its orbit. The capsules have heat shields and parachutes, and re-enter slowly enough to be picked up by airplanes at about 10,000 feet above the ocean. The original satellites orbit for only a few weeks each. It is an expensive, but effective, kind of espionage. Although the cost is largely hidden in the budget, it is probably between \$2 billion and \$4 billion per year.<sup>6</sup>

The detail that can be seen and recorded by the newest orbiting cameras is fantastic. It is claimed that two objects one foot apart can be resolved.<sup>4,5</sup> Automobiles, buildings, and people can easily be identified. The construction of a missile silo or installation of a missile in a submarine cannot be hidden.

Atmospheric turbulence puts an absolute limit of several inches on the distance between two surface features in order that an optical camera in space (at any distance) can distinguish them. It appears that US and probably Soviet space cameras are approaching this limit. Stone<sup>4</sup> reports discussion of using a 960-inch focal length camera in satellites. An easy calculation shows that with good commercially available film—40 lines per mm—such a camera can resolve objects one foot apart. With effort skilled interpreters can probably make out some features of smaller dimensions. A widely circulated claim that a long telephone wire can be seen against a proper background is not unbelievable.<sup>1</sup>

Other satellites have different missions, and their capabilities are more speculative. The highly secret Ferret satellites have been reported able to listen in on ground radio-telephone conversations.<sup>4,5</sup> Another is equipped with ultra-high and X-ray detectors and has a very high orbit in order to check for clandestine weapons tests behind the moon. Satellites equipped with infra-red sending devices can penetrate optical camouflage and detect the thermal radiation from underground missile silos. A combination of these techniques enabled the US to identify the units of Russian troops invading Czechoslovakia last year.<sup>2</sup>

Clearly, testing and deployment of an elaborate system such as the ABM could not be kept secret. If Soviet space reconnaissance satellites are as modern as ours are claimed to be, our MIRV field tests would be unmistakable, although it is impossible to guess how much would be learned about them if careful precautions were taken to confuse the spy-satellites. Actual installation of MIRV warheads on already placed missiles does not involve moving about large objects, or construction of new submarines and underground installations. It will be done indoors and underground, and it is easy to imagine that such a move can be kept secret from satellites of the capabilities described above. Perhaps more important, the same is true of future refinements of the guidance systems which could bring one nearer to first strike capability.

Thus the pre-MIRV era may be the last chance for a long time for a realistic arms limitation agreement without on-site inspection, since it may be the last time each will have confidence it knows what the other is doing. After MIRV systems have been tested, both sides will fear that the other has installed MIRV's, unnoticed by the reconnaissance satellites, with the consequent destabilization of the strategic balance.

## References

- <sup>1</sup> New York Times, March 17, 1967, and April 3, 1966 (New York Times Magazine, p. 27).
- <sup>2</sup> U.S. News and World Report, Sept. 9, 1968.
- <sup>3</sup> Reference 4 contains a sizable bibliography.
- <sup>4</sup> ABM—An Evaluation, ed. A. Chayes and J. Wiesner (Harper and Row, New York, 1969), p. 193.
- <sup>5</sup> Newsweek Magazine, April 21, 1969, p. 62.

## 7. MIRV FUNDING

Neither the total cost of MIRV deployment nor the sums going to individual contractors have been announced. Estimates of the total cost vary from 3 to 12 billion dollars. For example:

Senator George S. McGovern: "I do know that we converted our Polaris missiles to the Poseidon system, which enormously increased their striking power, for a cost of about 3.2 billion dollars."

Donald Brennan, Hudson Institute: "The Senator uses the figure of 3.2 billion dollars for the Poseidon program. And the Minuteman III program costs about two billion dollars, depending on how many missiles are deployed. So it was about a five-billion-dollar arms program that Secretary McNamara laid in offensive force response to about a one-billion dollar Soviet missile defense."

The National Observer (12/23/68): "Deployment of the Multithreaded Poseidon and MM3 ballistic missiles, \$12 billion."

Saturday Review (May 1969): "Poseidon and MM3 budget: 7 billion."

Some feeling for the size of the MIRV program can be obtained from the Federal Budget and its appendix which lists expenditures for the 1970 fiscal year (see Table I):

TABLE I

Program by activities	Department	1970 estimate (direct obligations)
Ballistic missiles.....	Navy.....	\$485,000,000 (for Poseidon and related support equipment).
Fleet ballistic missile ships.	.....do.....	\$404,400,000 (conversion to Poseidon capability of 6 ballistic missile submarines).
Research development, test, and evaluation (R.D.T. & E.).	.....do.....	\$522,000,000.
Ballistic missiles.....	Air Force.....	\$548,300,000 (procurement of Minuteman ICBM).
Research development, test, and evaluation.	.....do.....	\$975,300,000.
Procurement and production of raw and special nuclear materials.	AEC.....	\$428,000,000.
Military applications.....	AEC.....	\$1,090,000,000.

The meaning of these figures is obscured by the difficulty in estimating how much of Research and Development costs and AEC expenditures should be allocated to MIRV. Although the point is somewhat academic, much of the submarine work is not necessarily related to the independent-targeting capability of the missile warheads.

Extensive but fragmented information on MIRV component costs and contracting appears in the pages of Aviation Week and Space Technology. Some of the major contractors of the Minuteman program are:



Boeing (prime contractor).  
TRW (operational targeting verification program).  
Thiokol (missile 1st stage).  
Aerojet (missile 2nd and 3rd stages).  
North Am. Rockwell/Autonetics (inertial guidance).

General Electric (Mark 12 re-entry vehicle and penetration aids).

AVCO (Penetration aids).

Honeywell (electronics).

Atlantic Research Corp. (Pitch control motor).

Lockheed/AVCO (spin-thrust rocket motor).

IBM (special test equipment for guidance and control system).

And on the Poselidon program:

Lockheed (prime contractor).

Thiokol Hercules (1st and 2nd stage).

Atlantic Research Corp. (Post-boost propulsion).

MIT, Raytheon (electronics).

Honeywell (attitude control system).

GE (re-entry vehicles).

GE, MIT, Raytheon (inertial guidance).

MIT, Instrumentation Lab (high acceleration and hardened guidance systems development).

Singer's Kearfott division (inertial measuring unit with star-tracker).

One can estimate from this information that a total cost between \$7 billion and \$10 billion is not unreasonable. The difficulty a citizen encounters in attempting to find the extent and cost of this major military program is unfortunate.

#### 8. PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON MIRV

There is ample evidence that the Congress is becoming increasingly aware of the threats to the strategic balance implied by such new weapons systems as MIRV and ABM.

As early as July 1968, shortly before testing of the MIRV system was initiated, Senator Eugene McCarthy issued a position paper on arms control in which he called for an international moratorium on development of offensive and defensive strategic weapons, beginning immediately with a delay in deployment of the MIRV and ABM systems pending speedy negotiations with the Soviet Union. He stated:

"... At present, there exists a strategic stability which results from the presence, on both sides, of invulnerable deterrent forces capable of inflicting substantial damage in a retaliatory attack. But the introduction of sophisticated antiballistic missile systems and new missiles equipped with multiple warheads threaten to make the situation unstable. With the deployment of such weapons systems, each side will become concerned as to whether in the event of a preemptive attack it will be able to inflict sufficient damage in retaliation—if not, its deterrent will not be credible. The arms race will thus be impelled to a new intensity. In crises, there could be an incentive to launch a first strike—an incentive which does not now exist because each side can have confidence in its deterrent..."

On April 24, 1969, Senator Edward Brooke, in a major policy speech, called for a suspension of MIRV testing. He recognizes the MIRV concept as "... the most disturbing breakthrough in strategic weapons since the advent of intercontinental ballistic missiles... It creates what could be insurmountable problems for inspection of an arms control agreement..."

Expanding his arguments on the need for a cessation of MIRV testing, Senator Brooke said:

"... In my judgment, the most urgent task is to limit further operational testing of multiple warhead missiles. Once testing of these provocative systems is completed, it will be unlikely either side will believe the other is not deploying them..."

Secretary of State William Rogers acknowledged in a statement to newsmen on June 6,

1969, that successful testing of multiple warheads could complicate arms control talks between the United States and the Soviet Union. According to Rogers, "It might be that if MIRV tests are successful over the next few months, it would present new problems of inspection..."

In the House of Representatives, Congressman Jonathan Bingham submitted a resolution on May 19, 1969, calling for deferment of further MIRV testing until "... every effort is made to achieve a mutual freeze on MIRV development..."; the resolution included an urgent call to convene arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union, and was cosponsored by twenty-five other House members. He was joined on June 16 by Representative John B. Anderson, chairman of the House Republican Conference.

And in the Senate, Senator Brooke introduced a resolution on June 17, 1969, urging President Nixon to seek agreement with the Soviet Union to halt testing of multiple-warhead missiles. The resolution was cosponsored by forty Senators—only eleven short of a majority.

Senator Charles Percy, in an arms control speech on April 17, 1969, maintained that what is required "... is a mutual freeze on the further deployment of strategic missiles, offensive and defensive, by the United States and the Soviet Union. A moratorium halting the arms race should be the first topic for discussion at the forthcoming talks with the Soviet Union..."

He went on to say:

"... I believe the time has come for us as a people to learn to distinguish between a legitimate interest in insurance—which we already possess in our offensive arsenal—and an obsessive concern with an unachievable total security..."

The words of Senator Percy and other leading congressional advocates of arms control are a far cry from the style and tone of those powerful political advocates of a "super-military", such as Congressman Mendel Rivers, Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, who explains his advocacy of the ABM deployment (he also vigorously supports MIRV) with the following words:

"I don't know why a nation that is approaching a trillion dollars in the gross national product can't afford a gadget to protect its civilization..."

Perhaps, Congressman Rivers, the real question is whether civilization can afford such gadgets.

The prospects for MIRV limitation do not appear very favorable. In a special news conference on June 19, 1969 President Nixon was asked, "Mr. President, referring to an earlier question, do you regard further testing of MIRV's as an obstacle to reaching an arms control agreement?" His reply to the question was "We are considering the possibility of a moratorium on tests as part of any arms control agreement. However, as far as any unilateral stopping of tests on our part, I do not think that would be in our interest. Only in the event that the Soviet Union and we could agree that a moratorium on tests could be mutually beneficial to us, would we be able to agree to do so."

#### CENTRAL OREGON COMMUNITY COLLEGE GIVES STUDENTS VOICE IN GOVERNING

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the unrest and violence displayed at several of our

major American universities during the past scholastic year dramatizes the need for a fresh approach in the administration of our college campuses. One solution that must be considered is to open the communications lines—some of which have been down for years—between administration and the students to allow new ideas to be transmitted and discussed.

A number of schools are heading off convulsions on campus by pursuing this line. Many are discovering that by giving students a larger voice in the decisionmaking process, a whole new climate of understanding and responsibility is engendered.

As we have seen in recent months, it is not always Harvard or Stanford that leads the way in these new directions. Indeed, it is often at the small, unheralded campuses of our Nation that we find evidence of enlightened administration that is changing with, if not ahead, of the times.

Such a school is Central Oregon Community College at Bend, Oreg., in my home district. A recent article in the Portland Oregonian describes the excellent results that can be attained when administrators, faculty members, and students actively work together. I think it is particularly important to note the comment of the school's president, Frederick Boyle, quoted in the article:

We have found that students, given an opportunity to exercise responsibility, do exactly that.

I include herewith for your consideration, the full article as written by John Guernsey, education writer for the Oregonian:

[From the Portland (Oreg.) Oregonian, June 26, 1969]

#### CENTRAL OREGON COMMUNITY COLLEGE GIVES STUDENTS VOICE IN GOVERNING

(By John Guernsey)

BEND.—Many colleges and universities are talking about giving students more voice in policy making at the institutions, but in most cases it is still more talk than action.

Oddly enough, little Central Oregon Community College is showing the big brother four-year institutions the road.

COC students have had a full piece of the action for the past year. The college president, faculty members and students are pleased with the results.

#### STUDENTS SIT ON PANELS

The powerful college affairs committee is composed of nine members—three students, three teaching faculty members, and three administrators, including COC President Frederick Boyle, who serves as chairman.

The student affairs committee is made up of four students, two administrators, and five faculty members.

Three students sit as members of the 14 member instructional affairs committee, which is in charge of curricula development and teaching programs at the college.

Student membership is necessarily limited on the instructional affairs committee, because the total membership cannot become excessively large, and each faculty department head must have a seat on the committee.

COC is ahead of most of the rest of the college field in involving students for two main reasons.

1. The college officials saw the handwriting on the wall, and moved to bring the students into "the establishment" as a means

of heading off future student unrest and rebellion.

2. The administration and faculty felt students were entitled to more voice in many areas of the college operation.

Boyle puts it this way:

"When I came to this college two years ago and began taking steps to revise the governing structure, I was convinced that we had an obligation to give students a chance to speak their minds . . . and within a framework where it would have some impact on the goals of the college.

#### REPRESENTATION PROVIDED

"It had to be through representation on the policy making committees. That's where concerned students should be—with faculty and administrators—when the hard work is being done.

"We want them there for the discussions and debates—which get quite spirited at times—and for the voting.

"We have found that students, given an opportunity to exercise responsibility, do exactly that."

In addition to having membership on the three key committees of the college's governing structure, students also are voting members of subsidiary committees.

#### EVALUATION MADE

The publications committee is made up of three faculty members and three students; the athletics committee has three faculty members and one student, and the faculty-student conduct committee has three faculty members and two students.

In addition to their active committee memberships, the students have distributed and are now tabulating a questionnaire for student evaluation of the effectiveness of each faculty member.

Here are some of the reactions from key students and faculty members at the college:

Gary Wagoner, student body president from Lowell: "We have enough voting power on one of the most important committees at the college (College Affairs) to significantly influence policy at COCC. That's not to say we can dictate or even make ultimate decisions by ourselves. But three votes out of ten is not bad.

"And really, it is not the numerical voting power that is important. It's the whole philosophy of student representation.

"By establishing committees that have significant student representation, the administration has, in effect, said to us—'Come on, we want you to have a stake in your future and the future of COCC. Help us, give us your ideas, it's your college'."

George C. Zahl, dean of students: "Certainly no one has a greater stake in what goes on at this college than the very students it serves.

"When society spends years beefing up a public education system to the point where students take a genuine interest in their education, colleges better be prepared to provide them with the opportunities for meaningful participation.

"To turn them off, to ignore them at that point, would be both wrong and inflammatory.

#### GOAL OUTLINED

"Open discussion and mutual counseling between students, administration and teaching faculty will be the mark of successful institutions for years to come."

Rod Simmons, freshman from Redmond: "For me the functioning of 'the system' at COCC is truly democratic and makes this college an enjoyable place at which to get two years of higher education.

"The students really feel they have something at stake here because the faculty and administration are willing to let them in on what is going on and have a say in how decisions are made."

## EXCERPTS FROM DIRECTOR HOOVER'S APPROPRIATIONS TESTIMONY

### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, as I have pointed out before, every year about this time the testimony of Director J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI before the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce and Judiciary, and Related Agencies provides authoritative information on crime in the United States, dangers to our internal security through the activities of revolutionary groups, and other data of a similar nature. With its many qualified personnel in 58 offices throughout the country, the Bureau plays a most unique role in overseeing developments in these vital areas. No congressional committee or other Federal agency has the facilities or expertise to gather the information so necessary to the security of this Nation.

For instance, college students who are thinking of joining Students for a Democratic Society to help cure society's ills would, if they are normal, think twice after digesting this statement from the Director's testimony of this year:

The militant mood of the 1968 national convention of the Students for a Democratic Society was obvious from the subjects discussed and the suggestions made at its various workshops. For example, at a workshop dealing with sabotage and explosives, the participants discussed such things as disrupting selective service and police facilities during riots; mailing letters dipped in combustible materials; flushing "bird bombs" in toilets to destroy plumbing; using sharp, tripod-shaped instruments to halt vehicles; jamming radio equipment; firing Molotov cocktails from a shotgun; using electronic firing devices; and inserting "thermite bombs" in manholes to destroy communications.

Other areas covered by the testimony include antiwar and antidraft activity, Communist Party—U.S.A., Klan-type organizations, extremist militant black nationalist groups, espionage, and counterintelligence, to name but a few of the areas covered.

Because violence and subversion have been areas of prime concern in recent years, portions of Mr. Hoover's testimony have been excerpted from his lengthy statement. Due to their importance and topical nature, I insert them in the RECORD at this point:

#### INTERNAL SECURITY WORK

Mr. Hoover. In discussing our field investigative work, I will first turn to our widespread and important internal security work which during the past year has been highlighted by stepped-up activities of the New Left movement, continuing antiwar activity, various kinds of demonstrations, and the proliferation of mass membership organizations, such as certain militant black nationalist groups, whose programs have the effect of undermining respect for law and order.

#### NEW LEFT MOVEMENT

During 1968, the New Left movement in the United States continued to reveal itself

as a firmly established subversive force dedicated to the complete destruction of our traditional democratic values and the principles of free government. This movement represents the militant, nihilistic and anarchistic forces which have become entrenched, for the most part, on college campuses and which threaten the orderly process of education as the forerunner of a more determined effort to destroy our economic, social, and political structures.

The discontent expressed by the movement in this country is also found in other countries. As a result, the New Left movement is a new specter haunting the Western World. It is a movement that is united to some degree by common issues, such as the Vietnam war, civil rights matters, so-called capitalist corruption, and a so-called archaic university system.

#### FINANCES

New Left funds are generally obtained from contributions, dues, sales of literature, benefits, advertisements, and its publications and fund drives. The main sources of revenue are contributions, and it is estimated that nearly 60 percent of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) funds, for example, come from this source.

Although the majority of gifts are in the \$10 to \$50 range, wealthy benefactors who have acquired their fortunes in the United States have contributed substantial amounts in support of the New Left movement and in support of the activities of the SDS in particular. Included among these, for example, are a Cleveland industrialist who has long been a Soviet apologist; the wife of an attorney in Chicago who is a millionaire; an heiress in the New England area who is married to an individual prominent in the academic community who has been active in New Left activities; and a wealthy New York lecturer and writer who for years has been linked to more than a score of Communist-front organizations and has contributed liberally to many of them. These individuals alone have contributed more than \$100,000 in support of New Left activities.

The New Left has also received money from several foundations. A very prominent foundation in New York, for example, has contributed more than a quarter of a million dollars from 1961 to 1968 to various individuals and groups, most of which have been identified as either present or past members or sympathizers of the Communist Party—U.S.A. or New Left movement.

Demonstrations are frequently financed by fundraising and collections. For example more than \$25,000 was collected from participants and spectators by the organizing committee during the march on the Pentagon in 1967. The organizing committee raised \$10,000 from the sale of buttons during an anti-Vietnam war demonstration early in 1967 in New York City.

Funds for antidraft activity by the New Left also have been supplied by organizations such as that known as Resist, located in Cambridge, Mass. This group was formed in 1967 by approximately 300 professors, writers, ministers, and others who signed a statement pledging to raise funds to aid youths who resist the draft and denounce the Vietnam war.

Communist Party—U.S.A. leaders have recently urged party members to give time and money to "New Left demonstrations and causes."

Much of the nationwide travel engaged in by prominent New Left leaders is paid for by honorariums paid to them, generally out of student funds, for their guest speaker appearances on college campuses.

#### STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)

At the core of the New Left movement in the United States is the Students for a Democratic Society, an organization which became



well known in 1968 for its disruptive tactics at a number of universities in this country, the main one being Columbia University in New York City. And if the leaders of the Students for a Democratic Society have their way, they will attempt to create chaos on many more campuses. Their desire is to let the "Columbia Spirit" prevail.

The Students for a Democratic Society advocates, in the terminology of a considerable number of its leaders and members, revolutionary communism. Along this line, at the organization's 1968 national convention, two of the newly elected national officers publicly identified themselves as Communists "with a small c," as many New Left adherents do to signify that while they are Communists they are a brand apart from those in the old-line Communist movement.

While the distinction may seem important to them, it is irrelevant to the rest of Americans because the basic objective of both New Left and old-line Communists and their adherents in our society is to completely destroy our form of government.

The militant mood of the 1968 national convention of the Students for a Democratic Society was obvious from the subjects discussed and the suggestions made at its various workshops. For example, at a workshop dealing with sabotage and explosives, the participants discussed such things as disrupting selective service and police facilities during riots; mailing letters dipped in combustible materials; flushing "bird bombs" in toilets to destroy plumbing; using sharp, tripod-shaped instruments to halt vehicles; jamming radio equipment; firing Molotov cocktails from a shotgun; using electronic firing devices; and inserting "thermite bombs" in manholes to destroy communications.

The same militant mood was evident in suggestions made for a proposed pamphlet by participants in a workshop on self-defense and internal security. Suggested articles included starting rifle and karate clubs; infiltrating right-wing organizations; starting rogues' galleries of police officers and spotting plainclothesmen by observing them as they testify in court.

The 1968 SDS convention also adopted a resolution on the military. This resolution created a project for "GI organizers" and established a coordinating office for the project in New York. The project will support individuals who wish to continue the "struggle against imperialism" by entering the military service in order to "politicize" and organize those in military service to resist authority. The project is to establish "GI drop-in centers" near military facilities in order to offer a political program to aid servicemen in their organizing efforts within the military.

In addition, the resolution encourages local SDS chapters to organize a campaign to involve servicemen in social and political activities; establish a military counseling service; provide support for deserters; and give support through demonstrations and publicity to radicals within the military service.

The meeting of the National Council of the Students for a Democratic Society held in Ann Arbor, Mich., over the recent Christmas holidays was highlighted by a power play by SDS members who are also members of the pro-Peking Progressive Labor Party (PLP). The struggle concerned two main issues. One was the participation in proposed demonstrations at the time of the Presidential Inauguration. The resolution for SDS support and participation in the Inaugural demonstrations was defeated and generally regarded as a PLP victory. The PLP considered the SDS to be unprepared for a confrontation with authorities and also their action would endanger black revolutionary work in the Nation's Capital.

The other issue stemmed from the advocacy by the PLP element for the creation of a broad-based revolutionary group consisting

of students and workers. While this resolution was unsuccessful, its defeat by an extremely narrow margin was indicative of the PLP's increasing attempt to influence the SDS and the student New Left.

An SDS National Council meeting was held in Austin, Tex., from March 27, 1969, to March 30, 1969. Michael Klonsky, SDS national secretary, among other things stated, "Our primary task is to build a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement." The PLP, continued in its bid to control SDS, however, was unable to pass many of its resolutions. This organization still continues to wield considerable influence in SDS; however, it is now receiving competition from the Communist Party-U.S.A. and the Young Socialist Alliance (youth affiliate of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party). The influence of these two groups in competition with PLP is growing in SDS circles and by the time the next SDS annual national convention convenes in June 1969, it can be expected that there will be considerable dissension within SDS ranks as to what course to follow.

It can be fully expected that old-line Communist groups will make every effort to insure SDS follows Marxist-Leninist doctrine for guidance in their activities and building a revolutionary movement.

Although the PLP represents a minority of the SDS members, it is able to wield a disproportionate influence on the national office level due to the militancy of its members and the cohesiveness of its Maoist line. The PLP's ability to seize upon situations ripe for violence was certainly revealed by the Columbia University riots when it attempted to guide the riot leadership.

The PLP is one of several Communist splinter extremist groups formed during recent years to enunciate the tenets of Communist China and Mao Tse-tung. The majority have been ineffectual paper organizations. The PLP, however, is one group which has emerged with a broad-based membership making significant organizational strides in major U.S. cities and on a number of college campuses. It is headed by such devoted revolutionaries as Milton Rosen, one-time labor secretary of the Communist Party, New York State, who was expelled from the Communist Party for extremist views, and William Epton, who, following his participation in the Harlem race riots of 1964, was found guilty of conspiracy to riot, conspiracy to advocate criminal anarchy, and advocating criminal anarchy. Apropos of the strong rapport existing between the PLP and the Communist Party of Communist China, the latter group informed top-level PLP members in 1967 that it considers the PLP the only revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party in the United States.

There can be no doubt that the New Left movement is a threat to established law and order and to the stability of our society. Through it a comparative handful of revolutionaries have displayed total disregard for the rights and privileges of the overwhelming majority of millions of dedicated and responsible college students. The Students for a Democratic Society will continue to be at the forefront of the organizations making up the New Left movement in taking every opportunity to foment discord among the youth of this country.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Chairman, I will have to leave in a few minutes and I wonder if I may ask a couple questions?

Mr. ROONEY. Yes, Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. A couple years ago, I thought we were told the Students for a Democratic Society were about to be put on the Attorney General's list.

Mr. HOOVER. They have never been put on the Attorney General's list.

Mr. SMITH. Are they likely candidates to be placed on that list?

Mr. HOOVER. I do not know. The Internal Security Division of the Department would

determine that based on all the material we have sent to them.

Mr. SMITH. That is all.

Mr. HOOVER. I now turn to the antiwar and antidraft activities.

#### ANTIWAR AND ANTIDRAFT ACTIVITY

Antiwar and antidraft protests and activities continued throughout 1968. Scarcely a day passed that did not see demonstrations by various "peace" groups.

The major antiwar demonstrations held in cities throughout the United States in April 1968 grew out of proposals made at a conference of the Student Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam which was held in Chicago, Ill., in January 1968. This conference was attended by leading young members of the Communist Party-U.S.A.; the Socialist Workers Party and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance; the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a militant black nationalist group; and the Students for a Democratic Society.

Nearly 50,000 individuals participated in a New York City demonstration. Many of the demonstrators carried Viet Cong flags and photographs of Ho Chi Minh and "Che" Guevara. A demonstration at Los Angeles, Calif., attracted some 2,500 individuals who heard speakers, including a member of the Communist Party-U.S.A., urge withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam. At San Francisco, Calif., approximately 10,000 individuals heard Fred Halstead, the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, denounce U.S. foreign policy.

In May 1968, the National Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam, which is headed by David Dellinger who is self-described as a Communist although not the Soviet variety, and which includes representatives of various subversive organizations, such as the Communist Party-U.S.A. and the Socialist Workers Party among its members, planned its Summer of Support. This is a program to establish coffeehouses near military installations throughout the United States for the purpose of attracting military personnel and to serve as alternatives to the "militaristic, drab, occasionally violent Army town environment." Some such coffeehouses have been set up.

Rennie Davis, one of the leaders of the Join Community Union, the community action group of the Students for a Democratic Society, was selected to head Summer of Support. A letter issued by the group explains that Summer of Support is a national program to support GI's and their right to come home. Sponsors of it include the Reverend James Bevel, an official of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference who has been active in antiwar demonstrations; Marlon Brando, a prominent actor; the Reverend William Sloane Coffin, Jr., who has been convicted for a violation of the Selective Service Act; and David Dellinger.

The Student Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam, which is controlled by members of the Young Socialist Alliance, the youth group of the Socialist Workers Party, sponsored anti-Vietnam war demonstrations in various cities throughout the United States from April 4 to 6, 1969. Many antiwar protests groups participated in the demonstrations which had two main themes—namely, to bring servicemen home from Vietnam and to achieve free speech for servicemen advocating antiwar sentiments. The principal demonstrations were conducted at New York City; Chicago, Ill.; and San Francisco, Calif. At New York City, 30,000 individuals participated in a march and rally. Among the demonstrators were members of the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and its youth group, and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). At Chicago, approximately 10,000 individuals participated in a march and rally. One of the principal speakers at the rally was an official of the Black Panther Party. At San

Francisco an estimated 10,000 demonstrators marched through San Francisco to the Presidio, a military base. Several arrests were made by the San Francisco Police Department and several military policemen were injured when the marchers attempted to force their way into the Presidio.

#### ACTS OF VIOLENCE

During the past year we have seen some protest groups turn more and more to violent plans and tactics.

In December 1967, Greg Calvert, a national representative of the Students for a Democratic Society, stated at an SDS chapter meeting in Oklahoma that the SDS and other New Left groups were organizing and planning efforts to disrupt the national "warmaking effort" all over the country.

In January 1968, a pamphlet entitled, "What Must We Do Now? . . . An Argument for Sabotage As The Next Logical Step Toward Obstruction and Disruption of the U.S. War Machine," was prepared in Canada and copies were mailed from Toronto, Canada, to anti-Vietnam war groups in this country. The pamphlet referred to the need for increased radicalization of the antiwar movement and urged the utilization of incendiary devices to immobilize local draft boards, Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) buildings, other Government agencies and war industries. Other acts of violence were also proposed and detailed instructions and diagrams were contained in the pamphlet for the construction of simple incendiary devices. The pamphlet strongly emphasized the clandestine nature of such violent activity and urged that only two or three persons be knowledgeable of any action in order to preclude compromise.

In September 1968, within a 5-day period three ROTC establishments were sabotaged and a fourth threatened at diverse points across the Nation. On September 13, 1968, Callahan Hall, the Naval ROTC building at the University of California at Berkeley, was damaged by explosives which caused in excess of \$25,000 in damage. Two previous attempts were made to firebomb this building in 1968. On September 15, 1968, several firebombs were thrown into the ROTC armory at the University of Delaware damaging or destroying 300 military uniforms and public address system equipment. On September 18, 1968, a fire of undetermined origin caused extensive damage in Clark Hall, the Naval ROTC building at the University of Washington in Seattle. Prior to this date members of SDS at this university had announced the Naval ROTC unit as one of their "targets." Furthermore, at the scene of the fire, Robbie Sterns, self-described SDS activist, was observed chanting, "This is No. 1 and the fun has just begun; burn it down, burn it down."

In Storrs, Conn., a source reported that SDS was planning to blow up the ROTC building on September 17, 1968, at the University of Connecticut; however, the bombing attempt did not take place.

On September 29, 1968, the local CIA office at Ann Arbor, Mich., was bombed. Ann Arbor is the home of the University of Michigan where there have been numerous New Left activities in the past several years. The New Left at the university, and specifically SDS, has claimed credit for the bombing of this CIA office.

The New Left by innuendo made additional claims of violence in September 1968, when on September 29, at a Navy and Marine ROTC unit at Eugene, Oreg., a crane was damaged with explosives and several military vehicles were destroyed by being set afire. On September 10, 1968, five heavy army trucks were destroyed in explosions and fires at the National Guard armory at Van Nuys, Calif.

A 16-year-old narcotics addict advised the Detroit Police Department of identities of subjects involved in four recent bombings in

the Detroit area. To date, over 10 New Left individuals have been charged with being implicated in these bombings which were: the September 10, 1968, bombings of a Selective Service Office, Roseville, Mich., and of a U.S. Army vehicle, Detroit, Mich.; the September 29, 1968, bombing of CIA headquarters at the University of Michigan; and the October 14, 1968, bombing of the Science and Technology Building at the University of Michigan.

Five persons active in various phases of the New Left have thus far been charged with a number of bombings in the San Francisco, Calif., area, including the destruction of three Pacific Gas & Electric Co. towers in June 1968.

On February 20, 1969, Michael Siskind, a student at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., and SDS member, on a plea of guilty in Federal court at St. Louis was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment in connection with charges stemming from the attempted firebombing of the ROTC headquarters on the campus, December 3, 1968.

Between January 20 and January 28, 1969, high-power transmission towers were dynamited in and around Denver, Colo. On February 14, 1969, Cameron David Bishop, an SDS activist, was indicted by a Federal grand jury in connection with these incidents and is currently being sought as a fugitive.

It is certainly coincidental that in June 1968, at the SDS national convention, as I pointed out earlier, one of the workshops dealt with sabotage and explosives. Many of those who attended the SDS national convention returned to school in September 1968, and as noted previously, acts of violence occurred early in the school year. And the SDS continues to make available information regarding the use of explosives. For example, at a national council meeting of the SDS held in Boulder, Colo., from October 11, 1968, to October 13, 1968, copies of a pamphlet captioned "Sabotage" and setting forth instructions on how to make bombs and incendiary devices were left on the stage of the auditorium where the meeting was held.

The selective service facilities of this country have also been the targets of antiwar violence by individuals, including clergymen, resulting in destruction of or damage to selective service facilities or records.

Other acts of violence have occurred during some of the numerous demonstrations erupting on various college campuses since the beginning of 1968. These protest actions have ranged from those directed against the school administration, to those matters relating to the defense effort, such as the war in Vietnam, the draft, and the appearance of military and war industry recruiters on campus. Several of these demonstrations resulted in severe damage to the school facilities. For example, the total costs of the riots at Columbia University in April and May 1968, by the Students for a Democratic Society and other New Leftists, were approximately \$500,000. This amount included damages to ground, furnishings, and buildings and other related expenses.

Those incidents which concern damage to Federal facilities or property receive our immediate investigative attention and the results of the investigation are turned over to the Attorney General for prosecutive consideration. Where no Federal jurisdiction is involved, the matter rests with the local authorities.

#### DISTURBANCES AND RIOTS

There has been no lessening of racial tension in the United States. A particularly aggravating factor in the past few years has been the increased activity of emboldened Negro agitators and revolutionaries affiliated with black extremist groups who exhort and promote hate and violence. Their appeal to destructive action and guerrilla warfare has intensified, spreading a mood of lawlessness among sympathetic followers and among the

young criminal element, thereby increasing the potential for violence.

For example, the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., on April 4, 1968, was seized upon by extremist and criminal elements in Negro areas throughout the country as an excuse to riot, loot, vandalize, burn, snipe, and kill. Violence in varying degrees, ranging from minor disturbances to major riots erupted in more than 100 cities across the land following King's death. In the remaining months of 1968, serious disturbances occurred in more than 40 other cities across the Nation.

The April outbreaks and the subsequent disorders resulted in more than 60 deaths, injuries to thousands of persons, and millions of dollars in property damage. In a number of instances, the summoning of the National Guard and Federal troops to help restore law and order was found necessary. Acts of violence and disorder on college campuses and in the lower schools by black student groups, often aided by outside agitators, have reached alarming proportions and have added to the racial strife.

I would like to point out that in connection with recurring disturbances and riots, we have no jurisdiction over the protection of persons and property nor do we have responsibility for the policing or controlling of riotous conditions. Our responsibilities center around the development and dissemination of intelligence data concerning these situations, being ever alert to the detection of violations of Federal laws over which the FBI has investigative jurisdiction, including violations of the antiriot provisions of Public Law 90-284 which was approved on April 11, 1968.

As to intelligence data, through expanding coverage a great deal of valuable information relating to a variety of cases of violence and planned violence has been developed. This information is widely disseminated throughout the executive branch of the Government. In addition, where pertinent, State and local authorities have been kept advised of information developed in this field and the prompt dissemination of such information often enables them to take preventive measures to forestall acts of violence and to combat violence as it develops.

We were able, for example, through our coverage to provide the Baltimore, Md., Police Department identifying data regarding several members of the extremist Black Panther Party from New York City who were reportedly responsible for the firebombing of a supermarket in Baltimore, Md., in late August 1968.

#### DEMONSTRATIONS AT THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

Months before the National Democratic Convention was held at Chicago, Ill., in August 1968, all appropriate Federal and local authorities were fully aware that the convention was the target for disruption and violence by various dissent groups and individuals from throughout the United States.

It was clear from the information received that these groups and individuals desired to deliberately bring about a hostile confrontation with the established authority. Pre-convention plans for various demonstrations by New Left, antiwar, subversive, and other militant groups were made. In addition to these plans, allegations involving assassination plots against Vice President Humphrey, Senator Eugene McCarthy, and some prominent Negroes were also received. In view of this background, authorities were compelled to devise necessary and effective security precautions.

Numerous groups and their members were involved, in varying degrees, in the activities aimed at disrupting the convention. These included such organizations as the Communist Party-U.S.A., Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Youth International Party (also known as Yippies), Students for a Democratic Society, Black Panther Party,



and the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

This latter organization, a coalition organization representing a variety of antiwar, New Left and subversive groups, emerged as the dominant coordinating force in planning disruption at the convention. It is the organization, headed by David Dellinger, which I spoke of earlier and which has sponsored a number of major demonstrations—some of them violent—including the mass assault on the Pentagon during the March on Washington in October 1967.

Although the organizers boasted of having from 100,000 to 200,000 supporters converge on Chicago, only some 10,000 at the most actually appeared. These, however, were well organized for disruption.

Demonstrations held during the convention period included taunting of the police: they were referred to as "pigs," they were spat upon, obscenities were shouted at them and they were the targets of all kinds of unbelievable abuse; on several occasions undisciplined mobs intent on marching to the convention site without legal authority had to be repulsed by the police and National Guard. Reportedly many of the hippies used drugs regularly.

The demonstrations resulted in mass arrests. Also, there were numerous police and demonstrators injured. Approximately 650 arrests were made by local authorities and nearly 200 police officers were injured during the confrontations with the demonstrators. It has been estimated that more than 900 persons obtained emergency treatment for injuries received during the disorder.

Although the disorders were violently disruptive, it should be noted that not one life was lost. Also not to be lost sight of is the fact that the convention itself was not interrupted and the city was not paralyzed.

As an outgrowth of the confrontations with the authorities, numerous allegations were made of violations of Federal civil rights and antiriot law statutes. As to civil rights violations, the FBI investigated over 150 civil rights cases involving more than 200 victims. Nearly 1,300 antiriot law cases were investigated. More than 3,400 reports totaling over 26,000 pages setting out the results of more than 12,000 interviews were submitted. A Federal grand jury at Chicago on March 20, 1969, returned indictments charging eight persons with violating the new antiriot laws, seven police officers with violating civil rights statutes, one police officer for committing perjury before the grand jury, a former employee of the National Broadcasting Co. for concealing a microphone in a meeting room at the time of the Democratic National Convention.

Indicative of the tremendous drain placed on our manpower, the handling of civil rights and antiriot laws cases stemming from the convention demonstrations involved not only our entire Chicago office special agent staff of some 275 but in addition to 45 special agents brought in on special assignment, but the investigation was so widespread that general instructions as to the handling of it went to all of our offices.

#### DEMONSTRATION AT PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURATION

Subsequent to the violent demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention, the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam headed by David Dellinger addressed a paper to groups active in protesting the war in Vietnam. This paper called for demonstrations during the election campaign and called for a national action on January 20, 1969, during the Presidential Inauguration. Subsequent planning by the committee led to a program calling for workshops and conferences on January 18, 1969; rallies, a march, and a counterinaugural ball on January 19, 1969; and an "organized presence" along the inaugural parade route on January 20, 1969.

Rennie Davis, an official of the National Mobilization Committee, was appointed coordinator of the inaugural demonstrations. Local chapters of Students for a Democratic Society and other militant organizations, such as the Coalition for an Anti-imperialist Movement, the Yippies, and Women Strike for Peace, endorsed the demonstrations.

The demonstration activity at Washington, D.C., over the inaugural weekend began on January 18, 1969, with 600 to 1,000 individuals participating in workshops and conferences which were described as completely disorganized and chaotic. Among other activities on January 19 were a march by approximately 4,000 individuals and demonstrations including one at the Smithsonian Institution where a reception was being held for Vice President Agnew and his wife. Some of the demonstrators threw clods of dirt and other items and, as a result, it was necessary for police to break up the demonstration. During the meetings on January 19, 1969, several of the demonstrators called for a confrontation with the police on January 20, 1969. The counterinaugural ball, which was held by the demonstrators on the evening of January 19, 1969, was poorly attended and disorganized.

On January 20, 1969, 600 to 800 of the demonstrators positioned themselves along the inaugural parade route, particularly from 12th to 15th Street on Pennsylvania Avenue. They attempted to disrupt the parade by throwing objects, including a few smoke bombs, but were unsuccessful in their attempts. However, their actions made it necessary for police to disperse them.

During the 3 days of demonstrations, 119 individuals were arrested, the majority on charges of disorderly conduct. During the 3 days, six of those arrested were charged with mutilation, burning, or desecration of the U.S. flag. Of those arrested, 10 were juveniles.

It is interesting to note that a source advised that David Dellinger, the leader of the demonstrations, and his group, the National Mobilization Committee, lost control of the activities of the demonstrators during the inaugural parade.

#### COMMUNIST PARTY—U.S.A.

Although activities of old line Communist organizations in the United States have been overshadowed by the militancy of the New Left and racial disorders, the threat of communism has certainly not diminished. It flows from the Communist Party—U.S.A. with its blind obedience to the Soviet Union and from the various Communist splinter groups such as the Progressive Labor Party, the pro-Peking group I mentioned earlier which, in addition to stepped-up efforts to extend its influence on college campuses, has made a concerted effort to take over the national leadership of the Students for a Democratic Society, the militant, pro-Marxist, anarchistic, campus-based New Left group; the Socialist Workers Party; the Workers World Party; and their affiliates. These organizations seek to transform this country into a Communist state but differ on the plans to be followed.

The turbulence generated by the New Left stimulated all these organizations into moving toward increased militancy themselves. Seizing any pretext as the foundation for a protest demonstration, leaders of these organizations seek to proliferate each demonstration into a massive confrontation with the authorities to generate disrespect for law and order.

A typical example occurred in connection with the coalition group participating in picketing against establishments of the French Government in the United States in July 1968. In the Berkeley, Calif., area this coalition was led by an official of the Socialist Workers Party and included members of the Socialist Workers Party; the Young Socialist Alliance, the youth group of the Socialist Workers Party; Spartacist, a Trotskyite group; and others. The aggressive

action taken by this group necessitated a curfew in Berkeley in order to quell the disturbances.

The growing militancy of the old-line Communist organizations was also demonstrated at the Eighth National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance held November 28, through December 1, 1968, at Chicago, Ill. The Young Socialist Alliance is the youth and training section of the Socialist Workers Party, a militantly revolutionary party based upon the theories of Marx, Engels, and Lenin as interpreted by Leon Trotsky. Among the nearly 800 in attendance were seven enlisted men from the U.S. Army and several members of the Students for a Democratic Society, as well as individuals from Canada, Mexico, France, and West Germany. Members of the Black Panther Party, a militant black nationalist group, were among the speakers at the convention.

One speaker described those in attendance as being the vanguard of the young students and workers who are called upon to bring the liberating ideas of socialism to the American people. Another speaker appealed to the group to increase their efforts to reach the GIs, to invite them to participate in demonstrations, as a group of 100,000 GIs can make the revolution. At the time of the convention, Young Socialist Alliance members were reported to be located in 101 colleges or universities, 32 high schools, and five junior high schools.

While all the splinter organizations have their roots in the Communist movement, it is essential that it be clearly understood that there are ideological differences between them and that all these organizations are not part of the Communist Party—U.S.A. Most of these Communist splinter organizations follow the interpretation of Marxism-Leninism espoused by the late Leon Trotsky or Communist China.

The Communist Party—U.S.A., on the other hand, represents that part of the international Communist movement in the United States which is pro-Soviet. As a result, we find the Communist Party—U.S.A., following the line established by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union regardless of the effect that such action will have on the party's acceptance in the United States. Thus, during the past year we had party leader Gus Hall holding a press conference in Budapest, Hungary, in February 1968, where he declared that United States "imperialism" was the central issue uniting the 67 Communist and workers parties gathered in Budapest for a consultative meeting. It was also at this time that Hall stated the meeting had unanimously approved a proposal by the U.S. delegation that it send a message of sympathy and support to North Vietnam for its valiant stand against "American aggression."

The matter of unanimous support for the party line and other issues, such as the position the party should take as to black power and the fast-growing New Left movement brought about growing factionalism within the Communist Party—U.S.A., during 1968.

There were a number of party functionaries who were critical of the invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet troops and tanks. The position the party should take in regard to the activities of the New Left is also a matter of much discussion but in recognition of the New Left's role in attracting dissident youth, the party will relinquish some of its activity on college campuses to the New Left in order to concentrate on industry. In March 1969, the Communist Party, U.S.A. held a West Coast Youth Conference to revamp its youth organization, the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America. Since the membership of the DuBois Clubs has now declined to less than 100, it was deemed necessary to change the concept of the organization from a massive-type organization to a young Communist organization, but it would still remain under the

DuBois label. The loss of student members to the more active organizations of the New Left was indicated by the fact that working-class youth represented about 75 percent of those in attendance at the conference while students represented only 25 percent. In former years the ratio had been reversed.

Because of the factionalism over the issues mentioned above, the special convention of the party which was held in New York City from July 4 through July 7, 1968, was something less than a resounding success for Gus Hall and his supporters in the national leadership. It now appears that the 19th national convention scheduled for the period April 30 through May 4, 1969, will have similar results.

Despite the internal strife besetting it, however, the party makes it clear that while it may disagree with the means to destroy our form of government, it has never deviated from its objective of achieving a communized America.

#### COMMUNIST PARTY—U.S.A. AND THE BLACK POWER CONCEPT

This is evident in a pamphlet, "Black Power and Liberation—A Communist View," published by the party in December 1967. In it, Claude Lightfoot, chairman of the party's National Negro Commission, wrote that the party's opposition to guerrilla warfare by Negroes in the United States is not based on the rejection of violence. On the contrary, he emphasized that it is a matter of timing. In other words, in line with the historical Communist approach to rebellion, it is wrong to rebel unless one can be assured the time is right, and at this time the party judges the time to be inappropriate.

During 1968 we continued to see the formation of new black extremist organizations, some of which advocate outright anarchy, insurrection, rebellion, and overthrow of the U.S. Government and openly advocate "black power."

The emergence of a militant black power concept in the civil rights movement, particularly on the part of extremist groups, has placed the Communist Party—U.S.A. in a quandary. There is a strong pro-black power current among the lower echelon rank-and-file members of the party and the Negro composition of the party leans toward the black power prophets.

The Communist Party—U.S.A. is confronted with the dilemma of losing hold and influence over the more militant Negro youth within the party because of the attractiveness of the reckless propaganda of black power advocates. Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, for example, openly espouse the extreme positions of Fidel Castro, the late Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Mao Tse-tung, and the American varieties of irresponsible exponents of violence. The Communist Party—U.S.A. claims to disagree with these extreme positions at this particular time but conciliates with them for fear of being isolated from this sector of youth. It conciliates so much, in fact, that it is hard to determine whether the Communist Party is really for or against black power.

In February 1969 the party's Commission on Black Liberation (formerly the National Negro Commission) adopted a series of motions representing a decided shift from the advocacy of political action to deal with the racial issues to an acceptance of violence and guerrilla warfare as advocated by the violence-prone Black Panther Party which I will discuss later. The commission passed motions to accept the Black Panther Party program, to work as closely with the Black Panthers as the Black Panthers will permit, and to join the Black Panthers if this can be done. These motions were opposed by veteran Communist Party members and further battles concerning these issues can be expected within the party.

#### MORE PARTY OPEN ACTIVITY

Ever since its 18th national convention in June 1966 the party in this country has been moving more into open activities, running candidates for political office and attempting to improve its image with stepped-up public relations efforts through its publications. All this provides the party with many opportunities to propagandize the American people. While on a trip through the United States, in 1968, Gus Hall stated that through speaking appearances on television, on radio, and in person he was able to reach an estimated 50 million people.

In addition to continuing to publish the twice-weekly newspaper *The Worker*, party leaders worked hard during 1968 to accumulate finances and staff for a new daily publication, the *Daily World*, which began publication 5 days a week in July 1968. Publication of *The Worker* was then discontinued.

#### SPEAKING APPEARANCES ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES

Also, during the academic year 1967-68, the Communist Party—U.S.A. continued its program of having party leaders appear on college campuses as speakers, 48 such appearances having been made during that school year. This is a small decrease when compared with appearances during previous years. As I pointed out earlier, this is in line with the party's relinquishment of some of its activity on the campuses to the New Left in order to concentrate on industry.

I submit a list of names of these leaders, the dates of their appearances and where they appeared.

Mr. ROONEY. Without objection, we shall insert the list at this point in the record. (The list follows:)

#### PUBLIC APPEARANCES OF PARTY LEADERS ON CAMPUSES, SCHOOL YEAR 1967-68

Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y.: Claude Mack Lightfoot, September 27, 1967.  
University of Santa Clara, Santa Clara, Calif.: Herbert Aptheker, October 17, 1967.  
University of Santa Clara, Santa Clara, Calif.: Herbert Aptheker, October 18, 1967.  
University of Santa Clara, Santa Clara, Calif.: Herbert Aptheker, October 19, 1967.  
Gonzaga University, Spokane, Wash.: Clifford Sutherland, November 2, 1967.  
John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio: Philip Bart, November 9, 1967.

Portland State College, Portland, Oreg.: Donald Lee Hamerquist, November 15, 1967.  
Los Angeles Valley College, Van Nuys, Calif.: Dorothy Healey, November 21, 1967.  
University of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.: Bettina Aptheker Kurzweil, November 28, 1967.

Raymond College of the University of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.: Bettina Aptheker Kurzweil, November 28, 1967.

Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y.: Bettina Aptheker Kurzweil, January 10, 1968.  
Queens College, Flushing, N.Y.: Bettina Aptheker Kurzweil, January 11, 1968.

University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada: Herbert Aptheker, January 11, 1968.

University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada: Herbert Aptheker, January 12, 1968.  
St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minn.: Arnold Johnson, January 17, 1968.

Carroll College, Waukesha, Wis.: Arnold Johnson, January 22, 1968.

University of Dayton, Dayton, Ohio: Herbert Aptheker, January 24, 1968.

Brown University, Providence, R.I.: Herbert Aptheker, February 5, 1968.

Hofstra University, Hempstead, N.Y.: Herbert Aptheker, February 6, 1968.

California State College at Hayward, Hayward, Calif.: Bettina Aptheker Kurzweil, February 8, 1968.

Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich.: Herbert Aptheker, February 10, 1968.

Assumption College, Worcester, Mass.: Herbert Aptheker, February 15, 1968.

Denison University, Granville, Ohio: Herbert Aptheker, February 20, 1968.

University of Oregon, Eugene, Oreg.: Bettina Aptheker Kurzweil, February 21, 1968.

Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio: Victor Perlo, February 23, 1968.

Indiana State University, Terre Haute, Ind.: Herbert Aptheker, February 24, 1968.

Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Ind.: Herbert Aptheker, March 19, 1968.

University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.: Herbert Aptheker, March 27, 1968.

Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis.: Herbert Aptheker, March 28, 1968.

University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.: Herbert Aptheker, March 29, 1968.

University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S. Dak.: Herbert Aptheker, April 1, 1968.

Stanislaus State College, Turlock, Calif.: Bettina Aptheker Kurzweil, April 3, 1968.

University of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.: Herbert Aptheker, April 3, 1968.

College of the City of New York, New York, N.Y.: Gus Hall, April 11, 1968.

University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.: Herbert Aptheker, April 22, 1968.

Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, Mich.: Herbert Aptheker, April 26, 1968.

John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio: Philip Bart, May 5, 1968.

Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.: Herbert Aptheker, May 6, 1968.

San Fernando Valley State College, Northridge, Calif.: Dorothy Healey, May 7, 1968.

San Fernando Valley State College, Northridge, Calif.: Dorothy Healey, May 11, 1968.

University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N. Dak.: Gus Hall, May 14, 1968.

Purdue University, West Lafayette, Ind.: Herbert Aptheker, May 14, 1968.

Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio: Herbert Aptheker, May 15, 1968.

University of Illinois, Circle Campus, Chicago, Ill.: Louis Diskin, May 16, 1968.

Shasta Junior College, Redding, Calif.: Bettina Aptheker Kurzweil, May 21, 1968.

University of Minnesota, Duluth, Minn.: Arnold Johnson, May 23, 1968.

Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.: James West, Ted Pearson, May 31, 1968.

Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.: James West, Ted Pearson, June 1, 1968.

#### MEMBERSHIP

Mr. HOOVER. As late as April 1968, Gus Hall claimed that the party had 14,000 dues paying members and some 100,000 supporters.

#### MASS MEMBERSHIP ORGANIZATIONS WHOSE PROGRAMS UNDERMINE RESPECT FOR LAW AND ORDER

A serious law enforcement problem is posed by mass membership organizations whose programs have the effect of undermining respect for law and order. Some directly or indirectly advocate defiance of the law and hostility toward constituted authority.

#### Klan-type organizations

There are 14 major Klan-type organizations in existence with numerous offshoots therefrom. The combined hard-core membership is approximately 8,500 and, in addition, there are thousands of sympathizers. Although overall active membership has decreased in recent years, Klan activity has spread from the South to several northern States. Also, the Klan has continued to engage in acts of violence. For example, in June 1968, two persons connected with a Klan group approached the Meridian, Miss., home of a prominent Jewish citizen with a box containing 29 sticks of dynamite and a timing device. Meridian policemen who were watching this home challenged these individuals and in an ensuing gunfight one of these persons, Kathleen Ainsworth, a Jackson, Miss., schoolteacher, was killed and the other, Thomas A. Tarrants III, was wounded as were a Meridian policeman and an innocent bystander. On November 27, 1968, Tar-



rants was sentenced in local court to 30 years in prison for the bombing attempt.

We have continued our intensified program to infiltrate the Klan at all levels. This not only provides data to assist us in the investigation of matters under our jurisdiction, but enables us to disseminate a large amount of information to Federal, State, and local authorities regarding Klan plans and activities.

#### *Other hate-type groups*

Several small hate-type groups with an exclusively white membership continue to parade under the guise of patriotism, anti-communism, and the like. Underneath the surface, however, is hatred for Negroes, Catholics, those of the Jewish faith, and Government leaders. Although small in numbers, these groups tend to gain considerable public attention by their demonstrations and other publicity-seeking acts.

The American Nazi Party, now known as the National Socialist White Peoples Party, falls in this hate-type category. This is the outfit which was headed by George Lincoln Rockwell until his assassination in August 1967. At that time it had about 100 members but it has since been beset by internal strife and it has a dwindling membership at this time.

The National States Rights Party, based in Savannah, Ga., and led by Dr. Edward R. Fields, is another such group. It has a hard-core membership of about 150 and urges segregation and white power. The group continues its publication "The Thunderbolt," which has a subscription list of approximately 10,000 and many of the people on the list contribute small amounts of money to the organization.

#### *Minutemen*

The Minutemen organization is another group receiving our continuing, close attention. This is the group which has the claimed purpose of preparing its members to overthrow the Government of the United States when the Government is taken over by the Communists. It continues to be headed by Robert DePugh and headquarters at Norborne, Mo.

Much disunity exists within the organization as a result of arrests of individual members on local, State, and national charges. On June 22, 1968, seven Minutemen were convicted at Spokane, Wash., of conspiracy to violate the Federal Bank Robbery Statute. This stemmed from their plans to rob a series of banks for the purpose of raising funds to finance their organization. Included in the indictment but not tried were Robert DePugh and Walter Patrick Peyson, one of his chief lieutenants. DePugh and Peyson are currently fugitives from justice as a result of this indictment.

In addition, DePugh, in January 1967, entered a plea of nolo contendere to a charge of willfully causing the transportation of a revolver in interstate commerce in violation of the Federal Firearms Act and was sentenced to imprisonment for 1 year. Appeals were denied and on November 27, 1968, a warrant was issued by the court when DePugh failed to appear as ordered to begin serving the 1-year sentence.

During the early morning hours of August 24, 1968, the Connecticut State Police, acting on information from the FBI, surprised a small band of armed Minutemen as they attempted to storm a camp of a pacifist group at Voluntown, Conn. The Minutemen began firing upon the police and in the ensuing gun battle four Minutemen and one police officer were wounded. A total of five Minutemen were arrested at the campsite and another was taken into custody later. The raiding Minutemen were heavily armed with rifles and handguns. They had a large amount of ammunition and a supply of gasoline-type Molotov cocktails. All of the arrested Minutemen are awaiting trial on local charges stemming from the attempted camp raid.

During November 1968, a series of Minutemen propaganda leaflets were distributed through use of mortar-type devices. The leaflets were contained in cans and lofted through exploding the devices, after which the leaflets fell to the ground over a wide area. These mortars were exploded in scattered cities throughout the country, including Kansas City, Kans.; Dallas, Tex.; New Orleans, La.; Salt Lake City, Utah; Washington, D.C.; and others.

Minutemen, on instructions from their leaders, thereafter constructed additional mortar-type devices to launch leaflet-filled canisters. Five canisters were set off in early February, 1969, in Florida and Texas cities. This propaganda barrage was planned for numerous cities throughout the country and through it the Minutemen hoped to receive considerable radio, television and newspaper publicity. We are conducting intensive investigation to identify those responsible for the planned detonations and through them to locate the two fugitive Minutemen leaders.

The Minutemen are in the process of reorganizing. This involves the establishment of an underground apparatus. Security is being tightened and members have been instructed to prepare caches of equipment, hideouts, and safe houses. While the group boasts of membership in the thousands, there are actually only about 500 members and many of these have become inactive.

#### *Extremist militant black nationalist groups*

Certain organizations claiming to be civil rights organizations but which, in fact, preach hatred for the white race, demand immunity from laws, and advocate violence, constitute a serious threat to our country's internal security. The revolutionary stand taken by many members of extremist black nationalist organizations, including the advocacy of anarchy and revolution and a demand for the overthrow of the U.S. Government, has made it necessary for the FBI to intensify its intelligence operations in this field through the penetration of these groups with informants and sources in order to be kept aware of their plans and objectives. This penetration has been made at all levels including the top echelon of these extremist groups.

These groups claim that the United States only represents the white race; therefore, they have aligned themselves with all non-white races of the world. Many oppose the U.S. involvement in Vietnam as a war between this predominantly white Nation and nonwhite people. Many are pro-Marxist in their thinking and align themselves with countries like Cuba and Communist China as proper examples to follow to bring about their own aims and goals, namely, revolution. In an effort to obtain these objectives, they actively study guerrilla warfare, use of firearms and karate in preparation for violent action against the U.S. Government.

The past year has seen a proliferation of these organizations throughout the United States, thus increasing the demand upon the FBI's manpower and resources. Among such groups are the following:

#### *Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee*

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) under the leadership of former National Chairman Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, has developed into a full-blown all-Negro revolutionary organization.

One dominant figure at this time in the organization is James Forman. At the national conference held in Atlanta, Ga., in early June 1968, Forman was responsible for a complete reorganization of SNCC patterned after the structure of another militant black nationalist organization, the Black Panther Party. SNCC endeavored to effect a close working alliance with the Black Panther Party; however, due to the extreme militancy of the Black Panther Party, leaders of SNCC

severed relations with that organization in July 1968.

James Forman has many contacts with representatives of foreign countries and has made a number of trips abroad. In April 1968, he traveled to Sweden as part of a group which met with individuals representing the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

Brown has been sentenced to 5 years in prison and fined \$2,000 for violation of the Federal Firearms Act. He has been indicted on a charge of assaulting and intimidating a Federal officer and obstruction of justice. Brown also has been indicted by the State of Maryland on a charge of inciting arson. He is free on bond awaiting appeal or trial on the various charges.

In August 1968, SNCC officially severed relations with Stokely Carmichael because of his "extremist ideas" and the fact that his wife, singer Miriam Makeba, exhibits "imperialistic tendencies."

Carmichael was a prime mover in the formation of the Black United Front in the District of Columbia. This group is a coalition of moderate and militant Negro leaders and organizations which Carmichael declared was organized for the purpose of black people unifying their forces against the major enemy which he said is white America.

Carmichael has affiliated with the Black Panther Party. At a rally of this group held at Los Angeles, Calif., on August 24, 1968, Carmichael was introduced as a leader of the Black Panther Party. His official title is that of "prime minister." Carmichael indicated a need for the black man to obtain weapons, stating black men must unite socially, economically, and militarily to avoid extermination.

Shortly after returning to the United States in December 1967 from an extensive trip abroad, Carmichael established residence in Washington, D.C., where he resided until late November 1968 when he moved to New York City. Carmichael arrived in Stockholm, Sweden, on December 29, 1968, with his wife, Miriam Makeba, who had a singing engagement in that city. Carmichael has indicated he plans to establish residence in Guinea and he did arrive in that country on February 17, 1969.

(Discussion off the record.)

#### *Black Panther Party*

Mr. Hoover. One of the most active black extremist groups is the Black Panther Party. It originated in Oakland, Calif., in 1966 and now has extended its activities to numerous cities throughout the United States.

Its members gained notoriety initially because of their practice of carrying rifles and pistols in plain view on the streets of Oakland while on "defense patrols" to prevent alleged police brutality.

On May 2, 1967, a group of Black Panther Party members armed with rifles, shotguns, and handguns invaded the chamber of the California State Assembly, while that body was in session, to protest pending gun legislation.

More recently its "minister of defense," Huey Newton, is appealing his conviction on Sept. 8, 1968, for having shot and killed an Oakland police officer who had stopped him in connection with a motor vehicle violation in October 1967.

On still another occasion, eight members of this black extremist organization were arrested for complicity in a gun battle with Oakland police on April 6, 1968, during which one Black Panther Party member was killed. Thirteen rifles, four handguns, and four shotguns were confiscated from the participants.

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, minister of information of the Black Panther Party, achieved notoriety rivaling that of Stokely Carmichael during 1968. A parolee who was freed in December 1966 after serving 9 years in California prisons, Cleaver was returned to prison in April 1968 due to his involvement in a

gun battle with Oakland, Calif., police. He was again released after 2 months following a court ruling that his parole had been improperly revoked for political activity. This decision was overruled by higher California courts and Cleaver was scheduled to return to prison on November 27, 1968. He failed to appear and on December 10, 1968, a Federal fugitive warrant was issued charging him with unlawful flight to avoid confinement.

Cleaver ran as presidential candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party and in this capacity made a series of speeches on college campuses. These received widespread publicity because of their extreme obscenity and calls for revolutionary action by black people.

Another active Black Panther Party leader is George Mason Murray, minister of education. He is also a member of the Central Committee of the San Francisco State College Black Student Union. The latter organization has been deeply involved in the campus agitation which has plagued that college during the current school year.

The political philosophy of the Black Panther Party is based in part on the writings of Mao Tse-tung of Communist China. It advocates that its members study the teachings of Mao Tse-tung. Instructions have been given to members on the making and the use of Molotov cocktails. Members have also been instructed in guerrilla warfare tactics in preparation for a showdown with established authority. It is reported that in the near future scheduled training sessions in California will teach guerrilla warfare tactics to selected members from all parts of the United States.

#### *Republic of New Africa*

The Republic of New Africa was formed in Detroit, Mich., March 30-31, 1968, at a conference sponsored by the Malcolm X Society. Representatives from throughout the United States were in attendance. The announced purpose of the organization is to establish a black nation within the United States composed of the States of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, as well as ghetto areas in large cities.

It elected as its president-in-exile Robert F. Williams, a militant black nationalist and a fugitive from a North Carolina kidnapping charge who fled to Cuba in 1961 and then moved on to Peking, China, in 1966. He traveled to Tanzania, Africa, in May 1968 and returned to China in September 1968.

Two leaders and principal architects of the Republic of New Africa, Milton Henry, an attorney from Pontiac, Mich., and his brother, Richard Bullock Henry, a former civilian employee of the U.S. Army at Detroit, Mich., traveled to Tanzania in June 1968 for the purpose of meeting with Williams to map plans for furthering the formation of the Republic of New Africa.

In the spring of 1968, a pamphlet was distributed containing instructions on how to make explosives of various types, including Molotov cocktails, as well as ways to use these against such military vehicles as an Army tank.

This organization has attempted to buy land in Mississippi on which they hope to establish a colony which will gain control of the State by electing their people to the sheriff's offices. Through this foothold, they will take over the entire State and then in turn the States of Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. They have established consulates in Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dayton, Detroit, Indianapolis, Los Angeles, and New York City.

The Republic of New Africa (RNA) has established a political arm known as the Afro-American Liberation Party and a military arm known as the Black Legion. The Black Legion will consist of an overt uniformed army to protect RNA property and citizens and a covert or underground army to attack enemies of the nation.

On March 29, 1969, at the conclusion of a session of the second national convention of the RNA held in the New Bethel Baptist Church in Detroit, Mich., individuals apparently acting as bodyguards for Milton Henry opened fire on two policemen, killing one and critically wounding the other.

After the shooting began, RNA members reentered the church where some individuals fired from windows on additional police called to the scene. When the police forced their way into the church these individuals dropped their weapons and mingled with the crowd; 153 persons were arrested and police confiscated three shotguns, two rifles, and one .32 caliber handgun from inside the church. Five RNA members were wounded and hospitalized. A recorder's court judge released 151 of those arrested including some of whom a paraffin test proved they had recently fired weapons, the judge giving as the basis for release the fact that subjects were denied their constitutional rights in that the tests were performed prior to their being advised of their right to counsel. The two remaining were held on carrying concealed weapons charges with one additionally charged with assault with intent to commit murder.

#### *Nation of Islam (NOI)*

The long-established Nation of Islam, headquartered in Chicago, Ill., and which teaches violent hatred of the white race and nonallegiance to the United States, continues to be the largest black extremist group in the country. It has been somewhat overshadowed during the past year by other more vocal groups such as the Black Panther Party.

#### *Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM)*

RAM is a black extremist organization oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. Its leader, Max Stanford of Philadelphia, was in prison from July 1967 to May 1968, and is now a fugitive from justice in both Philadelphia, Pa., and New York City. Although RAM has not been active as an organization because of Stanford's troubles with the law, the amount of RAM literature being distributed increased after he was released from prison in May 1968. There are reports of a possible merger of RAM and the Republic of New Africa (RNA), a Detroit organization advocating the establishment of a separate black nation in five Southern States. Robert F. Williams, a fugitive from justice who fled to Cuba and then to Communist China, who now reportedly wants to return to the United States, is associated with both groups. The membership of RAM is less than 50, most of whom are in Philadelphia and New York City.

#### *Third National Conference on Black Power*

Some 3,000 persons registered for the Third National Conference on Black Power held in Philadelphia, Pa., from August 29 through September 1, 1968. There were moderates and extremists and the extremism of some of the delegates to the conference was evident by some of the matters discussed in a workshop concerning the control of "white violence." These ranged from discussions of guerrilla warfare and terrorism, to the use of chemicals to make explosive and incendiary devices.

#### *Foreign influences in the black nationalist movement*

The question of foreign influences in the black nationalist movement is a matter of grave concern to the FBI and during the course of our investigative activity in this field we are ever alert to this possibility. For one thing there has been travel abroad by such militant black nationalists as Stokely Carmichael of the Black Panther Party, James Forman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Milton and Richard Bullock Henry of the Republic of New Africa, and others.

In April 1968, black power posters were sent to the United States from Cuba. These posters urged "Retaliation to Crime: Revolu-

tionary Violence" and were distributed by the Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization, Havana, Cuba.

#### *Impact of New Left and black extremist student movements*

Mr. Hoover. While the phenomenon of revolutionary "protest movements" manifested by campus rebellions and riotous demonstrations throughout the world, some of which I have briefly described, reached a new peak during the past year, it has been building up for a decade. The wave of extremism, which has been marked by growing violence and lawlessness, has without a doubt had a harmful impact on this country in a number of ways. It has impaired the successful and speedy prosecution of the Vietnam war effort; jeopardized the struggle for civil rights and increased animosity between blacks and whites; severely disrupted the normal processes of our academic system; and has served to advance Communist causes both national and international.

At the same time, the New Left and black extremist student protest activity has contributed greatly to the development of a lawless and insurrectionary atmosphere which has encouraged widespread contempt for established authority and promoted criminal, violent behavior. Overall, it is apparent that these groups are clearly subversive forces which represent an ever increasing danger to our national welfare and security.

In this regard, we have developed information on a number of occasions whereby non-students appeared on campuses during periods of student agitation to participate in campus disorders. Information has also been developed indicating that extremist agitators have traveled from one campus to another exhorting students to protest the administration of their schools, and some students have participated in disorders on campuses other than their own.

Information concerning the activities of such individuals is furnished to the Department of Justice for determination as to whether violations of the antiriot laws or other Federal violations exist.

#### *FBI COVERAGE OF SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS*

I am pleased to be able to advise the committee that in spite of the fact that we have been confronted with a growing number of individuals, organizations, and problems in the security field requiring investigative attention, we have been able to follow closely and report on their diverse activities and thus keep the appropriate authorities advised.

Through informants we have been able to penetrate the organizations at high levels, both locally and nationally. The services of these men and women in their informant capacity have also enabled us to continue our deep penetrations in the intelligence operations being conducted in this country by representatives of the Communist bloc particularly Russia, Cuba, and Red China.

#### *Telephone taps*

We make use of a total of 49 telephone taps and five microphone installations in Bureau cases in the security field. All were approved in advance and in writing by the Attorney General.

#### *ESPIONAGE AND COUNTERINTELLIGENCE*

Reports from a host of reliable FBI sources clearly indicate no letup on the part of the Communist countries in their intelligence attacks against the United States for the purpose of penetrating our national defense interests. As all Americans know, it is the intent and objective of Russia and the other Communist countries to spread their brand of the Communist system wherever possible.

The coverage and thwarting of these foreign intelligence activities have over the years resulted in a steadily increasing workload for the FBI.

#### *Soviet Union and other Communist countries*

Bases for the intelligence operations of the Communist bloc continue to be their official



establishments including their diplomatic establishments and their delegations to the United Nations. The intelligence services of the Communist-bloc countries continue to make full use of all of these as a cover for their operations. Many of the officials assigned to these establishments are actually intelligence officers engaged in the clandestine direction of agents and sources in our country.

In carrying out their aims we find the Communist intelligence services attempting to penetrate such key U.S. agencies as the FBI, CIA, State Department, and Department of Defense.

#### *Soviet-bloc official personnel*

The official personnel of the Soviet-bloc countries openly in this country play an important role in this vast intelligence-gathering operation. The number of official personnel of the Soviet bloc here on April 1, 1969, totaled 2,537, including dependents. Some idea of the number of intelligence personnel involved can be obtained from the fact that a Soviet defector has stated that 70-80 percent of all personnel assigned to Soviet diplomatic establishments work in the intelligence field.

This chart shows the total Soviet-bloc official personnel in this country on July 1 for the years 1963 through 1968 and the current complement here on April 1, 1969. It also illustrates the fact that over the years the number has increased substantially.

Most of the official personnel of the Soviet bloc in this country are from Russia. This chart gives a breakdown by countries of the Soviet-bloc official personnel in the United States as of April 1, 1969.

In addition to the officials, there are those deep-cover intelligence agents operating in our country who have no ostensible connection with their foreign principal. Once a deep-cover agent has gained entry to our country, he easily becomes assimilated into our vast population under an assumed identity. His detection and identification at this point become a counterintelligence problem of extreme magnitude.

#### *Cuba*

Since Fidel Castro established a Communist beachhead in Cuba in 1959 he has from that point forward spared no effort to expand the Communist takeover to the remainder of Latin America. As a result, Cuba represents the greatest potential threat to peace in the Western Hemisphere. In this regard Castro has not only publicly supported open rebellion by Communist-led groups in most of Latin America, but he has supplied men, materiel and logistical support in a further effort to overthrow existing democratic regimes in Latin-American countries.

Significantly, in addition to the training of guerrillas for the exportation of Castro's revolution to other Latin-American countries, information has come to our attention that Negroes are being trained in Cuba for infiltration into the United States. This is particularly important when viewed in the light of open support given during several recent international Communist conferences held in Havana to the concept of armed insurrection by black power advocates and other black extremist groups in the United States.

Since Castro took over Cuba in 1959, over 400,000 Cubans have left their homeland for refuge in the United States, the flow since December 1965 having been at the rate of over 3,700 a month. This adds to our work in two areas. On one hand, many of the refugees carry on activities to overthrow Castro. These activities have ranged from the bombing of Cuban establishments as well as establishments of countries carrying on trade with Cuba, to sea and air attacks against the Cuban mainland. This continued militancy necessitates our keeping track of Cuban refugee activities and conducting appropriate

investigations where there are indications that Federal statutes have been violated.

On the other hand, the possibility of Cuban intelligence agents being infiltrated into this country through the refugee stream is always present and requires continuing investigative attention.

Cuba, of course, as in the case of other Communist bloc countries, relies heavily on its only diplomatic establishment in the United States, the Cuban Mission to the United Nations in New York City, to serve as a legal base of operations for clandestine intelligence gathering activity.

#### *China*

The potent threat to our national security posed by Red China still exists. In fact, the blatant, belligerent and illogical statements made by Red China's spokesmen during the past year leave no doubt that the United States is Communist China's No. 1 enemy. This bitterness towards the United States and other Western countries—even the Soviet Union—is a factor in Red China's ambition to equal other major powers economically, militarily and, especially, in scientific endeavors.

This Red Chinese goal has resulted in Chinese Communist intelligence activities in this country, overt as well as covert, to obtain needed material, particularly in the scientific field.

In one clandestine effort in 1967, which we thwarted, a Chinese American attempted to send electronic equipment to Hong Kong by way of Canada. This Chinese American headed an electronic company in the United States and the components involved, which could have been used in aerospace research, missile tracking, and radar, were sent to a Hong Kong businessman, temporarily in Toronto, Canada. Based on information furnished by the FBI, he was arrested by Canadian authorities in Toronto for making a false customs declaration, the electronics components being declared as replacement parts for printing machines. He was convicted and served a 60-day sentence.

We are being confronted with a growing amount of work in being alert for Chinese Americans and others in this country who would assist Red China in supplying needed material or promoting Red Chinese propaganda. For one thing, Red China has been flooding the country with its propaganda and there are over 300,000 Chinese in the United States, some of whom could be susceptible to recruitment either through ethnic ties or hostage situations because of relatives in Communist China.

In addition, up to 20,000 Chinese immigrants can come into the United States each year and this provides a means to send illegal agents into our Nation. There are active Chinese Communist sympathizers in the Western Hemisphere in a position to aid in operations against the United States.

The Chinese Communists do not have a legal base in the United States from which to conduct intelligence operations. In Canada, however, there is an office of the New China News Agency which poses as a legitimate news-gathering organization. Actually, its real function is to serve as a base for Red Chinese propaganda activity.

A growing problem which threatens to place a heavy burden on our investigative resources concerns the approximately 40,000 Hong Kong based Chinese seamen, many actually residing on the China mainland. We are aware of situations where they have served as couriers in intelligence operations. There have also been instances of mutinies on foreign ships by Chinese crews waving the book "Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung."

Of the 40,000-odd crewman, on any given day three-fourths of them are on vessels throughout the world. Some 27,000 of the total crew complement are members of the Chinese Communist-dominated Hong Kong Seamen's Union. In respect to the United

States, there are thousands of entries made by these crewmen into the United States cities each year when their ships dock here. Although it is not necessary for a seaman to desert ship to perform an intelligence assignment, it is noted that there were over 700 desertions by Chinese crewmen in the United States in fiscal year 1967, and this accounted for more than 80 percent of the total desertions by Chinese crewmen throughout the world during that year. It is significant to note that desertions by Chinese crewmen jumped to some 930 during the fiscal year 1968.

#### *STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY*

Mr. SIKES. Are you asking that the SDS be listed among subversive groups?

Mr. HOOPER. As I previously indicated, all of our investigative material concerning the Students for a Democratic Society has been submitted to the Internal Security Division of the Department for its consideration in this connection.

Mr. SIKES. Would you recommend this be listed as a subversive organization?

Mr. HOOPER. That is a matter for determination by the Department.

#### *COMMUNIST INFLUENCE ON MILITANT LEFTIST GROUPS*

Mr. SIKES. Would you tell us something about the degree of control which the Communists now exercise over some of the more militant leftist groups in this country? There is a feeling that Communist control may have slipped somewhat and that some of these groups are going further than even the Communists would want to go in their demands for destructive action.

Do you feel there has been a lessening of the Communist influence over, for instance, the more militant youth groups?

Mr. HOOPER. I do not, Mr. Chairman. There has been a steadily increasing degree of hardcore Communist influence in the New Left movement which has resulted from a growing acceptance of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary concepts by the leaders of the movement. This is shown, for example, by the fact that the thrust of the movement has gone through four specific stages; namely: (1) civil rights, (2) antiwar, (3) antiliberism, and finally (4) revolutionary communism. Originally, the New Left movement was basically anarchistic in nature and rejected authoritarianism. Its adherents opposed old-line Communist participation in their activities. Subsequently, however, they welcomed Communist participation and members of old-line, hardcore Communist organizations such as the Communist Party—U.S.A. and its youth group, the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America; the Socialist Workers Party, and its youth group, the Young Socialist Alliance; the Workers World Party, and its youth group, Youth Against War and Fascism; and the Progressive Labor Party infiltrated the New Left movement extensively. Members of these old-line Communist organizations have had increasing success in their respective efforts to establish their own forms of authoritarian direction and control over the movement.

The growing Marxist-Leninist revolutionary imprint becomes apparent in regard to the disorder and disruption instigated by the New Left movement on college campuses. Colleges and universities are described as instruments of repression and tools of the ruling class used to suppress the working class and must be attacked as such.

What is needed is more guts on the part of many presidents of the universities and colleges. They should expel the violent militants who take the law into their own hands rather than grant them amnesty for their criminal acts. These militants, under the pretense of the struggle for student rights, deny the majority of students their right to pursue education in a peaceful and orderly atmosphere by their disruptive tactics. Yet, at the same time many naive school administrators even go so far as to interfere with

the prosecution of these militant hoodlums in criminal courts.

Many of the school administrators appear unable to distinguish between legitimate protest and unlawful acts and there are far too many bleeding hearts among them whose palliative attitude has served only to magnify the problem by encouraging the escalation of demands and further disorders.

Mr. SIKES. I could not agree more fully and appreciate the fact you have said this in such an emphatic way.

My question was addressed primarily to Communist control over the Leftist Youth movements. Would the same answer apply to Communist influence on the more militant Black Power movements?

Mr. HOOVER. The Black Panthers, the most violent of all, and several others almost as bad, are organizations that the Communist Party has not been able to control. The black militants are more or less a law unto themselves and want no leadership other than their own.

The Black Panthers originated in California and have now spread throughout the country. This is pure and simple gangsterism. They are recruiting known criminals and hoodlums and encouraging them to engage in a broad range of terroristic tactics and other criminal actions while explaining that such actions, being revolutionary in nature, are justified. As I testified, they are having guerrilla warfare tactics schools in California in the near future.

#### ANTIWAR PAPERS ON MILITARY BASES

Mr. SIKES. There have been a rash of subversive newspapers, at least anti-war, and in some instances anti-American newspapers, distributed on military bases. Most of them apparently are printed off base but they like to give the impression they are being printed on the base where they are distributed.

At any rate they are distributed on various bases. Has Communist association or direction been associated with these papers or are they simply the work of the nut fringe?

Mr. HOOVER. No, the work of the dedicated revolutionaries who are against ROTC and against our war effort in Vietnam.

They are not newspapers in the sense of being published regularly but they are issued from time to time. We have identified most of the writers of this material and have referred these matters to the Department for any prosecutive action warranted.

Mr. SIKES. On at least one occasion I asked the immediate previous Attorney General what action was being taken against Stokely Carmichael. The answer was in each instance that the matter was under study, under investigation. Nothing ever was done.

What are his present activities? Is he out of the country?

Mr. HOOVER. He is out of the country.

Carmichael married a singer in this country and lived in Washington, D.C., where he resided until November 1968 when he moved to New York City. He and his wife arrived in Sweden, on December 29, 1968.

Mr. SIKES. He is not under indictment, is he?

Mr. HOOVER. No charge has been brought against Carmichael.

Mr. JOELSON. I believe your statement said that he went to Guinea in February.

Mr. HOOVER. He arrived in Guinea on February 17, 1969.

He spent about 2 months in Sweden where his wife appeared as a night club singer.

#### STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Mr. JOELSON. With regard to the Students for a Democratic Society and their acquisition of funds, it occurred to me that they may be getting funds from foundations which are tax exempt.

Mr. HOOVER. We referred to the Internal Revenue Service all instances where foundations or individuals gave large sums of money to SDS.

Mr. JOELSON. I remember at one time the

Ku Klux Klan was soliciting contributions claiming them to be tax deductible.

I wrote a letter to the Internal Revenue Service and that was stopped. I would imagine the same thing could be done if there are any deductions being asked for contributions for SDS.

Mr. HOOVER. I hope so.

Mr. JOELSON. With regard to the SDS I notice you call it a Communist—

Mr. HOOVER. A Communist-anarchistic group.

Mr. JOELSON. My impression of them was that they are against the establishment. They really have no program except to tear down.

Would you say they are a Communist organization in the sense we understand communism, that they want to establish a Communist government?

Mr. HOOVER. Again, it is important to understand that the New Left movement is a splintered movement with varying shades of ideology and differing objectives. The hard-line Marxist-Leninist element certainly looks to the establishment of a Communist government in this country. Other elements representative of the nihilistic, anarchistic philosophy would be satisfied simply with the destruction of our form of government to be followed by an ill-defined communal state.

Mr. TOLSON. Gus Hall, Communist Party leader, said this is one of the organizations they have going for them.

Mr. HOOVER. Hall made that statement publicly.

Mr. JOELSON. That is very revealing. I think most people regard them as just anarchists without a program.

Mr. HOOVER. They have definite programs for disorder and disruption in regard to their current revolutionary attacks against colleges.

Mr. JOELSON. I know they do in colleges but I meant broader programs such as communism.

Mr. CEDERBERG. I brought with me this morning and made copies for Congressman Slack, but evidently he has taken them with him, a brochure that the SDS puts out. This was brought back from the University of Florida. It is a clear blueprint of just exactly their whole procedure.

Then there is another one which was made available and sent to me telling how they are to go about getting summer jobs, where they go. It gives a complete blueprint of how to do it, how to act when you get there, how to organize within that group, their kind of propaganda. They are two very revealing documents that I think everyone should read.

Mr. HOOVER. They receive wide circulation by the Students for a Democratic Society. They have definite programs in regard to establishing a base for revolutionary action in high schools, communities, industry, and the military.

Mr. JOELSON. I know they have a program of disruption and destruction, but I was not aware of the fact they had a program beyond that to participate in Communist activities.

Mr. HOOVER. Oh, yes; they engage in a broad range of Communist revolutionary activities.

As Hall, the general secretary of the Communist Party of America, said, the Students for a Democratic Society was an organization which the party had going for it.

#### SOVIET ESPIONAGE ACTIVITIES

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Hoover, I believe it would be very helpful if you could discuss with the subcommittee what is occurring in the area of what I am sure are continuing efforts of the Soviet Union to obtain U.S. industrial information, secrets, data and so forth, and how should the U.S. businessman handle situations where they come in contact with Soviet representatives?

Mr. HOOVER. There has never been any lessening in the Soviet effort to cultivate American businessmen and obtain from them

industrial data and trade secrets. Now socially aggressive, the Soviets push themselves upon their targets in the business world with varied gestures of friendship. It is important for all businessmen to recognize that the "friendly" Soviet, buying drinks and dinners and expensive gifts, is a potential threat. I, of course, recognize that there are legitimate business dealings between Soviet-bloc officials and American firms. The FBI is not interested in such dealings. The FBI is interested, on the other hand, in those Soviets who abuse their presence in our country and try to buy, steal or otherwise obtain our secrets. Businessmen suspecting Soviet acquaintances of such activity should immediately advise the FBI.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. How active is the Amtorg Trading Corp., the Soviet trading organization, at this time in establishing or attempting to establish relations with business contacts to carry on its activities, including industrial espionage, in the United States?

Mr. HOOVER. The Amtorg Trading Corp. continues to be used by the Soviet intelligence services as a cover for placing intelligence personnel in the United States. The case of the Soviet, Igor A. Ivanov, is in point. Ivanov, here as an Amtorg employee, was sentenced in 1964 to 20 years' imprisonment for conspiracy to commit espionage. He remains free on \$100,000 cash bail, put up by the Soviet Government, while his case is being appealed. Soviet trade representatives here with Amtorg have legitimate cover to travel and meet Americans. They have great freedom for espionage, and, as the Ivanov case illustrates, make use of it against us.

Mr. LIPSCOMB. What about Soviet espionage activities carried on through cultural exchange programs and similar activities in which the Communist Party may be active? How serious is the problem?

Mr. HOOVER. The intelligence agencies of the Soviet Union do, of course, use the cultural exchange programs to infiltrate intelligence personnel into our country. The Soviet diplomat, Valentin Revlin, who was expelled from our country in 1966 for his espionage activities, is the best example. He first entered the United States in 1958 as an exchange student and was here 1 year. He came back in 1963 to the Soviet Embassy. The espionage mission which led to his expulsion involved efforts to obtain sensitive information about our space program from an American businessman. There is no doubt Revlin was from the beginning, from his student exchange days, here to prepare himself for his intelligence work.

Insofar as the Communist Party is concerned, each member is politically motivated to assist the Soviets in every way. For years I have warned of the danger of the Communist Party. My concern stems from the fact that its members are ideologically oriented, not to the United States, but to the U.S.S.R. The problem remains a very serious one for all of us.

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Cederberg?

Mr. CEDERBERG. Off the record.

(Discussion held off the record.)

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Andrews?

#### CROSSING STATE BOUNDARIES TO INCITE RIOTS

Mr. ANDREWS. For some time now we have had a Federal law which would allow action to be taken against those who cross State boundaries in order to incite riots.

Are you detecting on our college campuses more evidence of the fact that they are indeed incited by outsiders or are they started by local campus types who have gotten the idea from press and TV accounts as to what is going on on other campuses?

Mr. HOOVER. In most of these incidents—of course the local group plays a large part—but individuals like Tom Hayden, Mark Rudd, Mike Klonsky and Bernardine Dohrn travel from one place to another. Hayden, for example, was particularly active in the Columbia University difficulties of last year. He was one of the early leaders of the New Left



movement and has been indicted in Chicago in connection with last summer's violent disorders at the Democratic National Convention. Abbie Hoffman is another of the same type.

In addition, the Communist Party-U.S.A. has a program through which its spokesmen appear frequently on campuses. For example, the Aptheker girl, whose father is an official of the Communist Party, travels from place to place. The list I gave to the Chairman which he included in this record shows some of these officials and where they spoke to these college groups. Usually they are invited not by the college but by a group in the college, such as the Students for a Democratic Society.

Mr. ROONEY. Off the record.

(Discussion held off the record.)

Mr. ANDREWS. If these people who go from State to State to start these disorders could be completely stopped, how many of these riots do you think we could get rid of?

Mr. HOOVER. I think there would be a marked reduction in them.

Mr. ANDREWS. I do not know anybody whose judgment I would take as having more weight than that of the Director.

Mr. HOOVER. Thank you. I think there would be a material reduction in them because it is the leadership that sparks the fire. They frequently get out before the police move in. They did not get out in Chicago and as a result were charged with violating the new Federal antiriot laws.

Mr. ANDREWS. This should help.

Mr. HOOVER. It should help. I think the law would be very helpful if enforced, and I think the present Attorney General will enforce it vigorously.

#### PRESSING NEED FOR RAIL SAFETY

**HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, a task force on railroad safety has submitted its report to the Secretary of Transportation.

The study involved only a couple of weeks, but the problem is so pressing and obvious that the task force had no difficulty in drawing a picture of the problem—a picture, indeed, which merits wider circulation.

One recommendation, the last, is that the Secretary work with the task force and the congressional committees in drafting implementing legislation. I hope this recommendation will be acted upon forthwith.

The chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce already has introduced railroad safety legislation which is a good starting place.

So have I.

This matter of railroad safety is one that cannot be allowed any longer to be brushed under the rug. And legislative action clearly is required if we are going to put any teeth into the rules of the road.

Mr. Speaker, the report of the task force is not very lengthy, but is most informative. Following is the text:

REPORT OF THE TASK FORCE ON RAILROAD SAFETY SUBMITTED TO THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION ON JUNE 30, 1969

At the request of the Secretary of Transportation, we, the representatives of the railroad industry, railroad labor organizations and State regulatory commissions, met as a task force to examine railroad safety and to

advise the Secretary. The Task Force began meeting May 1, 1969, and concludes with this report. There has been a free exchange of information and open discussion. Data supplied by the Federal Railroad Administration and its Bureau of Railroad Safety were used for purposes of analysis of problem areas. The agreed upon time limit did not permit additional outside research.

#### REVIEW OF THE PROBLEM

Railroad operations involve inherent dangers. Movement of large, heavy equipment at high speeds characterizes the industry. Daily, some two billion ton-miles of freight of all types move on the Nation's railroads. Hundreds of railroad yards receive, classify and dispatch the 1.8 million freight car fleet on an around-the-clock, seven-day-a-week schedule. About 600,000 passengers daily commute to work and 200,000 travel intercity by rail; 630,000 railroad workers average 3.5 million man-hours of work per day.

It is logical to assume that operations of such magnitude will generate accidents. Thus, standards, procedures and rules are necessary to provide for safety. The bulk of existing railroad safety practices were developed over the years by the industry itself. For many years they met the safety requirements and produced the present safety record.

Grade crossing accidents rank as the major cause of fatalities in railroad operations. They account for 65% of the fatalities resulting from all types of railroad accidents, and rank second only to aviation mishaps in severity. Annually, about 4,000 accidents produce approximately 1,600 deaths which is also a matter of major public concern.

The yearly totals of crossing accidents, and accident casualties, in the 1920-1967 period, can be related very closely to the combined amount of rail and highway miles traveled and to the effects of major crossing safety improvement programs. The trend in both accidents and casualties up to 1958 was generally downward. The situation has been reversed since 1958, however, with a disturbing general trend upward in both categories. Only 20% of the total 225,000 grade crossings are protected with automatic devices.

Grade crossing safety receives attention from highway authorities as well as railroad organizations. Under existing law, Federal-aid highway funds may be used on grade crossings on the Federal-aid highway system. This includes interstate, primary and secondary roads which together account for slightly more than 20% of the total number of crossings. However, Federal funds may not be used to reduce hazards at railroad crossings of city streets and on many state supplementary highways and local roads which are not on the Federal-aid system and which represent the remaining 80% of the total. A certain number of safety improvements are being made currently by the carriers and state and local agencies on crossings not on the Federal-aid system. There is an imperative need for an expanded public program to cover these crossings in order to reduce immediately this extremely high fatality rate.

The most obvious trend in any recent examination of railroad safety is the large and steady increase in the number of train accidents. This 8,028 train accidents recorded in 1968, represents a significant increase, by any yardstick, over the 4,148 recorded in 1961. Derailments account for two-thirds of the total.

General causes of train accidents are almost evenly divided among human error, defects in or failure of equipment and defects in or improper maintenance of track and roadbed. Derailments are largely attributable to track and equipment problems while collisions are mostly caused by human error.

Employee safety in railroad operations is of continuing concern. In 1968, there were 146 employees killed and 17,993 injured. Employees involved in rail operations and track

and roadbed maintenance are more exposed to the inherent hazards of the industry and, therefore, represent a major portion of the employee casualty figure. Contributing factors to the employee casualty rate include inadequate training programs, human errors, equipment defects, poor housekeeping, and non-compliance with safety and operating rules.

The need for transporting ever increasing quantities and varieties of hazardous materials—chemicals, gases, explosives and fuel—creates the possibility of serious accidents that have become a matter of major public concern. Thus, causal factors affecting train accidents—track, equipment, human factors and train-motor vehicle collisions—take on added significance when dangerous commodities are transported.

#### RAILROAD SAFETY REGULATIONS

Government involvement in railroad safety regulation came early. In 1893, Congress passed the first Safety Appliance Act. Then and in later years various Federal statutes granted varying degrees of Federal authority over locomotives, signalling systems, hours of service limitations on certain employees, air brakes, couplers, hand brakes, grab irons, running boards, sill steps, and draft gears on rolling stock, and accident reporting. The Federal authority to regulate shipment of hazardous materials is applied largely to the packaging of these commodities, although some rules governing handling in transit have been adopted.

Federal statutes do not cover the trucks, wheels and axles of railroad cars nor their design, construction or maintenance. Bridges and tunnels are not subject to Federal regulations and no Federal authority governs track and roadbed. There is no general authority to promulgate standards for employee qualifications, physical requirements and training, nor to prescribe uniform railroad operating rules.

Almost all States have entered the field of rail safety regulation. However, there is no uniform pattern of involvement. Some are quite active in general rail safety matters, but most consideration is on grade crossing safety regulation. Certain States feel they are adequately equipped by statute or existing regulations to deal with any rail safety problem that may arise.

Rules and regulations issued under present Federal and State authority cover only the specific areas reached by the legislative acts. The limitation imposed on the regulatory process by specific, rather than general scope legislative authority, results in only minimal public agency involvement in some problem areas of safety.

#### PRIORITIES

Railroad safety is wide in scope and requires a more comprehensive national approach. Of first priority is treatment of total rail safety by relating all its various facets to definite goals. This demands a coordinated approach by industry, labor, State and Federal government.

To continue as the major transportation mode, railroads will require more innovation, advanced equipment and higher speed capabilities. Achievement of these advanced capabilities calls for parallel advancement in safe, dependable operation. Therefore, major safety research is essential to guarantee that tomorrow's railroads will not only be more efficient but more safe.

Railroad operating personnel will continue to be the group most involved with rail safety, or the lack of it. New equipment and higher speeds will place great demands on employee skills and railroad operating practices. It is recognized that employee training is inadequate today, and could become more critical as new technology reshapes the industry. It seems imperative that formal, intensive training programs be given high priority along with human factors research. At the same time, railroad rules and practices

must be kept responsive to change so that a high level of safety may be maintained.

The modern industrial economy is dependent upon hazardous materials that are shipped throughout the country. Consequently, the entire transportation network, particularly the railroads upon which a large share of chemicals, explosives, fuels, and the like travel, must have the capacity to transport them safely. A top priority should be the complete evaluation of all factors related to the transportation of these commodities. Particularly, container standards for hazardous materials must take into account impact and stress requirements commensurate with today's longer, heavier and faster trains.

The motoring public is part of the safety problem at the grade crossing. Drivers must be educated to accept the meaning of warning devices and be required to heed them. Compliance must be enforced. Because this is a matter of public safety, public programs must be immediately initiated and properly funded to provide the motorist with positive, uniform and adequate information about the hazard at the crossing. More emphatically, firm and prompt consideration must be given to better use of existing funds and the making available of additional public funds to meet the increasing costs of crossing protection and grade separation, and to increase the number of grade crossings with automatic protection. There should be a long range, public commitment to eliminate this unnecessary and tragic loss of life.

Other improvements in railroad safety must necessarily involve substantial commitment of public and private resources. For Government, a major commitment should be toward research; for industry, upgrading and maintenance of plant should be foremost. Management and labor should cooperate to reduce human error. The economic restraints on the railroad industry make it essential that public policy be directed toward the development of financial incentives to support rail safety.

#### SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS

Recognizing that there have been longstanding differences among the three groups represented on the Task Force, the parties sought to emphasize areas of agreement rather than disagreement plus their mutual interest in railroad safety. The consensus view of the Task Force is as follows:

Railroad safety is a problem, national in scope, of concern to Federal and State Governments, as well as labor and management and which has been accentuated in recent years by the increase in the number of train accidents, particularly derailments.

Fatalities resulting from railroad accidents occur mostly at grade crossings. Trespassers rank second in the number of fatalities, and employees third.

Transportation of hazardous materials—chemicals, gases, explosives and fuels—is an economic necessity. Involvement of these materials in train accidents creates a new dimension of public concern over railroad safety.

Reported causes of train accidents are almost evenly divided among defects in or failure of track and roadbed, defects in or failure of equipment, and human error.

Existing Federal and State rail safety regulations do not, in most instances, provide standards for track, roadbed, equipment, employee training and qualifications or rules governing safe railroad operations.

Accident reporting and investigation practices are inadequate. Available statistics do not relate sufficiently to determination of primary and contributory causes.

Research into factors affecting railroad safety is inadequate because it has been sporadic and not coordinated.

Present Federal, State and industry programs to reduce hazards at railway-highway grade crossings are extremely narrow and inadequately funded.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

Regardless of the difference in the views of the parties, it is recognized that the safety experience of the American railroads during the past few years is at a point where some effective steps must be taken to bring the problem under control. It is also recognized that the public and Congress will demand definite assurance that safety will be improved. Solution short of broad Federal regulation may not adequately meet the situation. Therefore, even though further regulation creates some problems for each of the parties, the Task Force agrees that legislation authorizing broad Federal regulatory powers should be enacted with certain safeguards. It is further recommended that a permanent advisory committee be established, by law, representing management, labor, and State regulatory commissions, to guide and assist in the development of safety standards and other related matters. The specific recommendations of this Task Force are:

1. That the Secretary of Transportation, through the Federal Railroad Administration, have authority to promulgate reasonable and necessary rules and regulations establishing safety standards in all areas of railroad safety, through such notice, hearing and review procedures as will protect the rights of all interested parties.

2. In order to strengthen the administration of Federal rail safety regulations, there should be established a National Railroad Safety Advisory Committee to advise, consult with, and make recommendations to the Secretary on matters relating to the activities and functions of the Department in the field of railroad safety. The Committee would be chaired by the Federal Railroad Administrator with the remaining members appointed by the Secretary to represent equally the State regulatory commissions, railroad management and labor. The Secretary would submit to the Committee proposed safety standards and amendments and afford it a reasonable opportunity to prepare a report on the technical feasibility, reasonableness, and practicability of each such proposal prior to adoption. The Committee may propose safety standards to the Secretary for his consideration.

3. Existing State rail safety statutes and regulations remain in force until and unless preempted by Federal regulation. Administration of the program should be through a Federal-State partnership, including state certification similar to the certification principles set forth in the Federal Natural Gas Pipeline Safety Act of 1968.

4. The Advisory Committee be directed to study the present delegation of authority to the Association of American Railroads' Bureau of Explosives in certain areas of the Transportation of Explosives and Other Dangerous Articles Act.

5. A research program be initiated by Government and industry into railroad safety technology, which should be funded immediately for an initial three year period, over and above existing research programs.

6. Formal employee training programs be expanded by railroad management, with the cooperation of labor and government, for the purpose of insuring compliance with safe operating practices and reducing the impact of human error in the accident experience.

7. An expanded, concerted program of grade crossing safety be undertaken utilizing established Federal and State agencies and advisory groups to set uniform procedures and standards. Early attention must be given to the development of improved crossing protection at lower cost plus greater emphasis placed on driver education and traffic enforcement. In addition to more extensive use of existing Federal funds now allocable to present highway safety programs, there must be new sources of funding to finance an expanded grade crossing program.

8. The Federal Railroad Administration

should revise, in consultation with railroad management, labor, and state regulatory commissions, its rules for reporting of accidents. The aim should be to make the data more current, more uniform and to identify causes more accurately.

9. The Secretary of Transportation in consultation with and assistance of the Task Force and appropriate Congressional committees should draft proposed legislation to implement these recommendations.

R. N. Whitman, Chairman, Federal Railroad Administrator.

Charles J. Fain, Subchairman, Commissioner, Missouri Public Service Commission; Willis F. Ward, Chairman, Michigan Public Service Commission; and John P. Vukasin, Jr., Commissioner, California Public Utilities Commission.

George E. Leighty, Subchairman, Chairman, Railway Labor Executives' Association; Al H. Chesser, Vice President, National Legislative Representative United Transportation Union; Donald S. Beattie, Executive Secretary, Railway Labor Executives' Association; and William E. Skutt, Assistant Grand Chief Engineer Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

Thomas M. Goodfellow, Subchairman, President, Association of American Railroads; William D. Lamprecht, Vice President—Systems Operations, Southern Pacific Company; James R. Thorne, Vice President—Operating Dept., Seaboard Coast Line Railroad; and C. V. Cowan, Vice President—Operating Group Baltimore & Ohio/Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad Company.

#### RHODESIAN RECOGNITION POSSIBLE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the Foreign Relations Committee of the other body recently reported a resolution to allow our Government to recognize and exchange diplomats with foreign governments without implying, necessarily, approval of the form, ideology, or policy of that government. This resolution may be good news to Rhodesia. It may be the prelude to U.S. recognition of the Republic of Rhodesia—the first British colony to declare independence from Britain since the United States.

The announced intent of the resolution is to permit diplomatic recognition and exchange with Communist China; but the American people would never tolerate our Government's recognition of Red China while continuing to discriminate against Rhodesia.

I include two news clippings:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 3, 1969]

#### BID TO RECOGNIZE PEKING ADVANCES

A resolution that could allow the United States to recognize Communist China has been approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Recognition and exchange of diplomats "does not imply that the United States necessarily approves of the form, ideology, or policy of that government," says the resolution introduced by Sen. Alan Cranston, D-Calif., and Sen. George Aiken, R-Vt.

The action yesterday clears the resolution for consideration on the Senate floor. No votes were cast against the measure in Committee.



[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,  
July 8, 1969]

**U.S. TO KEEP CONSULATE IN RHODESIA**  
(By A. D. Horne)

President Nixon has rejected a State Department recommendation to sever the last thread of official U.S. contact with white-ruled Rhodesia.

State, which two weeks ago denounced Rhodesia's June 20 constitutional referendum as a "travesty," sought to follow these words with action by closing the American consulate general in Salisbury.

The move was to have come within a day of Britain's announcement that its governor in Salisbury was being withdrawn, thereby emphasizing that the American consulate's presence depended on Rhodesia's colonial status and did not imply any recognition of the white minority government of Prime Minister Ian Smith.

The British governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, left Government House for retirement Sunday. But the U.S. consulate remained open, and the State Department said yesterday that no decision had been made on the consulate's future.

State and White House officials would not comment beyond that statement. But it was learned that the closing had been blocked at least for now by the President, apparently at the urging of political conservatives and business interests.

The Rhodesian issue is sensitive ideologically and economically. Southern conservatives and the Republican right wing have denounced U.S. policy since Smith's unilateral declaration of independence in 1965, arguing that 230,000 white Rhodesians should be free to rule their voteless black majority of 4.5 million without foreign interference.

American observance of the United Nations boycott on Rhodesian trade has had special impact on U.S. metals producers. Before the boycott, Rhodesia supplied roughly half the U.S. market for chrome ore. Now the chief supplier is Russia, at prices 50 per cent above pre-boycott levels. Two U.S. firms are barred from importing chrome from their own Rhodesian mines.

The Salisbury consulate has been operating at less than half of regulation staff since 1965. The post of consul general has been left vacant since the Smith government declared its independence, and the consulate staff has been cut from 21 to 8. All trade promotion activities stopped after the Smith decree, and the U.S. Information Service closed.

**A LANDMARK DECISION FOR  
GREECE**

**HON. DONALD M. FRASER**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. FRAZER. Mr. Speaker, evidence of political torture in Greece continues to mount up. James Becket in the July 7 issue of the Nation magazine writes:

The question for the commission—the

European Human Rights Commission—is no longer whether torture exists or not—nor, one would suppose, whether there are to be hangings in Constitution Square—but whether torture appears in "isolated cases" or is an "administrative practice."

A commission decision, Becket writes, is expected in November. He claims that the "essentially juridical decision has taken on increasing political significance," noting that an unfavorable commission report probably would lead to Greece's expulsion from the Council of Europe. The commission's decision, he writes, will be "a landmark for international law."

**The full article follows:**

**GREECE: THE RACK AND THE BOMB**

GENEVA.—Two weeks ago Prime Minister Papadopoulos of Greece announced that he would himself hang in Constitution Square any official who had tortured a Greek citizen. This declaration was provoked by an article in *Look* magazine, "Greece: Government by Torture." Though reports of torture have been in the European press for two years, an article in a mass circulation American magazine hit the junta where it hurts. The usual categorical denial was given, and the "falsehoods" were attributed to "Communists" and "mentally deranged persons." Perhaps the colonels were justified in their annoyance, since it is undeniable that in many parts of the world colonels get on with the business of "national regeneration" with hardly a murmur of protest from abroad. But Greece is a special case, and one of the reasons it is a special case is that Greece is a signatory to the European Convention of Human Rights.

In mid-June in Strasbourg the European Human Rights Commission heard seven more witnesses on Article Three ("No one shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment"). After the sessions of last November and December, which were dramatized by James Bando-poulos scenes of escaping junta witnesses (see *The Nation*, January 6), the commission held hearings in Greece in February. Exercising its power under the convention to carry out an investigation on the spot, it examined fifty-one witnesses. But the commission was refused access to certain witnesses, notably the would-be assassin of Papadopoulos, Alecos Panagoulis, who only recently escaped and was recaptured. (The Human Rights Commission is hardly pleased with Papadopoulos' offer to *Look* to come and make a free and "serious investigation" in Greece, when this was denied the commission which enjoys the right under an international convention.)

The seven new witnesses, heard on June 15 and 16, had escaped from Greece with the help of resistance organizations. Two witnesses called from Greece were not permitted to leave the country. One of them, the rightwing lawyer George Mangakis, who has defended many political cases before the courts-martial, had his passport confiscated at the airport. (Thus, for good measure, violating the convention article on freedom to travel.)

The June session, unlike previous ones, was calm. The witnesses had the same story of torture to tell: bastinado, mock execu-

tion, electro-shock, sexual abuse, etc. (One new interpreter collapsed after an hour and was replaced by a veteran.) One reason for the calm was the absence of both principals, the Scandinavians and the junta Greeks, at the in camera sessions, and this time no junta thugs were patrolling the premises. This meant also that the junta's chief man on the case, and its most ardent defender on the diplomatic scene, Basil Vitsaksis, was absent. Mr. Vitsaksis has been rewarded with appointment as ambassador to Washington, though he is waiting for the United States to send its ambassador to Greece. There is now the chance that he might be appointed to replace Foreign Minister Pipinelis, who is not well.

The question for the commission is no longer whether torture exists or not (nor, one would suppose, whether there are to be hangings in Constitution Square) but whether torture appears in "isolated cases" or is an "administrative practice." A decision is expected from the commission at the end of November. It will be a landmark for international law. The case is rare in international jurisprudence in that the Scandinavian countries did not bring the action for commercial reasons but for reasons of principle. As the chief agent, Norway's Jens Evensen says: "We fought a war so these things would not happen again. We are bringing this case not just for the Greeks but for the Italians, for all Europeans."

This essentially juridical decision has taken on increasing political significance. The Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe managed to avoid expelling Greece from the Council with the excuse that it would be more proper to wait for the decision of the Human Rights Commission. This means that if the commission were to find that there had been torture, the expulsion would be almost automatic. The junta's policy, as devised by Mr. Vitsaksis, has been to obstruct, but he is running out of delaying tactics. Expulsion would have serious consequences for the colonels, who fear the operation of a "domino theory" on other, more vital European organizations.

Meanwhile, mass arrests and torture continue. A recent wave of bombings has been aimed at American targets: The PX, Litton Industries, American Express, the Hilton, USIA, etc., as well as around recent NATO exercises in the north of Greece. This expresses the belief of every Greek that the United States is responsible for the current situation, and that only a change of American policy will change the situation. Some observers believe that the United States, the major supporter of the junta, is becoming more and more disenchanted. Greece's Minister of Economics was officially invited to France recently by the Minister of Defense and declared he wanted to give France important contracts. France, South Africa's leading arms supplier, represents the only area for maneuver for Fascist Greece in the event of American pressures. The junta's anti-communism and strategic importance to the West exclude an Eastern or Nasser-like path.

In the face of a probably unfavorable report by the commission on torture, of increased bombings and resistance, and of European dissatisfaction, the Nixon Administration will have to make some decisions it has so far avoided.

**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Wednesday, July 9, 1969**

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

*God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble.—Psalm 46: 1.*

Almighty God and Father of all mankind, whose love is the light of life and

whose law is the litany of liberty, grant us wisdom to use in right ways the freedom which is our heritage by keeping ourselves dedicated to Thee and devoted to our country.

Give us the faith to go out into this day with courage not always knowing

where we are going but with the assurance that Thou art with us, Thy hand is sustaining us and Thy spirit supporting us all the way.

Strengthen Thou the men and women in our Armed Forces throughout the world who are risking their lives on our