

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF  
AMENDMENT

S. 2546

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia, Mr. President, at the request of the able Senator from Iowa (Mr. HUGHES), who now presides over this Chamber with a degree of efficiency and dignity "so rare as a day" in July, I ask unanimous consent that, at its next printing, his name be added as a cosponsor of the amendment offered by Senator COOPER and Senator HART to the bill (S. 2546) to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1970 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, and tracked combat ve-

hicles, and research, development, test, and evaluation for the Armed Forces, and to authorize the construction of test facilities at Kwajalein Missile Range, and to prescribe the authorized personnel strength of the Selected Reserve of each Reserve component of the Armed Forces, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it so ordered.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia, Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that

the Senate stand in adjournment until 11 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 7 o'clock and 9 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, July 10, 1969, at 11 a.m.

CONFIRMATION

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate July 9, 1969:

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA COURT OF GENERAL SESSIONS

George H. Goodrich, of Maryland, to be an associate judge of the District of Columbia court of general sessions for the term of 10 years.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

VICTORY AT MONTE CASSINO

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, from the dawn of history, Cassino stood as the southern gateway to Rome. On the adjacent mountain known as Monte Cassino, many temples and altars were built to unknown deities by unknown worshipers in the dim past.

St. Benedict arrived there in the years 525 to 529 and found a complete pagan acropolis, which he rebuilt, in a Christian pattern, into the abbey of Monte Cassino.

Here, the Poles tried to grasp the always elusive, to them, freedom—when the Polish Legions under Gen. Henryk Dabrowski were guarding this territory for the armies of Napoleon; then again in 1918, when the Polish Army of the West was being organized from Polish-Austrian prisoners of war; and in May 1944, when the Second Corps of the Polish Army-in-Exile wrested the mountain from the Germans.

On the slopes of point 593, these poignant words are written:

We Polish Soldiers,  
For your freedom and ours,  
Have given our souls to God,  
Our bodies to the soil of Italy,  
And our hearts to Poland.

This simple inscription is carved on the spire which stands above a military cemetery at Monte Cassino, in Italy. There lie buried the 860 Polish soldiers of the Polish Second Army Corps who gave their lives in the capture of the most crucial German fortification in Italy.

The story of these Polish forces is perhaps one of the most tragic chapters in the history of World War II—but it is a chapter the last pages of which have not yet been written until the free world proves that these men who were faithful to their service did not give their lives in vain.

May 18 marked the 25th anniversary of one of the most important and momentous battles of the Second World War. On that day in 1944 Monte Cassino, that rugged and seemingly impregnable citadel in Italy, fell to a stubborn, gallant, and undaunted Polish Army, after un-

successful previous attempts by the Americans and British had failed.

Since the free world seems to have forgotten and overlooked this great contribution of the Poles to the cause of freedom, I take this occasion to relate again these historic facts which need recording in the archives of history.

The initiative in the battle came from the Americans. When the U.S. 5th Army was blocked by the Germans at the Anzio beachhead, a joint American-French frontal attack was staged on January 20, 1944, to capture the Monte Cassino and open the way to Rome. The attack was preceded by heavy artillery fire during which 31,000 shells were dropped in a half hour on German positions. The attack failed. The U.S. 34th and 36th Divisions suffered heavy losses, while the French lost 1,300 men.

On February 11, a British unsuccessful attack took place. The Royal Sussex, Rajputana Rifles, and a New Zealand tank unit were smashed to bits.

On March 11, a third general attack was undertaken with a total of 12 brigades of the best English, Hindu, and New Zealand troops. During 3 hours of this battle, 578 cannons hurled 1,200 tons of ammunition and 514 planes dropped 1,100 bombs at the fortified Abbey of Monte Cassino. It was the most concentrated bombardment in the war. The attacking troops entered the ruins of Cassino. After 10 days the offensive failed because of the heavy losses of the attacking force, with the Hindu Division alone losing 3,000 men.

Then on May 11, 1944, at 11 p.m. the Appenine Peninsula began to tremble from a renewed violence; 2,000 heavy artillery guns opened fire on Monte Cassino. With American, British, French, New Zealand, and Polish troops participating, the Poles were given the assignment to capture Monte Cassino in a frontal assault where three previous bloody offensives failed.

At 1 a.m. on May 13, main elements of the Polish 2d Army Corps—the 3d and 5th Divisions under the command of Lt. Gen. Wladyslaw Anders, began to attack German positions, capturing under withering enemy fire and in hand-to-hand combat Points 593 and 569, and finally the Phantom Ridge. The battle lasted a whole week. The Polish fighters were being killed like flies by the murderous German fire. In the last phase of the

battle, after using all reserves and even technicians from the Engineer Corps and antiaircraft units, the Polish command mobilized three half battalions composed of cooks, orderlies, drivers, telephone operators, supply men, and everyone else who could bear arms, and threw them into battle which finally brought victory as the Polish unit captured the Abbey of Monte Cassino on May 18, 1944, at 10 a.m., unfurling the Polish white and red flag above the smoke-filled and blood-stained battlefield.

Peace returned to the ruins of Monte Cassino. The road to Rome and ultimate victory for the Allies was opened. The Fifth Army under Gen. Mark Clark entered Rome and continued the offensive onward.

Immediately after the battle, General Leese, commander of the 8th British Army, told the press correspondents:

I want to tell you that the capture of Monte Cassino was entirely an achievement of the Poles. I am glad that you are here on this historic day for Poland, when Monte Cassino has been taken by the soldiers of the Second Polish Army Corps.

Without respite the Poles marched on to victory at Ancona, at Bologna, and in the Emelian Apennines. Those were the proud days for the 2d Army Corps and for all Poles, and yet at that time the goal of national independence for which they were all fighting seemed as far away as it had in the grim days of 1939.

One year later, in March 1945, a committee was formed for the purpose of rebuilding the Monte Cassino Abbey. However, it made very little progress.

Then on October 10, 1945, the Polish Embassy at the Vatican notified the Papal Secretary of State, that the soldiers of the Polish 2d Corps are willing and ready to rebuild the abbey. The Pope accepted this offer with deep gratitude. The British command assigned 200 German prisoners of war, who worked a whole year on the project under Polish officers and men.

Thus, the Poles not only conquered the enemy on Monte Cassino, but were the first to start working on the restoration of the abbey to its former glory.

As Fred Majdalany points out in his book, "The Battle of Cassino":

By their selfless immolation the Poles turned that grim mountainside into a memorial to soldiers everywhere.

It is fitting that we honor this occasion in order to assure those gallant men that their objective has not been forgotten here in the United States. We all look forward to the day when freedom will be resorted to the homeland of our forefathers and Poland can take her rightful place as a proud, free, and independent nation.

Today, there are some who would minimize or completely conceal the facts about the roles of the Poles in this struggle, and who would deny the Poles their God-given right to freedom and liberty. I wish to take this opportunity of restating the true facts for posterity.

Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago, I had the privilege of being the main speaker at the Shrine of Our Lady of Czestochowa, Doylestown, Pa., where several thousand people attended mass in thanksgiving for the victory at Monte Cassino, and later attended appropriate festivities on the grounds of the shrine.

Each of the speakers praised the gallantry and heroism of the Poles in this battle to recapture Monte Cassino from the German forces and thus begin the offensive march toward ultimate victory in that area of battle.

The Poles, longing for the day of deliverance, do need our words of hope and encouragement to sustain them in psychological resistance to communism and Soviet domination.

Although Poland, today, has some semblance of freedom, there is always that knowledge that the Government of Poland is still alien to the desires and needs of the Polish people. They await the day when once again they can face the world as a fully free and independent nation. In this desire for freedom we wish them the attainment of their goal.

#### KIWANIANS BUILD

### HON. PAUL J. FANNIN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, there are more than 5,600 Kiwanis Clubs around the globe. The members of Kiwanis International, of which I am privileged to be an honorary member, carry out their conviction that this is a good world, but that it can be made better by voluntary action.

In a time when we are so troubled by disruptions and strife, when so many seem to have the hand forever extended for the dole rather than to help someone else, I am pleased to see an organization making continuing efforts to improve the lot of those less fortunate.

Clarence W. Hall has written an excellent article, published in the July issue of the Reader's Digest, which sums up the worldwide benefits of this fraternal, civic organization. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

THEIR MOTTO IS "WE BUILD"

(By Clarence W. Hall)

One scorching day in 1919, a sharp-eyed promoter named Allen S. Browne sat in

an angry meeting and watched the features of his brainchild being altered beyond recognition. Four years before, in Detroit, Browne had put together a men's luncheon club called "Kiwanis," an Indian word meaning "To make oneself known." Dedicated to fraternal jollity and mutual profit gained from members' favoring each other's interests, the rapidly expanding club had paid its founder well: he owned it lock, stock and barrel.

But now, in this convention at Birmingham, Ala., delegates representing 138 clubs were in open revolt, demanding radical change in the Kiwanis character. With community and national problems demanding attention everywhere, they reasoned, the "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours" motive for association had become repugnant. The club should devote itself to good rather than greed, to service rather than selfishness.

To Browne, such a notion was arrant nonsense, and he resisted manfully. Cried down, he settled for \$17,500 for his rights of ownership, pocketed the members' personal checks for that amount and thereby relinquished all control. The victorious delegates promptly wrote a new Kiwanis constitution pledged to giving "primacy to the human and spiritual rather than to the material values of life." As a symbol of this pledge, they made the club slogan "We Build." Today, a half-century later, Kiwanis International is spread around the globe: 275,000 members in 5600 clubs in 29 countries, each member charged with being a VIP—Kiwanis parlance for a "very involved person."

Optimistic by nature, Kiwanians believe that this is a good world, but that it can be made better by voluntary action. Thus, facing a need, they spend little time decrying it or calling for government action. They simply ask, "What can we do about it?" And then they do it.

For example, at one of the weekly Kiwanis luncheons in Phoenix, Ariz., three years ago, Juvenile Judge Jack D. Hays told of the tragic lack of effective correctional facilities for youths. Convicted of minor crimes, youngsters were either being sent to tough prisons among hardened criminals or being released in parents' custody with only a reprimand. Either measure, said the judge, only encouraged more crime. Needed was a special disciplinary facility where erring youths could be given a correctional jolt without taking them out of school or totally away from family. The trouble was: Maricopa County had no funds for such a project.

Phoenix Kiwanians scooped up the gauntlet, enlisting nearby clubs to help. Result: a fine new \$60,000 detention center where the erring young spend after-school evenings and weekends, subject to skilled counseling plus work assignments related to the problems that got them in trouble in the first place. For example, reckless drivers do hospital work with traffic-accident victims, and vandals make improvements in local parks and playgrounds. The unique institution has attracted nationwide notice.

Of paramount interest to Kiwanians is the encouragement of responsible citizenship—in themselves and others. Mindful that good government begins on the local level, more than 96,000 Kiwanians in the United States and Canada serve without pay on governmental boards of their own communities.

Kiwanians also believe that good citizenship requires quick response to human needs. Commanding many clubs' attention now is the plight of elderly people caught in the squeeze between meager pensions and constantly rising living costs. To meet this need, Kiwanians in Sandusky Bay, Ohio, set up Sandusky Bay Senior Citizens, Inc., a nonprofit corporation, in 1966. This done, they obtained a long-term federal loan of \$2,075,000 and erected a ten-story building including 153 living units, plus an activities center for the entire community. Similar projects have been pushed by Kiwanis clubs in such

places as Hamilton, Ontario; Charlotte, Mich., and Tiffin and Dayton, Ohio.

Crippled children have always moved the Kiwanis heart. One of the most ambitious efforts is a foundation established in 1951 by Kiwanis' Illinois-Eastern Iowa District to underwrite research aimed at uncovering the hereditary causes of spastic paralysis. Originally backed by Kiwanis pledges of \$190,000, and now maintained by annual donations, the foundation works with Chicago's Children's Memorial Hospital and the University of Illinois College of Medicine in developing techniques to prevent spasticity.

Not all Kiwanis projects relate to sizable groups. Consider the case of Mary Tomlin, a housewife in Rockmart, Ga., who suffered third-degree burns over a large part of her body when a bottle of solvent exploded. Although her life was saved, her recovery depended upon months of intensive care and many costly skin grafts. The family savings account was soon exhausted by hospital bills running to \$1700 a week. Rockmart Kiwanians organized the "Mary Tomlin Fund," employed such fundraising schemes as band concerts, rummage sales, paper drives and community barbecues. By late September 1968, total proceeds reached \$11,000—with Mary Tomlin recovering and every bill paid.

Of all Kiwanis concerns, none has been stressed by more clubs than work with youngsters. Nine years ago, for example, Kiwanian Clifford Rothrock, a school administrator in Anaheim, Calif., took the problem of troublemaking students—many of them underachievers, most of them potential dropouts—to his club. "I know these boys," he said "In their defiance of teachers and police they are simply grandstanding, trying to get recognition that their grades can't give them."

Heads together, Rothrock and his Kiwanian colleagues came up with a program called "Service Gents." Recruiting the troublemakers was difficult at first, but a number finally responded. Their first project was to design and build a recreational area for their school. Once started, the Gents gradually grew enthusiastic, doing all the sodding, seeding and cement-laying themselves.

From there, the Gents dreamed up their own projects: ushering at school plays, painting litter containers, planting trees and shrubs on school grounds, repairing school property, cutting lawns for the elderly, painting houses for the infirm. Their Kiwanis sponsors counseled them on personal and home problems, tutored them in their studies, invited them into their homes. The Gents program proved so successful that it was adopted on nine campuses of the sprawling Anaheim Union High School District. It has contributed significantly to the district's lower dropout rate, which averages ten percent—well below the national average of 24 percent. Moreover, since its founding in 1960, many of the Gents have gone on to college or into responsible careers.

Seeking to motivate high-school students toward academic excellence and future leadership, the Kiwanis club at Quincy, Ill., in 1959 formed the "Society for Academic Achievement," designed to be the high-school equivalent of Phi Beta Kappa. The society has since spread to 12 states, involving more than 9000 students and 600 faculty members.

Many other clubs have established college scholarships—more than 18,000 of them in a single recent year. And when the Kiwanian principal of a high school in Pittsburgh, Pa., pointed out that "there are many young people whose inclinations and qualifications indicate a need for education other than college," his Kiwanis colleagues in 1964 set up a loan program to give scholarships at technical training institutes. The result, according to one prominent educator, was that "scores of young people have been turned from a bleak future as manual laborers to-

ward lucrative and satisfying careers as skilled industrial technicians."

Out of its preoccupation with the young sprang Kiwanis' two lively youth organizations: Key Club International, for high-school students, and Circle K International, a college men's organization. Through them Kiwanis is raising a whole new generation of the concerned.

Key Club today has 92,000 members in 3500 clubs across the United States, Canada and the Bahamas. A sample project: In 1965, Key Clubbers at the Earl Warren High School in Downey, Calif., expanded a school project into a beautification campaign aimed at making Downey "the most attractive community in California." After 4200 man-hours, they had cultivated, weeded and trimmed flowering trees along a main boulevard; painted and landscaped welcome-to-the-city signs; repainted 270 bus-stop benches; cleaned, waxed and polished 42 city police cars; dug trenches for water lines and planted 800 shrubs in Golden Park; re-finished 75 city trash receptacles.

Circle K now has 850 clubs on as many college and university campuses, with a total membership of 15,000. It is described as "a new type of fraternity for college men, devoted strictly to service to school and community."

At the University of Pennsylvania, for example, Circle K men have rounded up a small army of students to work with underprivileged and homeless boys. Several others were set to tutoring prospective civil-service employes desiring to enter government work but unable to meet the qualifications.

Whatever the need or issue, the Kiwanis way for a half-century has been to meet it head-on, with person-to-person directness, without bureaucratic fussiness or political entanglement. Today more than ever, such volunteer service is as invaluable as it is irreplaceable.

#### NEW DEPARTURES FOR AMERICA

### HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, we are all aware of the division which the accelerating rate of progress is causing in our society. While the young, with the benefit of an advanced educational system, are pressing toward new horizons, much of our society is quite comfortable where they are. And while progress brings greater and greater wealth to the rich, the poor seem to get poorer.

I would like to insert in the RECORD the following speech by Herbert H. Hyman, a distinguished scientist who resides in my district, to the Federation of American Scientists. This speech contains the kind of far-reaching proposals which will eventually be required if we are successfully to meet the challenge of the future. It follows:

TALK ON NEW DEPARTURES FOR THE FEDERATION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS, APRIL 8, 1969

(By Herbert H. Hyman)

Let me start by listing a few of the problems facing all of us in this country today. Obviously, the first and most overwhelming is the ending of any actual combat and the prevention of any escalation, most particularly the prevention of escalation to nuclear war. In this area the FAS has historically taken its strongest positions. It is on the whole reasonably well united, and I'm afraid very ineffectual. The reason is simple enough.

The overwhelming emotional motivations

which affect people in this area are those of nationalism or some sophisticated or modified version of nationalism. In this area scientists as a whole are uniquely out of tune with the bulk of all populations. Their orientation is international, their thinking is international; they simply do not, on the whole, understand the motivations that affect most of the people and while there isn't the slightest doubt that in this area nationalism poses terrible threats to the survival of the national units themselves, it is simply naive to expect scientists to have much influence in this direction except in the very long run. Our best hope there is to fight vigorously for maximum international interchange of people, materials, ideas, cultural activities, anything and everything we can do. It isn't very much, it isn't going to work very fast, but internationalist appeals of any kind in the present state of affairs consist of people talking to the already convinced and will have no impact on politicians trying to get elected let alone the public at large. In dealing with one specific aspect of this problem, the influence of the military industrial complex, scientists might play a very important role. Unfortunately, they have been pulled in both directions. The most important contribution FAS can make is to fight for alternate support for science. I'll be more specific very shortly.

The second broad problem facing this country is the problem of racial antagonisms. Again it is important for those of us who have not on the whole been particularly guilty of such antagonisms to pay a little attention to the psychological factors involved. I think we may take it for granted that most individuals are interested in a reasonably short term advantage for themselves and the particular groups with which they identify. Such groups may be racial, religious, ethnic, cultural or job-oriented. All of us, for example, are concerned about the status and influence of scientists as scientists. Most of us are relatively less concerned about our status or lack of status as black or white or yellow or as part of a specific ethnic group within the American mix, although many of us do share a specific, ethnic concern. (I'm sure all of you who know me recognize my long standing interest in and commitment to Jewish cultural and philanthropic activities.) The only significant contribution the FAS can make immediately and directly to the racial problem is to urge as many black scientists as possible to encourage their fellow young men and women to look upon science as a reasonably unprejudiced and satisfying way of life, and to recognize that it is appropriate and in fact desirable for black scientists who wish to support a variety of black centered activities, to do so freely and effectively without sacrificing their identification with and participation in their role as scientists. We all take for granted that scientific values are relatively free of ethical and cultural bias. I would strongly urge black scientists to fight vigorously against any attempt to down-grade mathematical and scientific studies for culturally deprived or minority groups in a transitory attempt to concentrate on ethnically centered activities. Here the role of the FAS as an FAS can only be a peripheral one.

The third broad problem area is that of poverty; the American anomaly of bewilderingly large segments of very poor in a society which has more total wealth than man has ever accumulated. Here our role is clearcut and unequivocal. We must point out that the existence of poverty, of an enormous excess of child mortality, of malnutrition and hunger, is a disgrace to the country as a whole and completely intolerable in American society. At the same time we must recognize that for the hardworking and thrifty working class taxpayers who are far from affluence, the simple hand-out which makes not working relatively more profitable than working is itself politically untenable. We

cannot in American society completely divorce the rewards of productivity from productive effort. Scientists are particularly able to advocate the only possible solution to this dilemma; namely, a progress sharing scheme.

We know that in the next generation our increasing productivity will, in fact, double our true per capita income. We know that this increase will not be due to individuals working harder or suddenly become smarter or more efficient or to any brilliant managerial insights. It is simply the routine payoff for continuing support of science and technology. We also know that if we were to take half this gain and distribute it uniformly instead of with the peculiar bias with which it will otherwise be distributed, we would completely eliminate poverty in the grinding and absolute sense from the United States. Now each person will have his own pet mechanism for actually doing this job once he is convinced it can or should be done.

My own is a rather simple device. I would like to put an increasing progress sharing tax on all income no matter how derived. A tax on all income that increased by 1% per year would build up a quite respectable trust fund. For this part of the discussion one might assume this fund is invested in government bonds just as our present social security fund is, although I'll later point out a more effective use for the fund. In any event if we distributed say 20% of the trust fund each year uniformly to all individuals, we can see that in 20 or 25 years everyone would be getting a reasonable minimum stipend from this fund. In addition, of course, any working man would continue to receive whatever he earned. The existing welfare system would gradually wither away. There are a number of related social benefits which would clearly result from such a system, but I haven't the time to go into them and I'm sure all of you can think of a variety of ways of handling the details. The important principles I would stress are first, an increasing general distribution, not of existing income but of the future income to be derived from technical progress, a distribution to all so as to not place any special burden on the middle income individual. The marginal worker would exactly preserve his relative position vis a vis the existing unemployed since he would share equally in the redistribution program and keep his earned income. This scheme is not the main point of my talk although I strongly favor such a program and think the FAS should adopt a policy in favor of such a program.

I'm much more concerned with the problem I consider basic to the further development of our society, assuming we are lucky enough to avoid nuclear destruction, the problem of generational conflict, and its Siamese twin, the problem of sustained progress.

We're all in favor of progress defined as "the long thin line that leads to me." Unfortunately, whenever progress in some reasonably generalized sense boils down to a significant change in the way of life for any identifiable group, it usually doesn't matter that there are potential advantages even for the group itself. The opposition is vigorous, and to the extent that the group has any power within society as a whole, progress is drastically delayed, or often prevented entirely. It doesn't do any good to complain about the individuals standing in the way of progress—the poor, the uninfluential we can simply run over. Those with status, financial power or political power are pretty much immune. The result, of course, is quite predictable. When we examine any existing aspect of our society, our schools, our transportation system, our political system, any existing manufacturing establishment—you name it, it doesn't matter. Any impartial examination will show that the system is illogical, designed to preserve the interests of a small, powerful group and ranges

roughly in order of its age from mildly inefficient to totally insane.

This is, of course, what strikes the young, bright, partially educated student of society. Wherever he looks, as soon as he learns enough to analyze any existing system he sees obviously desirable changes, obvious improvements to make, and often drastic deficiencies which anyone with a little common sense could easily rectify. He immediately concludes that it is either stupidity or since this seems on the face of it rather unlikely, an evil conspiracy of some sort which tends to preserve this obvious error. What the young man finds difficult in recognizing is that built into every system is an accumulated history of challenge and response to specific situations. Built into every job there is an expertise painfully and tediously accumulated sometimes over years of experience and not readily devalued simply because some new developments elsewhere have now made it possible to accomplish the same end with much less effort.

I think it is important to recognize this as a real factor and to recognize that men of status, power, wealth, what have you, the establishment (including us, of course) are simply not going to give up their status, etc., simply because they no longer deserve it. It is not a question of justice, or what's right or what's more efficient or what's best for the country or anything else, it's simply a fact of human nature which I, for one, see no particular prospect of changing in the foreseeable future.

Youth recognizes that experience is the only asset that age actually possesses. To the extent that experience may be bypassed by new developments and techniques, the balance of power in the generational war clearly favors the young.

Science plays a peculiar and very special part in this generational struggle. Scientists as individuals are at least as conservative in their thinking, in their daily jobs, in the way they organize themselves, as any other group; but science in its inevitable association with change, with progress, with new ways of doing things, is the most radical, most potent force available in our society. Science and technology, not scientists, are inevitably on the side of the young in this generational battle.

Now the conflict between sons and fathers is hardly new to our generation. What is new or at least of much greater importance today are two basic trends in our society. First we have the vast increase in the resources we are putting into science and technology and the resulting rapid change which this makes possible in the way of life of an increasingly large fraction of our population. For all of us, our expertise rapidly becomes obsolete.

The second factor which drastically compounds the problem lies in the increasingly large numbers of individuals who we are educating to the point where they can recognize these facts and challenge the existing establishment on its own terms. There always were a few who recognized ways to bypass existing channels and open up new paths to the top, found new industries, create new institutions, etc. They were, however, a rather small minority and it is due to that small minority that progress has been as rapid as it is. But today we have not a small minority but a much larger one and there doesn't seem to be enough room for this group to move ahead without running rather roughshod over large elements of the existing establishment. It is this situation which seems to me poses the basic problem of generational conflict so forcefully in our society and it is this situation with which I propose to deal. I must apologize for the absurdly long introduction but I haven't figured out how to shorten it adequately.

For reasons which will become obvious, I have entitled my concept "Project New Manhattan." It is designed to combine most of

the virtues which I at least found in the Manhattan project and in the settling of the new world, most exemplified of course by Manhattan and the words on the Statue of Liberty.<sup>1</sup> It is not easy to remember that those of us living in this country are almost entirely the descendants of either rebels or rejects, people who found the society in which they were born distasteful or people who were unable to build a satisfactory life for themselves and their children within that society.

I haven't studied the figures in any detail but I suspect a high percentage of immigrants to America were under thirty. And indeed, I would take it for granted that many of our young people who express an obvious dissatisfaction with the society in which they find themselves would cheerfully take advantage of the opportunity to help build a new world. And that, of course, is the essence of my suggestion. Continuous creation of an effective frontier is the only long range solution to the collision of any establishment with a revolutionary young element wishing to take advantage of the changes in our society that technological innovation would make possible. Again there may be innumerable ways of carrying out the principles I would suggest and while I have a number of ideas of my own, I would like to encourage all of you to speculate on them. I would create self-sustaining new communities, based in part on a large national laboratory complex devoted to a significant current problem with technological implications, at least one each year, financed by self-liquidating investment from a large revolving fund such as the trust fund noted above.

Before I go into detail, I would like to enunciate a few principles. First, I believe that freeing the young and the imaginative to build technologically based new enclaves will increase our total wealth rapidly rather than cost money. While I hope to see a substantial revolving fund set up to finance this program I would prefer to see all advances on a loan basis so that there is no net cost to any existing establishment. Secondly, the communities created must be self-governed to the maximum feasible extent. They must pay their share of taxes and respect constitutional guarantees, but radical experimentation in social organizations should be encouraged. Thirdly, we should seek the maximum feasible diversity, geographically, in research areas, and in community organization. Fourthly, one must anticipate failures. If those selecting projects find all their projects financially sound in a short time, they are obviously being much too conservative. In some cases disaster will be visible in short order, in others success or failure may hang in the balance for a long time, in still others a long slow growth will eventually produce financial stability.

Let me develop these a little more. The first principle is, I believe, most important for the ultimate success of our campaign. We have noted a growing resistance to government support of scientific projects.

There is no substitute for such support of basic research on a large scale, but I don't know why we should confuse this with support of science and technology directed to specific useful ends. We are producing a growing number of technically trained people, most of whom are not going to earn their living doing basic research. We must use these scientists and engineers efficiently and effectively and in such a way as to meet their objectives. This means largely, that we must provide the opportunity for them to select socially desirable goals and carry them

<sup>1</sup> "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door"—Emma Lazarus.

out with a minimum of resistance from an existing establishment. But they certainly will expect to "earn their keep." I have nothing in principle against subsidizing a lot of socially useful activities, but I believe that any establishment that pays for innovation will find convenient methods of sabotaging such innovation to the extent they achieve significant changes. I would like to minimize the hold of the establishment on the innovative process.

I would like to see a program set up on a continuing recycling basis without recurrent requests for congressional approval or authorization. This would only be possible with a revolving fund and no net congressional appropriations (e.g. TVA).

One version of the scheme that I offer as an example is a commitment to set up roughly one new national laboratory every year, a new national laboratory located near but not of course directly in, an existing urban center. The management of this laboratory could be a nonprofit institution of some sort and might serve as the basic managerial authority for a "new town" new community to be located near or around the national laboratory. Each national laboratory is to have a basic practical area of research and development interest, e.g., housing, crime, transportation, energy sources, etc. The nonprofit institution desirous of running such a laboratory will be responsible for selecting personnel and preparing a prospectus setting forth the broad outlines of their goals. They should suggest at least roughly the areas in which research and development will be originally oriented and the physical geography of the area available for the new community. One might suggest that community size of the order of 10,000 acres including perhaps 1,000 for the national laboratory itself and ultimately housing perhaps 10,000 families might be a minimum sort of development suitable for heavily built up areas while some projects might readily approach 10 or 20 times this scale. Many areas of research and development suggest themselves. Housing dominates with a number of regional centers as possibilities. Transportation, exploitation of the ocean resources, information retrieval and communication sciences, techniques in education, and energy generation or conversion are obvious topics. There is already some national research in atomic energy, agriculture, and health which are funded somewhat differently, but if this process proves successful the continuing investment in health sciences which ordinarily meets less resistance than other areas of innovation might provide a similar basis for community development. (In this case an additional trust fund tied to a medical insurance program might be employed. Financing the program and the services of the laboratory might be partially paid for by such insurance funds in lieu of more direct earnings.)

Naturally we would expect other demands for scientists and engineers to continue. Universities will teach (and with a strong demand for scientists will continue to teach all that they can). Existing companies will grow and indeed will easily find a role in at least some of the communities. We must assume that many of the young want nothing more than maximum opportunity to do their thing in the existing framework. If the "national laboratory in forestry products" operated by Georgia Tech finds that cooperation with Georgia Pacific in improved logging techniques and Monsanto Chemical in improved land structure complements their improved trace element and irrigation program, while a privately owned local furniture factory goes well with their upgraded irradiated wood, fine.

Conversely, if the University of Michigan decides that a cooperative marketing procedure is the best way to handle their line of steam powered automobiles and by-pass the existing Detroit establishment, they ought to

get a fair chance to make it work. They probably won't put General Motors out of business, but might drastically alter the appearance of American cities in a generation or two.

It is important to emphasize that most established adults will not be affected at all by the most drastic experimental innovations. There is, of course, no age barrier to new ideas and interests and many older people will cast their lot with the young. With increased longevity, many will seek early retirement and a new start to everyone's benefit. But much as many enclaves of Europe resisted change while their sons fled to America; much as many rural villages today provide gentle refuge for those who choose not to tackle our urban environment; so we must assume that there will be many havens of stability for those who know when they're well off.

Like most visionaries I, too, have a dream, a dream not of a sterile utopia in some wise man's image, but rather the endless variety of a very mixed up America with maximum mobility for the dissatisfied, adequate wealth to ease the burdens of the unsuccessful, or merely unlucky, and exciting new opportunities to challenge the young of any chronological age.

#### FARM SUBSIDY BONANZA

**HON. RAY J. MADDEN**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, last year and again this year the House of Representatives by a substantial vote limited all annual subsidy farm payments to any one farm operation to \$20,000.

The other body repeating last year's disregard of the House action has again ignored this limitation and has placed the farm subsidy under the same unlimited payments to large corporation farm operations which has degenerated the so-called farm relief project into a national scandal. Almost 90 percent of this annual \$3.5 billion aid bonanza goes to large farm operations which defeats the real intent of the Congress to give the small farmers aid and financial relief.

I wish to include with my remarks the following editorial which was in yesterday's New York Times:

#### NO CEILING ON FARM SUBSIDIES

The poor go hungry in America as the nation, in an unconscionable paradox, lavishes subsidies on its large farm operations to encourage them not to grow more food. Yesterday, the Senate voted to continue these subsidies without ceiling in obtuse perpetuation of such indefensible policies.

Successive medical surveys have established beyond doubt that there is hunger in this land fat with agricultural surpluses. The Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs estimates that as many as 10 million Americans—5 per cent of the population—suffer from hunger and malnutrition and from the lassitude and disease they can cause. There does not, however, seem to be enough money in an otherwise outsized Federal budget to mount even a minimally effective food effort in their behalf. President Nixon has proposed putting off a meaningful effort until the next fiscal year.

Meanwhile, farm subsidies, continue higher than an elephant's eye and nearly reach the sky. Representative Paul Findley of Illinois, leading advocate of a \$20,000 ceiling on subsidies paid for any one farm

operation, has pointed out the grim disparities of present policy. In Texas last year, according to Mr. Findley, forty-six counties refused to participate in any food program for the poor while the farmers of these same counties harvested \$26,462,217 in subsidy payments. In Kansas, twenty-nine counties had no food programs for the poor although farm operators received \$4,274,533 in subsidies. In Missouri, the figures were thirteen counties without food programs and farm subsidies of \$1,185,276.

"Plainly," he charged, "the political leadership of these counties finds Federal handouts to wealthy farmers something they can live with, but Federal handouts to the hard core poor something else."

The increasingly urban orientation of the Congress—only thirty-one members of the House now represent districts that can be classified as even twenty-five per cent rural—will eventually require a revision of the nation's presently distorted farm and food policies. Ceilings will be imposed on subsidies, perhaps more gradually than Representative Findley would like, but imposed. Members of the Senate will join members of the House in responding to pressures from urban areas. The discouraging aspect of yesterday's vote is that so many members of the Senate consider these pressures so unperceptive today—and are apparently so unaffected by the crying need to alleviate hunger and accomplish justice quite apart from political considerations.

#### AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON

**HON. CHESTER L. MIZE**

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, the Morrill & James Bank and Trust Co. of Hiawatha, Kans., recently published in the Hiawatha, Kans., Daily World, an open letter to President Richard Nixon. The thrust of this letter is to recommend to the President the wisdom of directing efforts toward revitalizing existing communities throughout the country rather than investing in entirely new cities from the ground up. Those of us who are sponsoring the Rural Job Development Act feel the same way and heartily endorse the points made in this open letter. So that my colleagues who represent hundreds of small towns and know about the many advantages for family living they offer can have a chance to read this letter and endorse its purpose, too, I include it in the RECORD as an extension of my remarks. The letter follows:

#### AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON

DEAR PRESIDENT NIXON: Not long ago a syndicated magazine that is distributed in our area published a list of the great problems confronting our nation.

There were spaces for the reader to check those he thought were the most pressing.

Among them was the problem of congestion in our overcrowded cities. A predicament everyone agrees belongs near the top of the list.

There are those who say, to meet this situation we must build more cities<sup>1</sup> . . . new cities . . . from the ground, up, to get people away from the squalor and violence of those large population centers.

But, Mr. President, why should we build

<sup>1</sup> Refer to "New Cities Program Committee" Duluth, Minn.

more cities? . . . More public buildings, schools, churches, hospitals in new locations? . . . Why should we organize more city governments when we have, all over rural America, thousands of small towns already established—some of which are qualified to serve as a nucleus for such a project? . . . Towns with their roots already deep in the American tradition of "liberty and justice for all" . . .

People have left these rural towns in large numbers—not from choice—but because they must, to find employment for a good and comfortable life. They would gladly come back from the crowded cities if there were industries to give them employment in the towns from which they came.

Take, for example, the town of Hiawatha, Kansas . . . Hiawatha is surrounded by fertile farm lands that show increasingly high yields because of technological advances in agriculture. But—with these increases goes an ever decreasing need for man-power . . . for people to operate these farms. There is not enough work for all.

So they leave.

More and more they go to the overcrowded cities to find work . . . cities which, because of their very bigness are unable to provide suitable living conditions for all . . . And the towns from which they came are left struggling . . . Struggling by every possible means to attract new industries . . . new ways to keep their people at home.

You see, we're not talking about the stagnant, dying little places that have given up hope . . . We're talking about those vigorous, ambitious towns that are still eager to grow and succeed. Such towns, working against tremendous odds have managed through sheer tenacity, to hold their own—and even to grow!

Mr. President, don't you think they've proven their worth?

Hiawatha, Kansas is such a town. In spite of a dwindling farm population it has grown. And it has done it without federal assistance . . . A dedicated, hard working Industrial Development Committee has secured new manufacturing plants and established an Industrial Park which will be traversed by new Union Pacific Railroad tracks. Two of the largest of these industries are entirely independent. They are not tributary to large city organizations. They are Hiawatha's own!

Do you think towns with so much get-up-and-go should be passed by and left to struggle along on their own, ignored and forgotten, while they pay federal taxes to be used for bulldozers and steel, to construct totally new cities?

We don't think so.

It is said, "Success grows out of the needs of one segment of society being met and supplied by another." . . . The large cities of America need help . . . The rural towns of America need help. Why not devise a plan whereby they can help each other? . . . Why not begin in a community like Hiawatha, Kansas? . . . Why not begin in Hiawatha!

We do not propose to outline a plan for accomplishing this. But we have faith to believe a country that can send its people to the moon can surely work out a means of solving its problems here below.

Mr. President, we think this is a challenge that should have the immediate and serious attention of you and the Congress of the United States.

#### LEARN TO READ WITH A PENCIL

**HON. DAVID PRYOR**

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. PRYOR of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, Sunday's Washington Post reprinted a most inspirational speech which was de-

livered by Prof. David McCord, a poet and essayist who taught at Harvard for 40 years. Professor McCord gave his address at Colby College, Waterville, Maine, at recent graduation exercises. I think without reservation this speech is a classic and should be brought to the attention of our colleagues.

The speech follows:

#### LEARN TO READ WITH A PENCIL

(By David McCord)

I am no stranger to the State of Maine, so let me begin by reminding you that a Maine Guide's license may be worth more than the bachelor's degree. At least it guarantees you won't get lost. But since life is the only thing we have to live, and since your life will be rich for others only as it is rich for you, I propose to talk about one way in which you can attain at an early age what Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes referred to as "the subtle rapture of a postponed power."

Many of you have surely noticed in your reading in the past few months an increasing use of the word "autodidact." Without going to the dictionary, where you may not find it anyway, you can guess that it means a person self-teaching or self-taught. Now, Lincoln, Darwin, Edison, Bell, Burbank, Franklin, Whitman, Edward Lear, Winslow Homer, Mark Twain, Henry Ford and Ernest Hemingway were autodidacts. Not one of them went to college.

Of course, it is the function of our schools, our colleges and universities to teach us to be autodidacts, but the tragedy is that most of the learning process as we learned it dies with the diploma. You may pursue this dismal thought somewhat in Jowett, introducing Plato:

"The want of energy is one of the main reasons why so few persons continue to improve in later years. They have not this will, and do not know the way. They never 'try an experiment' or look up a point of interest for themselves; or make no sacrifices for the sake of knowledge . . . hardly any one keeps up his interest in knowledge throughout a whole life."

#### FOREIGNERS SHAME US

The most appalling phase of this indictment is, of course, the crass indifference of the average U.S. citizen toward the English language—the speaking, reading and writing of the richest, most sonorous, poetic, searching and rewarding of all tongues west of Babel; Shakespeare's universal language; the one language which circles the globe; the one language which people born in France, Germany, Holland, Denmark, China, Japan, Brazil and India, as I have heard them, often handle with a grace, command and reverence enough to shame us; my friend Chiang Yee, the self-styled "Silent Traveler," for example; or Vladimir Nabokov; or Prof. Kozo Tada of the University of Tokyo; or the late Isak Dinesen of Denmark, one of the great stylists of our time, whose voice I have heard on records.

I do not ask why this is so, but I do ask why the self-teaching instinct in us, so strong when we are learning to play baseball, collect stamps, skin-dive, ski or reassemble a gasoline engine, fails to focus in our riper years on what can give delight, distinction and explicit power to our speech, our writing, our reading and—so infinitely more important—to the art and spiritual enjoyment of living which means you and me. Or, wanting for this, just why the autodidact in us fails to focus on our language as a simple tool, the mastery of which has proved itself for centuries an asset beyond price in business, industry, the professions; in marriage, parenthood and in the daily commerce and "noble merchandize," as John Buchan said, of our so-called civilization.

The autodidact in the poet does not fail him. Great poetry—good poetry—is free of

jargon. Poets know, as Emerson said, that "every word was once a poem." They read aloud to themselves; they hear as well as see. They have an ear for tone and overtone, else they are not poets. They flush the cuckoo adjective out of the nest of nouns and verbs. They seek exactness out of inexactness. They hear their own echoes—all words disastrously repeated—and eliminate them.

They loathe and avoid the cliché—"no problem, that's the way the ball bounces, let's face it, get with it, that's what you think, you can say that again, as a matter of fact, no kidding, let me put it this way." They choose the muscular metaphor above the weaker simile: something is, not something is like. "Up from India glances the silver sail of dawn," which is Housman. "The smell of liver and bacon sidled into the street with onions on its breath," which is Dylan Thomas. Poets are masters of precision—the *precis*.

Every poet worth his salt gets the essential shiver down the backbone at sight or sound of the inevitable, distilled in the alembic:

"I have seen old ships sail like swans asleep  
Beyond the village which men still call  
Tyre."

He knows why "over the hills and far away," out of an anonymous nursery rhyme, has been called by G. K. Chesterton one of the most beautiful lines of verse in English. Six famous poets, Tennyson, Scott and Stevenson among them, have taken it for their own, without quotation marks. What the magic is, which one of us can say? But who will say it is not there?

And, quite conversely, who will deny the wit of this quatrain by Dr. Harold T. Meryman, a cryobiologist? (Cryo from the Greek *kyros*, you remember, meaning icy cold.)

"I have no doubt that I could freeze  
My mother-in-law with the greatest ease.  
The only thing that gives me pause  
Is, what would happen when she thaws?"

Or, conversely again, listen to these words of Philip Hofer on Edward Lear. What greater tribute than to say of one shy, humble, bumbling genius of a man, "He tried so little to exploit the world, and put so much back into it."

#### A 5-FOOT GIANT

When I was an undergraduate uneasy in determination to become a physicist, I took very lightly the solemn counsel of Prof. Charles T. Copeland—Copey of Calais, Maine—that reading poetry and trying one's hand with poetry was the best, and for many people the only, way to learn to write responsible, respectable, persuasive prose. By the time I reached the graduate school and was listening to Prof. John Livingston Lowes at the peak of his power in that vast and thrilling study of Coleridge which he subsequently called "The Road to Xanadu," I knew that Copey was right.

But if poetry was important, so was poetic prose itself. Prof. Lowes was a stylist with a powerful sense of drama and detection. It was this 5-foot giant with the booming voice and occasional outbursts of choleric temper who urged upon us the art of reading with a pencil: not to disfigure a book with school-boy underscoring—a book, of course, for which we had paid good money—but to put a small vertical line in the margin opposite the significant sentence, word or paragraph, and to write on a blank page at the back folio 161 (or whatever), quote the word, phrase or sentence in question, make a note of our dissent if we differed, or a comparison with or a parallel to something else if we had a comparison or a parallel available, or an extension of an idea if we could extend it. A page or two of such notes, and the heart of the volume is yours forever.

I have never forgotten the excitement of that moment when I learned how to make a book utterly my own—not yours or the

next fellow's—but mine. Wherefore today, some thousands of volumes and many years later, I say to you: begin to build your personal library now. Not the family library, not a library of sets unopened, uncut and unread, but an intimate library, a library as close to you as your clothes, your watch, or your car. In a few years' time, this alter ego collection will number 50 or 100 or several hundred volumes, totally a part of you.

"Great books," said E. M. Forster, "make you feel small in the right way." And if each book is truly a great or influential book, tested by years or generations or centuries of other readers—a great or influential book germane to you and to your need because you read it with delight; a good book, a wise book, that is, like "Moby Dick," "My Antonia," "The Outermost House," "A Passage to India," "Walden," "Arabia Deserta," "The Tempest," "Hamlet," "Peer Gynt," "Samson Agonistes," "The Heart of Emerson's Journals," "Pickwick," "Alice," "The Sea and the Jungle," "Father and Son," "The Oregon Trail," "Kim," "Far Away and Long Ago," "Aequanimitas," "Life on the Mississippi," "Of Human Bondage," "Tarka the Otter," "The Small Years," "The Mirror of the Sea," "War and Peace," "Religio Medici," "The Practical Cogitator," "The Crock of Gold," "The Country of the Pointed Firs," "Cobblers," "Come Hither," "The Dyer's Hand," "The Castle" or "The Road to Xanadu"—then, I say, your correspondence, paper, reports, articles, recommendations, everything you write will reflect possession of this body of knowledge, pursuit of style and effortless reference.

The book of quotations has not been made that will hold a candle to what you carry in your head so far as you are concerned. For what you will carry in your head will be the flavor of good writing. Your everyday speech will have taken on a hue and a quality above that of your friends and colleagues.

#### THE FLAWLESS LETTER

I am not talking miracles, I am talking facts. For example, as your daily intake of mail increases over a decade—and you will wish it would not—you will find, as I have found, that it is a lucky morning when one unforced letter rests on the top of the pile because it is flawless in composition, correct in punctuation, original in voice, engaging in tone, compelling by enthusiasm, yet demaying in the thought that you have not the wit to answer it in kind.

But when you have answered it, have cheerfully sweated over every paragraph, you will be cheerfully surprised to discover that reading with a pencil has taught you the truth of what Mark Twain observed somewhat ahead of us: "The difference between the right right word and the nearly right word is the difference between lightning and lightning bug."

Dr. Robert B. Greenough, the cancer surgeon, once received the perfect bread-and-butter letter after a house party he had given on Cape Cod. "Dear Bob," wrote C. F. Weed, a graduate of Trinity College. "Some parties deserve a letter, some don't. Yours does. Here's mine." These are the right words; they are not rude words, and not one of them can be deleted. Right words also are these from another source, "If I can do anything to help you, hesitate to ask me."

One thing more: I advocate what Prof. Reuben Brower of Harvard proposes in a book called "In Defense of Reading." "Slow down the process of reading to observe what is happening . . . to the words, their uses and their meanings." Speed reading, useful to an editor or scholar in search of something in particular, has no more place in your cultural growth than a book club. Slow down! Read the way a poet does; to taste, to reflect and to savor.

Haunt the second-hand bookstores, and zero in on the right books for you the way we used to line a bee-tree out in Oregon—by triangulation. When several critics or

friends with a trusted background of learning say at different times. "You have never read Erskine Childer's "The Riddle of the Sands," go out and find it. I am no sailor of small boats, but that is precisely how I came upon "The Riddle of the Sands"—as you may also; a breath-taking adventure with this classic in its field. Be not autoecious, living on one book. Be alert in your diversity.

My maternal grandfather, a Presbyterian minister, was an Emersonian and a good Greek scholar. Though he died before I was born, my mother inherited the priceless legacy of reading aloud.

I was brought up on Edward Lear, Lewis Carroll, the Oz books, Ralph Henry Barbour, Gilbert distinct from Sullivan, the King James version of the Bible, Jules Verne, Dickens, Stevenson, the Reliable Poultry Journal, Hugo Gernsbach's prophesying Modern Electrics and, finally, Emerson. This odd admixture gave me not only the feel of words and their texture: Lear and Carroll let me see the play in words and nonsense at its best. My own marginal notes over the years, therefore, have varied from the fanciful and foolish to the severely technical in subject.

To support my thesis, let me say that a great part of this annotation which I propose is not far from the creative process itself. You are dealing, to be sure, with other men's and other women's ideas, idioms and styles; but the residual power of suggestion is very strong, and the interplay of these notes in a subliminal sense begins to enrich your understanding of what makes a great style, what constitutes an original voice.

Visiting a vastly impressive display of the portrait photographs of Yousuf Karsh at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, I felt that his camera was invariably close to his printed comment on his subjects. There was the famous portrait of Sir Winston Churchill, and under it one of the most memorable summaries ever written on the finest hour in World War II. "Here was the man who marshaled the English language and sent it into battle when we had little else."

Quite apart from the self-teaching aspect of putting pen to paper as I make my marginal notes, just because a few of them manage to stick in a slippery mind simply through the physical act of transcription, I always have the miser-like feeling of the small boy dropping his penny through the slot in the china pig. This is my savings account against black Saturdays, bleak winters, disappointment and impoverished inspiration. Which is why I felt a kinship with Karsh under the silent dominion of the photographs of all those many men and women of genius he had met.

In 1935, when I was severed from my appendix, my old friend Henry Beston sent me a vaseful of herbs from his garden. Not flowers, mind you, but dittany, rue, sweet marjoram, lavender and thyme. As we assemble here, suspended between Carbon 14 and Strontium 90, I am mindful of the earth in all its elemental mystery: the planet we are plundering, the great forests we are cutting down, the doubtful gains, material and otherwise, computered toward the day when man will dredge his plankton breakfast from the sea. I look to my notes in Henry Beston's "Herbs and the Earth":

"Peace with the earth is the first peace," wrote Henry. "For man is of a quickening spirit and the earth, the strong, incoming tides and rhythms of nature move in his blood and being; he is an emanation of that journeying god the sun, born anew in the pale South and the hollow winter, the slow murmur and the long crying of the seas are in his veins, the influences of the moon, and the sound of rain beginning. Torn from earth and unaware, without the beauty and the terror, the mystery and ecstasy so rightfully his, man is a vagrant in space, desperate for the inhuman meaningfulness which has

opened about him, and with his every step becoming something less than man.

"Peace with the earth is the first peace. Unto so great a mystery, to paraphrase a noble saying, no one path leads, but many paths."

#### TAILOR-MADE LINES

Somewhere in your reading, you will one day make your own small note relating to this college—relating you to this college, to say it better. Two such notes relate me still to mine.

Harvard celebrated her tercentenary in 1936, and the brief history of that occasion needed a subtitle. Surely the right words, the inevitable words, were somewhere in Thoreau, who had been graduated just 99 years earlier. To go through Thoreau's collected works would have taken me months; but to go through my marginal notes in "Walden" and the rest took but ten minutes. And there, indeed, recorded without any thought of immediate use, was the subtitle tailor-made: "Not that the story need be long, but it will take a long while to make it short." I had copied it, surely, just because the sound of it pleased me.

The other instance is a note in the first edition of Willa Cather's "My Antonia," a work of genius which for one reader, remains about as close as we have come to the great American novel. My note says in quotation marks, "That is happiness; to be dissolved into something complete and great." These were, I reasoned, the right words for one electing to spend his life in a university. No critic, to my knowledge, ever singled out that observation of Miss Cather's: 11 words defining, in this instance, my own unstated philosophy.

Well, some years after Willa Cather died, I stopped at the shady edge of the burial ground in Jaffrey, N.H., to pay my respects to her grave. No one directed my search. It seemed to me that she would have chosen the western rim, looking out on Monadnock and west toward her Nebraska. I chose a headstone, not different from the others, and walked diagonally toward it. At the top of the stone was her name, her dates; and across the bottom, "That is happiness; to be dissolved into something complete and great."

Marking one's books alerts the reader for impressive, sometimes amusing, parallels. Besides Sir Winston, the second voice of World War II for some of us was the voice of H. M. Tomlinson. What man or woman has said of human or inhuman conduct what he wrote for the Atlantic in the first days of the then-called phony war?

Looking down on the English Channel, empty of shipping, he put it once for all—words indelible for his time and for ours: "Out of the viewless comes a corruption of the instinctive loyalties of men." Does anything in Orwell quite equal that?

When Whistler said, after he was dismissed from West Point for failing in chemistry, "If silicon had been a gas, I'd have been a major general," would you have failed to make a note of it? Havelock Ellis warns the writer to "be clear, be clear; be not too clear," and we move a little closer to the poems of Wallace Stevens.

Then along comes Lloyd Frankenberg, writing of James Stephens, immortal for "The Crock of Gold," a man who would today stand cubits higher if his friend James Joyce had never lived. "We should never be too clear," says Frankenberg. And of Stephens himself, he adds, "He has a simple faith in complexity."

Not always, though, for Stephens was Irish and had the Gaelic as well. For example, "They fell out over pigs, let them fall in over pigs." Or again, of the young bully of his Irish school, "He was densely packed with pugnacity." Or of the young wife, "She could play the piano with such skill that it was difficult to explain why she played it badly."

It was a marginal note in my reading

which first directed my attention to the strength of the monosyllabic line. At a time when the writers of four-letter words are coming down to meet the four-letter word readers coming up, do not forget, as Sir Winston Churchill did not forget, that the good short words—usually Anglo-Saxon—are the strong words. "Aye, but to die, and go we know not where," says Shakespeare, a master of the monosyllable.

In Robert Frost's selected poems, you will find that some 65 begin with a monosyllabic line and some 47 conclude with one.

"Whose woods these are I think I know . . ."  
"And looked down one as far as I could."  
"Home is the place where, when you have to go there, they have to take you in."

"We love the things we love for what they are."

"Some say the world will end in fire, some say in ice."

#### PINWHEEL AND SHOWPIECE

I offer now two set pieces: a pinwheel and a showpiece in the way we used to end a smoky 4th of July when I was a boy. Neither of these poems of mine would have been written but for a mosaic of marginal notes set down over a good many years in many different books. Indeed, all that I have said today has been at random, somewhat the way Ken Coleman and Mel Parnell will recall historic double plays and robberies committed in deep left field to kill time while the cart rolls from the bullpen with a warmed-up pitcher.

Years of noting what I call root words gave me what follows. You must look for the absent prefix: not uncouth, but couth; not unkempt, but kempt; not inane, but ane. I am afraid you must also listen carefully. I offer this poem, "Gloss," to you as an expression of freedom.

"I know a little man both ept and ert.  
An intro-? extro? No, he's just a vert.  
Sheveled and couth and kempt, pecunious,  
ane.

His image trudges upon the ceptive brain.

When life turns spid and the mind is traught,

The spirit soars as I would sist it ought.

Chalantly then, like any gainly goof,  
My digent self is sertive, choate, loof."

And now this last poem called "The Walnut Tree." In southwest Pennsylvania, before World War I, my family and I visited an abandoned farm. Somewhere on it, at the edge of the hill that overlooked the valley, stood an old walnut tree with the tallest swing I ever saw. The ropes were safe enough, and so I swung.

For half a century I thought about that experience but never could visualize it as a poem. I wanted it to be not like Stevenson's swing—not romantic and childlike—but about life itself. The swing was a symbol. Three years ago, as I drove through the mill section of Lynn, Mass., I suddenly saw the poem spelled out in a red traffic light, wrote a couple lines of it, pulled through the green and wrote the rest. It was all so spontaneous, out of the subconscious, that I know how much original, youthful happiness is in it; also how much of my instinctive love of the land.

Let me remind you that on the only occasion when Henry James met Rupert Brooke, he told him not to be afraid to be happy. I tell you the same. And I should like you to think there is something of Henry Beston and the State of Maine in "The Walnut Tree," for it was Henry who said, "It is only when we are aware of the earth and of the earth as poetry that we truly live."

#### THE WALNUT TREE

"There was once an swing in a walnut tree,  
As tall as double a swing might be,  
At the edge of the hill where the branches  
spread

So it swung the valley right under me;  
Then down and back as the valley fled.  
I wonder if that old tree is dead?  
I could look straight up in the lifting heart  
Of the black old walnut there and start  
My flying journey from green to blue  
With a wish and a half that the ropes would  
part  
And sail me out on a course as true  
As the crows in a flock had dared me to.

I swung from the past to the far dim days  
Forever ahead of me. Through the haze  
I saw the steeple, a flash of white,  
And I gave it a shout for the scare and  
praise

Of being a boy on the verge of flight.  
And I pumped on the swing with all my  
might

Till the valley widened. Oh, I could guess  
From the backward No to the forward Yes  
That the world begins in the sweep of eye,  
With the wonder of all of it more or less  
In the last hello and the first goodbye.  
And a swing in the walnut tree is why."

#### HEALTH BENEFITS FOR CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEES

### HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, in 1959 Congress passed a piece of legislation of vital importance to millions of civil service employees. The Federal Employees Health Benefits Act created a highly desirable hospital and medical insurance protection program. However, during the creation of this program the Congress made a miscalculation. It is now time to correct that miscalculation.

Today I have introduced legislation intended to modernize the Federal Employees Health Benefits Act. The bill, when enacted, will ease the burden now hanging heavily on the civil servant; and it will rectify the miscalculation of 1959.

When the program was originally being developed, an important consideration was the belief that many Federal employees could not afford an expensive health plan. Hence, the act provided that two levels of benefits should be offered by the Civil Service Commission. The two levels have become known as the high option and the low option. By paying the difference between the cost of low option and high option an employee could secure the increased protection of the more expensive plan.

The assumption made in 1959 was that the majority of employees would choose the low option plan. This assumption has proved false; and today 90 percent of the employees have chosen to purchase the extra protection of the high option plan.

Consequently, the presumption that the Government would pay 50 percent of the cost of insurance—the intent of the 1959 act—has also proved incorrect. Statistics provided by the Civil Service Commission indicate that in the leading Government-supported plans—Blue Cross-Blue Shield and Aetna plans—employees have in the last 2 years contributed 70.6 percent of the cost, while the Government has contributed only 29.3 percent.

Mr. Speaker, the bill I have introduced today will remedy this imbalance by

equalizing the contributions as was intended in 1959. The bill provides that the Government will share the expenses by allocating as its contribution an amount equal to one-half of the cost of the least expensive of the "high option" plans. This adjusts the present law to reflect the reality of the preferences which have been expressed by the employees whom the law is designed to protect.

I feel strongly that an employee should not be penalized, because he chooses to subscribe to the best available protection for himself and his family. Adjusting the Government contribution as the bill proposes will serve to eradicate this inequity.

#### ELIMINATING DOUBLE SUBSIDY WASTE AND PROVIDING SHIP AVAILABILITY IN CONDITIONS SHORT OF WAR

### HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill to prevent payment of double subsidies, and to assure availability of tonnage for defense purposes in the national interest, and for other purposes.

This bill deals with the present practice of paying subsidy to U.S.-flag lines to meet foreign-flag competition, and then permitting the subsidized lines to use the subsidy to bid against unsubsidized operators for carriage of cargoes reserved for U.S.-flag ships. In this way, the subsidy paid is wasted, the U.S.-flag share of our foreign commerce is reduced, and unsubsidized operators are deprived of the cargoes they need if they are to survive with direct Government subsidy.

Cargoes reserved for U.S.-flag ships under the cargo-preference laws are in all respects similar to cargoes moving in the domestic commerce of the United States, which are also reserved only for carriage by U.S.-flag ships. For domestic cargoes, the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 provides that if a subsidized line carries any domestic cargo, it must pay back a portion of the subsidies it has received to meet foreign-flag competition.

This bill applies the same principle to the other cargoes reserved for U.S.-flag ships.

Under the bill, subsidized operators must agree to forgo operating subsidy and to repay construction subsidy in the proportion that preference-cargo revenue bears to the total revenue: the more preference cargo they carry, the less subsidy they would retain. If any such operator refuses to agree, its vessels may not be used for preference cargo unless other vessels are not available, in which case the freight or charter rate is in any case to be reduced as required by the above formula.

Enactment of the bill would assure that subsidy payments would be used for their real purpose: to assist subsidized lines to meet foreign-flag competition. Without additional appropriations for subsidy, a larger subsidized fleet could be supported, the U.S.-flag share of foreign commerce

would increase, and a larger and stronger unsubsidized fleet would result.

Section 2 of the bill meets an asserted deficiency in existing law for the use of ships by the Government in conditions short of national emergency or war. The DOD has complained that the subsidized fleet was not made available in the Vietnam war in the number required. The bill provides that whenever the Government determines it would be in the national interest to do so, it can require vessels enjoying any benefits under the Merchant Marine Act—whether subsidy, mortgage aid or cargo preference—to be made available for service, either on liner or charter terms. Applicable rates would be subject to the just compensation provisions of section 902, and the Government would endeavor to divide the burden equitably among carriers.

#### THE 1970 CENSUS—NO MYTH HERE

### HON. JACKSON E. BETTS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, recent critics of census reform apparently have not given much study in depth to the reasons back of the reform movement. They seem to be enchanted with the idea that the Census Bureau has the right to secure from the people any information which is desired by Government or business even by compulsory methods backed by fine and imprisonment. Their only justification seems to be that it is needed. But the argument of need runs headlong into some persuasive and convincing counter-arguments; namely, whether the present methods are proper, effective, or acceptable. The following editorial from the Wall Street Journal of July 7 is an important contribution to the argument for census reform:

#### NO MYTH HERE

In suggesting there's something uncomfortably sweeping about the laws allowing the Census Bureau to ask whatever it wants and compel everyone to answer, we once asked, "Shall we become a nation where the government can jail anyone who declines to discuss the condition of his plumbing?"

We now find ourselves called to task by columnist Sylvia Porter, in an article based on an interview with a census official and entitled, at least in New York, "Census: Count the Myths." Here we find ourselves in the uncomfortable company of an otherwise unidentified "Southern newspaper" and a "recorded telephone message," both spreading malicious nonsense about the forthcoming census.

The fact is, though, that the Government can throw a citizen in jail for refusing to discuss the state of his plumbing. To be sure, it has never done so. The 60-day jail sentence for refusing to answer census questions has never been imposed, and the \$100 fine only rarely. Yet there is the law.

After telling us the compulsory provisions practically never need to be enforced, census officials next tell us the same provisions are absolutely necessary to statistical accuracy and the common weal. Also they add that we can trust them; they would never pry.

Well, some of us still believe the civics books maxims about a government of laws being preferable to a government of men. And in establishing the purity of present census-takers, Miss Porter provides a dandy

illustration of the unwisdom of leaving everything to bureaucratic discretion.

She reports, "In 1880 and 1890, individuals were asked [such] questions as whether they often had to be restrained by a strait-jacket; the head size of any 'idiot' in the family; whether the respondent was 'habitually in-temperate,' a 'tramp,' 'syphilitic,' or a 'habitual drunkard.' Now that was nosy!"

You bet it was; and the laws that allowed it are still on the books.

#### CONSTITUTION AND COURT

### HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, considerable concern has been expressed in recent times over the transformation that has been effected in the U.S. Constitution through interpretations of the U.S. Supreme Court. A pertinent and thought-provoking article written by Mr. Frank E. Masland, Jr., appeared in the July 5, 1969, issue of the Evening Sentinel, a leading newspaper in my congressional district, published in Carlisle, Pa. I insert this article into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the attention of my colleagues:

#### CONSTITUTION AND COURT

To the Editor of the Sentinel:

Might the demise of Chief Justice Earl Warren and the advent of Chief Justice Earl Burger be an appropriate time for the nation to recall the words of Benjamin Franklin? It seems that when he was leaving Independence Hall following the signing of the Constitution a woman stopped him and asked "What kind of a government have you given us Mr. Franklin?" To which Franklin replied: "A Republic madam—if you can keep it."

Franklin said something more, something I think we could take to heart today. He added that the Constitution gave us a government high in positive powers checked and balanced to prevent misuse of them but fundamentally so much a government of the people that its ultimate character would be determined by the character of the people.

Franklin went on to say that the Constitution would either bring happiness to the people through the wisdom and integrity of those they chose to govern them—or it could end in despotic rule when the people were too corrupted for anything but despotism. It is regrettable that every high school student is not called upon to memorize the Constitution of the United States. It is also regrettable that our school history courses do not so clearly point up the mistakes we as a people have made, that we do not repeat them.

Were we more intimately acquainted with the Constitution, it is less likely we would have permitted it to be rewritten during the years of the Warren Court. Were we more aware of the mistakes made in the past, it is unlikely we would place credence in the policies advocated by the Fulbrights and Kennedys.

Following the adjournment of the Constitutional Convention the document produced was hailed abroad "as the greatest ever devised by the mind of man." It seems to me that anyone reading the roster of those who composed the Constitution must sense that God raised up for that particular time and that particular mission a company of men eminently qualified, probably unequaled since.

Let us call the roll of those who built the base on which this country lived and grew and prospered—Washington, Madison and

Franklin, Jefferson, the Adams and Alexander Hamilton, Mason, Wythe, Robert and Gouverneur Morris, Rutledge, Johnson, King, Martin, Livingston, Sherman, Ellsworth, Patterson, Patrick Henry, John Dickinson and Carlisle's own Wilson.

Compare the calibre of these men with that of those of the Warren Court who with colossal presumption have rewritten the Constitution, in effect saying "We are more capable of providing guidelines than were those who founded the nation."

There was probably not a man among those who participated in the events of those historic days in Philadelphia who envisioned or would have approved the decision by the Supreme Court that Bible reading in our schools was contrary to the intent of the Constitution. They would with equal unanimity damn those decisions of the Warren Court which held that the Constitution they drafted was intended to permit unrestricted obscenity and rampant pornography.

With equal vehemence they would have disclaimed recent opinions of the Court rendering it complex, difficult and in many cases impossible to successfully prosecute even self confessed criminals.

One has but to compare the men who drafted our Constitution with those who have presumed to rewrite it to know that the rewritten document does not represent the intent of those who composed it. They were men of character, most of them possessing deep religious convictions, men who could not have conceived of decisions negating the practice of prayer anywhere at any time or opening the door for licentious obscenity and pornography or for measures that permit the criminal to avoid retribution.

Washington commented—"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and Morality are indispensable supports."

And again "Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a Nation with its virtue?"

Almost certainly if Franklin were to be accosted today his reply would be "We gave you a Republic and told you it would bring happiness or misery depending upon the wisdom and integrity of those you chose to govern. Only by blind unwillingness to recognize unpleasant facts can you continue to think of your nation as a Republic."

I think he might also call to our attention words from Washington's farewell address. "If we remain one People under an efficient government the time will come when we may choose peace or war as our interest shall counsel."

We are confronted with a nation which openly states that its intention is to destroy the free peoples of the world—specifically, the United States. It should be clear to all who prefer not to live in a Communist world that we cannot afford to accord such an enemy the privilege of choice.

What is our mood as we commemorate our day of independence. Will we as a people indicate clearly to those who govern that we insist upon a return to those constitutional interpretations that brought us so successfully through the past two hundred years? Will we heed the advice of George Washington to maintain our strength no matter what sacrifice may be called for?

Very truly yours,

FRANK E. MASLAND, JR.

RD 6, CARLISLE, PA.

#### REPORT ON INCOME

### HON. JOHN V. TUNNEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, in recent months there has been considerable pub-

lic concern about the ethics of persons who serve in the executive, judicial, and legislative branches of the Federal Government.

This concern has been focused, and rightfully so, upon the circumstances under which an official's independent judgment might be affected by non-Federal sources of income and business affiliations.

I have consistently supported legislative proposals requiring Members of Congress to disclose their financial interests, for I believe that a Congressman's source of outside income is a matter which should be revealed to the public.

Therefore, I wish to publicly report that the only income which I received in 1968, in addition to my Federal income, came from investments in stocks and bonds of the following companies:

American Metal Climax.  
American Standard.  
Becton Dickinson.  
Betz Laboratories.  
Carrier Corporation.  
Cons Freightways, Inc.  
Hess Oil Chemical.  
Heublein Inc. Com.  
Holiday Inns.  
Intl Flavors Frag.  
Johnson Johnson Com.  
Lows Companies, Inc.  
McLean Industries.  
Pennzoil Untd 1.33 pr.  
Reeves Telcom.  
Royal Dutch Petroleum Co.  
Spartans Ind 5% cv.

Otherwise, I received no legal fees, performed no services for compensation, nor received any honorariums in 1968.

#### AMENDMENTS TO PACKERS AND STOCKYARDS ACT OF 1921

### HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill to amend the Packers and Stockyards Act. The revisions that I have suggested are not all inclusive and they deal primarily with the problem of assuring the producer payment for his livestock that he sells through packers.

In order to provide this payment assurance, it is necessary that the definition of packers be expanded in order to update the present method of handling or purveying meat. The basic act of 1921 needs to be amended in this respect.

Formerly, most of our livestock went through public stockyards channels and eventually were sold to packers through selling agents that were licensed to operate in the public yards. Certain qualifications must be met by these commission firms in order to engage in this highly professional duty of exposing the livestock for sale, and getting the most dollars for the producer. Today, much of our livestock goes directly into packers hands, thus bypassing the safety standards that are provided by practice and law at the public stockyards. Estimates are that up to 50 percent of the livestock

used by packers is now purchased direct from feedlots or from farmers. While the instances or purchases by insolvent meatpackers are not common, still they are frequent enough that certain precautions should be provided to livestock producers of receiving their money for the sale of the livestock. The bill of necessity makes other minor changes in the 1921 act in order to bring in a more complete assortment of resources to producers. I urge your study and comment on this bill.

#### REMOTE AREA MEDICAL FACILITIES ACT OF 1969

**HON. HOWARD W. POLLOCK**

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing the Remote Area Medical Facilities Act of 1969. This legislation takes two steps toward making more effective and more economical use of scarce medical resources and personnel.

First, it will authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to make remote Indian medical facilities available to non-Indians under certain conditions. Second, it will allow private physicians to treat non-Indians in remote area hospitals.

Part 1 of this plan has already been adopted in my home State of Alaska pursuant to 48 U.S.C. 49, and has proven successful. There, the State has designated certain areas as "remote" with respect to health services, and in these areas the Public Health Service hospitals provide services to nonbeneficiaries on a reimbursable basis. This act will extend the Alaska program to remote areas in other parts of the country.

Part 2, which allows private physicians to treat non-Indians in Indian hospitals is not in effect in Alaska, but is a measure which the Public Health Service has been requesting for years.

Both the needs of the Indian peoples and the need to make the most efficient and economical use of scarce medical resources are taken into account under the procedure in both parts of the proposal. The consent of the major tribes served by the facility must be obtained, and first priority will be given to the needs of the Indian peoples. Control of the hospitals will remain in the hands of the Division of Indian Health. In short, the measure insures that the primary mission of the hospitals will remain; the quality medical care of the Indian community.

In addition, however, the act will provide for full use of facilities by allowing non-Indians to utilize hospitals on a "space available" basis. Consequently, pockets of deprivation—like that near Owyhee, Nev., Indian hospital where non-Indians must travel 90 miles to the nearest hospital that will admit them—will be eliminated.

The HEW Secretary will establish rates to be charged non-Indians which will reflect the reasonable cost of their

use of the facilities. Thus the Government will in no way be subsidizing the program.

The act provides for the sensible use of public health facilities, maintaining their primary purpose of health care for Indians and authorizing their full use to benefit all persons living in remote areas where coordination of Government and private medical resources is the only way to obtain adequate health care for all.

#### ARID LAND PROBLEMS REQUIRE BOTH SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL SCIENCES

**HON. GEORGE P. MILLER**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, both social and physical sciences are required to resolve the problems of the development of arid lands. I was reminded of this truth on reading a paper on "Organizing for Public Action To Resolve Arid Lands Problems" delivered by the Honorable William E. Warne at the third plenary session of the International Arid Lands Conference at Tucson, Ariz., on June 9, 1969.

Mr. Warne said that "institution building" is as important as dam building in developing successful water resources projects over the world. Mr. Warne's 35 years of experience in private enterprise and public agencies, in State of California, Federal, and international programs of the constructive type have given him a unique background for the discussion.

Some veteran Members of the Congress will remember when Mr. Warne came from California and entered the Bureau of Reclamation in 1935. Others will remember when he was Assistant Secretary of Interior for Water and Power in 1947. Some of us also knew him when he was director of the aid missions in Iran, Brazil and later in Korea where I had the pleasure of visiting him 10 years ago.

Those of us who have worked consistently for sound development of water programs in California and the West, however, will remember the work done under Mr. Warne's direction in putting on the road such projects as the great Central Valley project in California and the Columbia Basin project in Washington. His great service as California's water resources director was the launching of the State water project.

I had the honor and privilege long ago as executive secretary of the California Fish and Game Commission of learning firsthand about California's water problems, of the need for comprehensive and integrated development, and of the importance of avoiding a strictly technical engineering solution without testing how well such a solution will serve the people and the wildlife of a region. Mr. Warne's first appointment in California on coming home from Korea was as director of the Department of Fish and Game. In California, I am proud to say, since I feel that I helped to bring it about,

water resources programs have been adopted and pursued that seem to meet the whole panoply of the needs of our people.

Mr. Warne's paper stresses the requirement for this broad perspective and for adequate public organization to conduct water development programs over the world. I present it for publication in the RECORD:

#### ORGANIZING FOR PUBLIC ACTION TO RESOLVE ARID LANDS PROBLEMS<sup>1</sup>

(By William E. Warne, water resources consultant)

The problems of agricultural production on arid lands usually require in their solution intricate water management that is out of the economic reach of private citizens who may be engaged in irrigation farming. One way or another, public action has been found necessary for successful irrigation and drainage ventures of scale throughout the world.

Where institutions capable of taking the required public action have existed or where they have been created, irrigated agriculture has expanded and flourished in the arid regions. Where such institutions once existed but have disappeared, the water projects have shrunk or fallen into disuse and the population of succeeding generations has been reduced in numbers. Where irrigation systems have been provided in the absence of institutions through which to supply the needed public action to develop and maintain them, there has been inadequate use made of the water and the land. Such projects have not succeeded in achieving their goals.

Many authorities have cited the need of institutions in developing water projects in arid lands. Former Secretary of Interior Stewart L. Udall told a symposium in Lubbock, Texas, in 1967,<sup>2</sup> that John Wesley Powell often considered the father of development of arid lands in the United States, foresaw the best opportunity for irrigation in the conservation and development of large streams. "This would require a new pattern of cooperation between man and government. Powell's idea was that in irrigable valleys settlers could join to form irrigation districts and apply to the Federal Government for a survey." Powell's idea was, Mr. Udall said, "a political idea, but you had to have new human institutions, political institutions . . . the irrigation districts."

"Fifteen hundred years before the birth of Christ there existed one of the greatest conservation programs and irrigation systems ever known in the history of civilized man," Governor John Connally of Texas told the same symposium<sup>3</sup> at which Secretary Udall spoke of Major Powell. "During the height of the civilizations of Babylon, of Nebuchadnezzar, there existed in Mesopotamia a system of water and soil utilization that supplied the valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates with foodstuffs sufficient to support 17,000,000. But as time progressed, nomads overran this great civilization. They did not understand or appreciate the tremendous value of water and soil conservation. The canals were permitted to silt. The land that once supported a population of 17,000,000 has never since, in the 3,500 years of recorded history of man, been able to sustain a population in excess of 3,000,000."

I know the Khuzestan region of Iran quite well. It is probable that statistics of its use in ancient times are included in the estimates that Governor Connally gave of the population of Mesopotamia, since the Khuzestan geographically is closely related. Here the Persian Empire once had its seat. Traces of the canals that once served the area, now desert, that Herodotus described as fertile

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

and flourishing, are still visible from the air. Ancient hulks of canals, now silt ridges with a meandering ditch making its way along them, still bear such names as "The Darius Canal." Here the Government was destroyed as was the government of the Mesopotamia, and the water systems were abandoned. The people were reduced in stature and number. A civilization fell.

Luna B. Leopold, Research Hydrologist of the United States Geological Survey said, also speaking at the symposium<sup>4</sup> mentioned earlier, "Considering, then, that any useful classification of water problems inherently involves the climate or the atmosphere within which we view water in the environment, it is not illogical to add a seventh to the list of major water problems of the world. I here call it the social problem of water, meaning the relationship of society to its water resource expressed through attitudes, procedures for economic evolution (sic), legislation, standards and customs. There is reason to believe that these, in their interaction may be more important than any other water problem that we face."

The importance of organizing for public action to achieve water development in arid lands may be demonstrated in many ways. Engineers may construct irrigation projects, but until the people who must use them to water their crops are organized, the works will not be used nor will they be maintained. In the Helmand Valley in Afghanistan, a technically well conceived project for this reason has not prospered in many years. On the other hand, despite the willingness, nay the anxiety, of the new settlers in California a century ago to farm the arid lands of the Central Valley, their uncoordinated efforts for decades were largely futile. The California State Legislature enacted the Wright Act in 1887, authorizing the people to form irrigation districts among themselves, and the problem was solved.

The Wright Act, carefully drawn, redrawn and amended through the years, has been the instrument of major irrigation development in California. Many other types of water districts have been authorized and formed in California. During recent years few new irrigation districts have come into existence in the state. The irrigation district nevertheless remains today the backbone of California's water development.

Hear what Albert T. Hanley, member of the California District Securities Commission and an authority on California water districts, has to say about the Wright Act and the irrigation districts organized under it "... the discovery of the legal formulas of these organizations was of infinitely greater value to California than the discovery of gold a generation before. They are an extraordinarily potent engine for the creation of wealth."

Organizing for public action is considered necessary as a condition precedent to water development in under developed countries. Charles E. Kellogg and Arnold C. Orvedal in January, 1968 in an unpublished paper entitled "World Potentials for Arable Soils" said, "Many factors contribute to the current problems of agriculture and economic development. . . . Among the essential steps to be taken, institution building for agriculture and economic development, in both public and private sectors, is the most critical and the most difficult." A measure of the need will be found in the size of the task of irrigation development that is ahead.

Orville I. Overboe, Agricultural Economist, Water Resources Branch, Natural Resources Economics Division, Economic Research Service, USDA, said in a paper prepared for the March/April, 1968 issue of International Agricultural Development Newsletter, "Approximately 11 percent or 880 million acres of the total potential arable land in the world requires irrigation for even one crop. The

remaining seven billion acres can be used to raise at least one crop without irrigation, and over a considerable area, multiple-cropping is possible. Without additional irrigation, multiple-cropping could increase the gross cropped area (the cultivated area times the number of crops per year) to 9.8 billion acres annually. This is about two billion acres more than the total potentially arable land and about three times the presently cultivated land. A further increase of 6.5 billion acres in gross cropped area is estimated possible by irrigation, assuming that double or triple cropping would be possible on some of the additional irrigated land. This could increase the world's maximum gross cropped area to 16.3 billion acres."

There were 20 million acres of irrigated land in the world in 1880.<sup>5</sup> Many large and sophisticated irrigation projects constructed mainly in India, Russia, the United States, and Egypt raised the total to about 100 million acres by 1900.<sup>6</sup> About 368 million acres are irrigated today.<sup>7</sup> About ten percent of the total is in the United States.

Mr. Overboe points out that despite the fact that only a small percentage of the world's potentially arable land is under irrigation, a large proportion of the world's food supply is produced on irrigated land. He adds that with present technology it is possible to add greatly to the present irrigated area.

"The greatest remaining potentials are in Africa, the Near East and Central Asia, but significant possibilities also remain in Southeast Asia, India, Pakistan, Ceylon and China," Mr. Overboe reported.

By 2000 A.D., Mr. Overboe estimated there may be about twice as much land irrigated as is irrigated today.

From the statistics of growth, the task ahead for the "institution builders" in the arid zones is shown. The task is complicated because not all of the potentially irrigable land is in areas which have displayed marked initiative in public organization to combat problems growing out of aridity. Frequently the governments of such areas do not have ready capital to invest in water projects. Just as frequently they do not have the traditions and ready expertise to build the needed local institutions. They are not prepared to instruct the local populations in the needed new ways to cooperate in agencies of mutual service. In "Agricultural Water Management in India," published by the United States Department of Agriculture International Agricultural Development Services April, 1966, it was stated as a condition precedent to needed irrigation development that "The Central and State Governments need to fix organizational responsibility as well as policy and motivation in order to achieve any major impacts on water use." The report was by a Soil Conservation Service team, consisting of D. A. Williams, Ray Walker, John Sutton, and John Douglas. It declared:

"If India is to move forward at a rate anywhere near consistent with its need for intensification of agricultural production it must adopt at the Ministerial level and motivate throughout the Central, State, District, Block and Village levels some effective policies on land and water use.

"Such policies must take into account land capability, priorities of water use, allocation of resources on a selective basis, coordination of public works with intensity of agricultural objectives, land ownership adjustments and consolidations consistent with land and water management objectives, and definite fixing of organizational responsibility for efficient administration," adding:

"Mr. Hatt of Ford Foundation pointed out in 1962 that 'Many groups of cultivators whose water problems require community action lack qualified institutions through which the necessary actions can be taken. . . . some type of organization is needed with responsibility for village water

control whose officials have specific powers (1) to secure rights of way for improvements, (2) to commit its members to financial and other obligations required for construction and maintenance of community irrigation and drainage works, (3) to enforce equitable distribution of irrigation water, and, (4) to represent the members in dealings with officials of various departments. . . ."

The team added emphatically, "Our team fully subscribes to the quoted statement."

Thus the irrigation district, the need for which was seen by Major Powell at the outset of western development in the United States and the energy of which was graphically described by Mr. Henley when he reviewed a century of agriculture development in California, today also is visualized as a prerequisite to increasing the agriculture goals of India; either the irrigation district as known in the United States or satisfactory substitutes for it as a local institution.

Reverting to discussion of the Khuzestan, the area where the Biblical city of Suza once rose in all its splendor, the desert today again is being pushed back through the development of the Dez Irrigation Project. Mr. David E. Lillenthal, who lent his genius to the organization of the Tennessee Valley Authority and who was a founder of the firm of consultants that made the comprehensive plan, built Pahlavi Dam and started the canals, foresaw the essential need for institutionalization of the development. The required public agency has been provided in the Khuzestan Water and Power Authority. The KWPA was organized when the Iranian Government adopted a TVA-type authorization act. It was initially staffed with people who had been counterparts for training purposes of expatriate engineers and other experts of the consultant's staff at work on the development.

Since 1963, the Dez Pilot Irrigation Project of 20,000 hectares, a 200-hectare Field Trial Farm, where crops and varieties are tested for adaptability to the area, and the 6,000-hectare Haft Tapeh Sugar Cane Plantation, have been developed and managed by the Dez Irrigation Project organization of the KWPA. With a \$30,000,000 loan granted a few weeks ago by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the DIP will be expanded into its First Stage of 57,000 hectares.

The development of Iran is being supervised by the Plan Organization with the wise guidance and support of His Imperial Majesty, the Shah-in-Shah. Three five year plans have successfully been completed, and the Fourth Plan was started a year ago. The Fourth Plan emphasizes agricultural development. The Ministry of Water and Power, which has charge of the water resource development programs of the country, has used the KWPA as a model in fashioning regional authorities that now cover all areas of Iran. The Ministry has adopted an agribusiness program, pioneered on the DIP, as a means of causing its dams and canal systems to make the most immediate impact on the traditional subsistence agriculture of the area and of making the quickest contribution to the Fourth Plan goals of increased agricultural production.

The agribusiness program is linked with encouragement of foreign investors to come in with capital and know-how and to launch intensive, commercial-type farming ventures in the newly irrigated areas. The investors will not own the land, and will, in 20 or at most 30 years, be required to turn the farms over to Iranians, who, it is planned, will have acquired sufficient training in the meantime to be able to operate modern mechanized, integrated agribusiness on their own.

The KWPA, through its Dez Irrigation Project Staff, will fill the institutional needs. The organization has the powers of an irrigation district in California, and, in addi-

Footnotes at end of table.

tion, is authorized and equipped to fill other organizational deficiencies in a society that has been isolated and turned in upon itself for a thousand years, a society in which rural initiative is at low ebb. The DIP has a health service, an extension staff, a credit service, a farm machinery service, and otherwise has adjusted its jib to the local breezes. The KWPA obtains the services of advisors and consultants in its far flung operations. With the Plan Organization providing the financial backing from Iran's large petroleum earnings, with the IBRD assisting in the construction and development both with its loan and from its experience gained around the world, with expertise drawn in as needed in both the technical areas of project development and in irrigation farm management and the processing and marketing of farm products, with a staff of increasing competence and a group of native farmers, many of whom already are showing promise of throwing off the chains of traditionalism, the KWPA would seem to have answered the problem of organizing for public action to resolve the problems of developing the arid lands of the Khuzestan.

California was confronted for years with the water problem of shifting waters from North to South statewide. The problem was unsolvable until the State Department of Water Resources was made by special legislation an institution authorized to construct and to operate and maintain the great California State Water Project. With the institution, California in nine years has constructed the major part of one of the world's most demanding and intricate water projects. Water is already being delivered through half of the length of the California Aqueduct and many other features are fully operative. Many observers have assumed that adoption of a plan of financing was the sole key necessary to unlock the California water problem. Through my personal experience, however, I can assure you that in addition to examination of the engineering plan and the water bond act both the Legislature and those who sold and bought the bonds scrutinized the Department of Water Resources to determine whether it, in their judgments, was an institution capable of performing the tasks that were assigned to it. It is proving to be an institution to justify the confidence reposed in it.

The American genius for creating public agencies to meet the requirements of westward expansion, of development of the arid west, of the agriculture revolution of the last half century, is not everywhere present. An Italian leader told me recently that what he called "the willingness of the American people to innovate, to accept new things," had impressed him as the most important factor in western development. He did not believe anything quite like it existed in his country, although some quite remarkable changes are beginning to be in evidence in Italy. He said he felt sure that this essential factor was absent in degrees matching their lagging development in the underdeveloped countries of the world.

In many arid regions, the surge of energy and initiative that is necessary to carry through water developments once, for a period, was present. Periods of growth and development occurred, I believe, at times when governments were stable and spawned institutions capable of organizing and maintaining intricate water projects. The periods closed when either the morale of the people or their stamina was lowered, when governments were swept away, and when different ethics and goals were established, when public action for the common purpose of watering the crops was no longer of sufficient importance to the populace to assure maintenance of the canals.

In these and many other areas within the arid zone it is possible to do as Iran has done in the Khuzestan and to recreate what has been missing, the necessary institutions.

The expectation of this century to double the present production from irrigated land, however, cannot be achieved in the absence of programs that place as much emphasis on building institutions to organize and channel public action as is placed on the construction of dams. Today, the engineers are far ahead with their dams. Unless there is some catching up done soon, the capital being invested in water project development in underdeveloped arid regions will result in many unused canals by 2000 A.D., and the great expectation of increasing food supplies will be shattered. Remember what failure to use their resources cost the people of Mesopotamia. The price of failure to provide the public institutions that will be needed will be no less dear in the next generation.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Delivered at Third Plenary Session, International Arid Lands Conference, Tucson, Arizona, June 9, 1969.

<sup>2</sup> ICASALS Publication No. 1.

<sup>3</sup> IBID.

<sup>4</sup> IBID.

<sup>5</sup> Albert T. Henley, "The Evolution of Forms of Water Users Organizations in California," (1957) 45 California Law Review 665, 667.

<sup>6</sup> "The World Food Problem," a report of the President's Advisory Committee, Volume II, GPO, Washington, D.C., 1967.

<sup>7</sup> "A World Geography of Irrigation," Leonard M. Canter, Robert Cunningham and Sons, London, 1967.

#### EXPANSION OF THE FAN JET FALCON PROGRAM

### HON. FERNAND J. ST GERMAIN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, for more than 9 years now I have been deeply concerned over the outflow of U.S. dollars and the reaction by an economically conscious Nation to this. I have been particularly concerned with what some of my colleagues refer to as the fortress America concept. Nothing could be more dangerous to our economic well-being than for us to limit our business opportunities to the continental United States. We must do everything possible to facilitate the free flow of goods if we are ever to overcome the balance-of-payments deficit.

Because of my concern in this area, I was particularly pleased to learn of the agreement between Pan American World Airways and Avions Marcel Dassault of France further expanding Pan Am's fan jet Falcon program to include construction of a smaller, four- to seven-passenger business jet to be delivered in 1972.

Some 175 Falcons are in service today in North and South America and in a number of countries in the Middle and Far East. Many of these fan jets are being used by American businessmen abroad to develop export markets for American goods. In fact during 1968 more fan jet Falcons were delivered to corporate owners than any other business jet aircraft.

This latest in a series of expansions dating back to 1965 is an outstanding example of industrial cooperation between major French and American companies. It is significant that this effort continued despite periods of extreme

friction between our two countries. What is even more significant from my vantage point as a member of the Banking and Currency Committee is that total sales of the fan jet Falcon in 1968 amounted to \$41,967,000.

The contemplated acquisition of 40 of these new jets, with options for 120, comes on the heels of record sales of the current fan jet Falcon plus increasing demands of the business aircraft market.

This latest expansion of the fan jet Falcon program is expected to make even greater contributions to the commercial and technical success of this international effort but above all it makes a healthy contribution to keeping our foreign trade efforts strong.

I have every confidence that we will continue to make economic progress, keeping our dollar strong throughout the world, and congratulate Pan American and Avions Marcel Dassault of Paris in their bold undertaking.

#### DID YOU SALUTE THE FLAG ON THE FOURTH?

### HON. WALTER S. BARING

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, I ask all Americans if they saluted the flag and their country on the Fourth of July. I know Nevadans did, whether physically or in thought, depending on where the holiday weekend took them.

I wish to insert in the RECORD today a stalwart editorial by one of my Nevada editor friends who really spoke for the entire State of Nevada and this great Nation. The patriotic column is from the Ely Daily Times by editor, Zane Miles, July 3, 1969:

#### PAY HOMAGE TO THE COUNTRY WHEN THE FLAG IS CARRIED BY

Another Fourth of July, another Independence Day.

Another day of picnics and parades and rodeos and traffic fatalities and reunions and sunburns.

Another day in a decade of growing disrespect for our Flag and growing disloyalty to our country. Another day when the tenor of our Congress seems to be "billions for tribute, but not one cent for defense."

Another day when Americans dying in a foreign land to keep that bloodshed from our own shores are reviled by some of their countrymen as "imperialist murderers."

Another day when it isn't safe to walk the streets of our nation's cities as dusk approaches—or even in the full light of day.

Another day spent ignoring history's dictum that only those who are willing to die for freedom are fit to possess it.

I don't believe the Fourth of July should be another day when our Flag, our National Emblem, should be used as a wrap for nude actresses in an off-Broadway play. I don't believe the Fourth of July should be another day for the Flag to be burned by a howling mob of "students" who study seldom and learn less often. I don't believe our Flag should be a scalp to be taken with impunity as a trophy by a fourth-rate nation.

Do you?

You don't?

Then stand tall and proud when those Flags are carried up Aultman Street in Fri-

day's parade. Be proud of what the Fourth of July has meant for us, and what it can mean for our children.

It's not just a piece of cloth you salute, just as a soldier isn't really saluting the man when he lifts his hand to his forehead in recognition of another soldier of higher rank.

"You're saluting the rank, not the man," the drill sergeant tells his recruits.

And when the Flag goes by, and we salute, we're not saluting the cloth, but the United States of America.

## WHETHER, WEATHER

### HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, for more than 10 years Butte, Mont., has been without the services of a local weather station. The residences of this city have relied on the somewhat hit-and-miss predictions of the regional center and as a result inconvenience and financial loss have been incurred. It is time that the U.S. Weather Bureau recognizes Butte's needs.

For the information of my colleagues, Butte, Mont., is nestled near the crest of the Continental Divide. The city proper is 1 mile high, rivaling the great city of Denver. Butte sits in a bowl, with rimmed peaks extending 7,000 to 8,000 feet on all sides. With this topography, the weather in Butte can be vastly different from that of Helena, a mere 60 miles away. For the safety of the air carriers, for those using the surrounding mountain passes, for the local commerce, and for just everyday living Butte needs a weather station.

I applaud the efforts of the local newspaper, the Montana Standard, for leading the struggle to reinstate the services of a weather bureau in Butte. For the edification of my colleagues, I enclose a recent editorial defending the need for a Butte weather station:

#### WHETHER, WEATHER

It was in the regressive action of the Eisenhower Administration that Butte lost its weather station. It is the regressive policy of the Nixon Administration which may delay, or even deny us, a weather facility, which other less industrialized communities have.

There are two courses open to Butte. Approach the Weather Bureau for the service or ask for direct legislative action. In the end we may have to go to Congress to get weather service made available to the industry, commerce, business and people of this community.

Our only prospect of favorable Weather Bureau action lies in establishing that substantial losses result from lack of the service. It was pointed out in a hearing last week in Butte that such losses do occur in industry, construction, road building, industry and farming when weather service is not readily available.

The Weather Bureau wants figures on actual and potential losses. If they are substantial enough the bureau may be impressed. Of course, we have no assurance we will get a weather station. However, since there must be considerable financial loss under the present weather forecasting service we should get the figures to the Weather Bureau people as soon as possible.

While the bureau shows interest in the

financial loss, we would like to impress upon it the loss in human comfort when people do not have access to weather information. Who is to say much misery or even lives of people, as well as livestock, cannot be saved by general weather forecasting? We feel strongly that the federal Weather Bureau is not giving sufficient consideration to the adverse effects on the mental and physical welfare of the individual.

For the last 16 years there has been no place for the people to call for the temperature—when it is mild or when it is hot; no place to call to find out if the petunias or the pets will freeze tonight; no place to call to find out whether you will be heading into or out of a storm; whether to go to town or stay at home; whether to wear heavy clothes or light.

When you can't match one whether to the other weather discomfort results, even danger to one's welfare, and health, property and financial loss.

## A WORKABLE REFORM ALTERNATIVE TO TAX-EXEMPT MUNICIPAL BONDS

### HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the House Ways and Means Committee is embarked on a sweeping review of this country's tax laws. My committee colleagues and I are intent upon eliminating many of the anomalies that exist in our present tax structure, and closing the large number of loopholes that allow a few to escape the responsibility of taxation, leaving most of us to bear the added burden.

Today, I offer a proposal that I will present in the committee regarding one of those areas where there is particularly strong pressure for trying a new approach: the tax treatment of State and local, or municipal bonds.

The exemption of municipal bond earnings from Federal income taxes has sparked State and local authorities to utilize them for financing thousands of capital improvement projects across the country in recent years. But, at the same time, this exemption has resulted in the creation of a tax haven overcrowded with commercial banks and other financial institutions. These concerns now hold more than \$50 billion worth of municipal bonds on which they pay no tax. For the commercial banks, tax-exempt interest amounts to about one-third of their economic income. As a result, the effective rate of taxation for commercial banks has dropped off sharply.

In my judgment, the tax haven problem is of such magnitude that reform is necessary. I am not, however, advocating change that would preclude the use of tax-exempt municipal bonds. What I am working for in the committee is an optional approach that could prove more attractive as a financing tool.

My plan would differ from legislation proposed to the Congress by several legislators, including Senator SPARKMAN of Alabama, Senator PROXMIRE of Wisconsin, and Congressman PATMAN of Texas.

While these proposals go a long way toward providing a viable alternative to tax-exempts, they both falter at a major point of concern for State and local authorities. They would develop federally oriented systems which would place State and local authorities at the mercy of annual congressional appropriations. And they would inject a measure of Federal control over the judgment of these authorities regarding which projects are worthy, and which are not.

I would eliminate both of these worrisome aspects and offer what I believe is the most realistic, workable answer to the tax-exempt problem. Let me explain in some detail:

Senator SPARKMAN has introduced a bill that would create an Urban Development Bank—Urbank—to lend money directly to the governments for capital expenditures for public works and community facilities. In his bill, the loans to the States and local authorities could have maturities up to 40 years. The interest charged the governments would be set at not less than two-thirds of the current average yield on the obligations issued by the Urbank to the general public to finance its activities. Interest payments by the Urbank would be taxable, but its obligations would not be guaranteed by the Federal Government. The difference between the interest payments by the Urbank on its obligations and its interest receipts on loans would be made up annually through the appropriations process.

Governments that borrow from the Urbank would be subject to Federal Government scrutiny in several ways. Projects financed by the Urbank could not be inconsistent with comprehensive planning for the community or disruptive of Federal programs assisting similar or like projects. Securities issued by the Urbank as its obligations would require approval by the Secretary of the Treasury.

The major weakness of this proposal is that it requires approval of the bonds by the Federal Government, if for no other reason than to give Washington assurance that the State or local government will meet its payments.

Senator PROXMIRE and Mr. PATMAN would propose an annual subsidy to defray one-third of the interest cost on taxable bonds issued by the State or local government for new public facilities. Securities that qualify for the subsidy would also receive a Federal guarantee of principal and interest payments by a special government corporation established for this purpose. To qualify for this treatment, governments desiring this one-third interest payment on their bonds would be required to enter into a debt service guarantee contract with this special corporation. Contract conditions would include preparation by the corporation of a comprehensive report concerning the financial condition of the borrowing government, determination by the corporation that the amortization provisions do not exceed the debt-paying capacity of that government, and a judgment by the corporation that the public facility project involved is economically sound.

As I have suggested, these proposals, and others like them, contain two major

inadequacies from the viewpoint of the governments likely to be affected. I question whether State or local governments would want to be dependent on annual Federal appropriation actions to meet their annual interest costs. I also question whether these governments want Washington looking over their shoulders and telling them when they are in a position to borrow and whether their reasons are justified.

I am proposing that State and local governments, simply by electing to issue taxable bonds could automatically become eligible for an interest subsidy. I have concluded that the subsidy could best be determined by computing the differential between taxable and tax-exempt bonds in the marketplace on the date of enactment, and fixing it as a floor. If market conditions changed, there would be an opportunity to increase the subsidy. But in no case would the subsidy drop below the fixed floor level.

A permanent appropriation could be provided, identical to the appropriation for interest payments on the Federal Government's public debt. This would preclude the need for annual congressional legislation to make the payments. The payments would be made automatically on the outstanding debt until it has been retired.

The procedure would be entirely voluntary. No requirements would be imposed upon the issues, or the project, or the government involved, other than the stipulations that the interest payments on the bonds be made taxable. The taxable character of the bond and the higher interest rate associated with the issue would enhance its attractiveness to middle-income taxpayers whose marginal tax rate is too low to make the present yield on tax-exempt bonds attractive. Moreover, residents in the municipality issuing the bonds would find the yield financially attractive. The greater yield also would broaden the market for the bonds to include various institutions, such as tax-exempt foundations and pension funds, whose income is not taxable and who seek the highest obtainable yield. That shift would reduce the excessive reliance upon commercial banks for purchase of the vast bulk of tax exempts.

It would seem to me that any action of this type which would create a more diversified source of funds in the municipal bond market should be welcomed by the governments.

Since this proposal will provide a choice that State and local governments can elect entirely in terms of their own interests, the governments will not be sacrificing their tax-exempt privilege and may be able to utilize both types of issues if they found this advantageous.

The Federal Government, in time, will be able to regain revenues that have been foregone and introduce greater equity into the income tax structure. When enough governments accept the interest payment subsidy, the Federal Government will find itself in a position where its revenue loss from the tax-exempt privilege does not exceed the benefits to State and local governments.

The National Governors Conference has developed its own alternative to tax-exempt bonds which in general provides for the issue of taxable bonds by States and local governments and for a Federal subsidy of the interest payments. A comparison of what I am proposing with the Governors' suggestions reveals agreement on most major considerations. I am confident that differences concerning the individual procedures for carrying out the proposals can be resolved.

#### AMERICAN SHOE WORKERS NEED PROTECTION

### HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, many Members of Congress are deeply troubled by the continuing failure of the Commerce Department to enter into negotiations with foreign shoe importers looking toward a lessening of the floods of imports that are putting many domestic shoe employers into bankruptcy. Special committees within the industry have appealed for this help. A petition to President Nixon signed by more than 300 Members of Congress has asked for this relief.

In the meantime, more and more of our American shoe industry is forced to purchase foreign sources of manufacture and assembly to meet cost competition. Many concerns, such as Melville Shoe, are increasing these investments as a protective measure, the direct effect of which is to cost American shoe employees their jobs.

As the following news accounts indicate, three New Hampshire shoe corporations have closed this year, the most recent of which is Jodi Shoe in Derry, N.H., and before that, New Market Shoe in New Market, N.H., and Montclare Shoe in Clairmont, N.H.

Illustrative of the seriousness of the situation are news accounts from the New York Times of July 3, the Washington Evening Star of July 2, and the New England Footwear Association's report concerning footwear imports for the period January through May 1969:

#### SHOE INDUSTRY FINDING IMPORTS PAINFUL TO BEAR, EASIER TO WEAR

(By Isadore Barmash)

The domestic shoe industry's problems are growing because of the increasing competition from foreign imports. Thirteen New England shoe producers have gone out of business since January under the combined pressure of burgeoning imports and rising wage scales, Mark Richardson, president of the National Footwear Manufacturers Association, said here yesterday. The result has been a loss of some 2,500 jobs in New England.

On Wednesday, a special imports committee of the Volume Footwear Retailers Association of America, will meet to discuss the status of industry efforts to limit imports and to set a position on the matter by the association. Edward Atkins, executive vice president, said that his association, whose retailer members account for about 30 percent of the pairage sold in the United States,

has historically been against the setting of import quotas.

#### ACTION IS URGED

The urgency being expressed about the effect of shoe imports from Japan, Italy, Spain and Taiwan, comes not only from the recent plant closings but from the fact that domestic shipments this year through April are down about 10 per cent from last year. However, imports through May have risen about 20.7 per cent.

The national footwear manufacturers' group has sought some action from Washington on a restriction on imports after a ceiling is reached, rather than a direct quota system, Mr. Richardson said.

Other countries have adopted a ceiling restriction on imports from the United States, he said, adding that this country might do well to emulate it to save more jobs.

However, the cries over the adverse effect of imported shoes on domestic business have obscured two rather significant facts, industry sources pointed out:

About one-third of the 180 million pairs of imported shoes that flowed into this country last year represent foreign companies started or backed by American producers. These concerns, such as the Melville Shoe Corporation, are increasing their investments abroad as a protective measure.

#### SHOE INDUSTRY IN NORTHEAST FACES THREAT

WORCESTER, MASS. (AP).—The shoe industry, once the backbone of New England's economy, is in danger of becoming extinct.

The reason, as described by an industry executive, is "the tidal wave of shoe imports" that is swamping the country.

Irving R. Glass, executive vice president of the Tanners Council, said it is a wave that needs restraint but thus far virtually no official action has taken place in Washington and New England has lost about 2,500 jobs since the year began.

Nine women's shoe manufacturers have shut down since January. Two more are due to close within two weeks.

#### IMPORT THREAT

Maxwell Field, executive vice president of New England Footwear Association, said "the women's shoe industry has been faced with several serious aspects involving competition from imports.

"It has been more than just the cost factor—the cheap labor and substantially lower rates than are paid in New England—but it's also the drastic style changes of the last two years.

"These changes have helped foreign producers more than domestic. They either originate the styles or have the lasts and dies flown over and then produce them at a growing rate."

The nine manufacturers that have closed this year are: Ramer Shoe Co. of Haverhill, Mass.; Jodie Shoe of Derry, N.H.; David Shoe of Lynn, Mass.; Newmarket Shoe of Newmarket, N.H.; Shapiro Bros. of Auburn, Maine; Caswell Shoe of Lynn, Mass.; Montclare Shoe of Claremont, N.H.; Dartmouth Shoe of Brockton, Mass., and Sanford Shoe of Sanford, Maine.

"I see no other choice for the industry but to follow the pattern set by Melville Shoe Corp. the parent company of Thom McAnn Co. of Worcester, Mass., and own companies abroad.

"I think the trend now is to invest in these foreign plants."

Glass said the 370,000 shoe and leather workers in this country are averaging \$3 an hour. Their counterparts abroad earn from about 75 cents an hour in Europe to as little as 20 cents in the Far East.

Imports have grown from virtually nothing eight years ago to a projected 220 million pairs this year, 40 percent of the total market. Imports in 1968 totaled 176 million pairs or 30 percent of the market.

## U.S. FOOTWEAR IMPORTS, JANUARY-MAY 1969

May's new wave of total leather and vinyl imports reveal more realistic gains than were previously available due to the distortion caused by the dock strike through the first third of this year.

Leather and vinyl imports of 20.7 million pairs were 27.8% ahead of May last year when 16.2 million pairs were docked. May imports amounted to 41.6% of an estimated domestic production of 49.7 million pairs.

First five months imports of leather and vinyl footwear of 92.3 million pairs were 8.2% ahead of the same period last year. Average value (fob) per pair increased by 14%. Shipments of leather and vinyl foot-

were 36.3% of domestic output estimated at 254 million pairs, and accounted for 26.6% of the total market available for consumption.

Men's and children's leather and vinyl footwear have continued to make substantial gains over last year. Women's and misses' leather and vinyl has just reached the turning point and now level with volume imported during the first five months of 1968.

Spain and China T. (Taiwan) continue to record tremendous gains in volume. Shipments from Japan and Italy are advancing and should shortly close their performance gap caused by the strike earlier this year. Details by country are shown below.

is up more than \$1,400,000 over last year's total, and is nearly double what TVA paid in 1963.

In all, about \$82,600,000 is being paid to various levels of government from TVA power revenues this year, including \$63 million to the U.S. Treasury in payments on investment in addition to the payments to State and local governments. As provided by law, TVA's payments this year represent 5 percent of last year's taxable power revenues.

TVA is a success story well worth studying.

## "DEAR VIRGINIA"—A REPLY TO CENSUS SKEPTICS

## HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, I note that one of our colleagues recently presented his views on the 1970 census at a meeting sponsored by the American Management Association, and his remarks were included in the RECORD. It should not be overlooked that the same organization also heard from the very capable Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Economic Affairs, Mr. William H. Chartener.

I believe every Member should have the opportunity to examine Mr. Chartener's remarks on a matter of great importance to the American people. Mr. Chartener is well qualified to discuss the census. He did so with both wit and wisdom in his address to the American Management Association. He shattered a number of false notions that have spread about the census and thoroughly explained the need to keep it on a mandatory basis.

The Assistant Secretary clearly set forth the facts and provided for a better understanding of the census in his speech of June 23. I am pleased to submit his text for the RECORD:

DEAR VIRGINIA

Eventually this will turn out to be a talk on "The Businessman's Stake in Better Census Information"—as advertised. But first I should tell you why I chose the title "Dear Virginia."

The inspiration, as you may guess, is the famous editorial in the New York Sun back in 1897 addressed to Virginia O'Hanlon, who wanted to know: "Is there a Santa Claus?"

My Virginia today is collective—being the ladies who comprise the Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs. In the past few days it seems as if every one of them has written a letter to Secretary of Commerce Stans—not to ask about Santa Claus, but to protest about the 1970 Census.

I am very fond of Virginia. I have lived there myself. And women are my favorite sex. So I hope you will excuse me if I use this occasion—as Francis Pharcellus Church used the editorial columns of the Sun—to make a public response to Virginia. For I believe that Virginia, like so many others, has been told some things about the Census that are not so.

And I want to say to her: "Virginia, your little friends are wrong. They have been affected by the skepticism of a skeptical age."

This meeting has a special significance to me. Our Co-Chairman, John T. Connor, was the Secretary of Commerce who invited me to be a member of his Economic Advisory

Shoes and slippers (leather and vinyl) from—	January-May			
	1969 (thousands pairs)	1968 (thousands pairs)	Percent change, 1969 from 1968	Percent share of total 1969 1968
Japan.....	26,446.1	29,182.4	-9.4	28.7 34.2
Italy.....	32,588.3	33,726.8	-3.4	35.3 39.6
Spain.....	9,114.8	5,281.7	+72.6	9.9 6.2
France.....	1,651.4	1,745.9	-5.4	1.8 2.0
China (Taiwan).....	12,952.9	7,090.6	+82.7	14.0 8.3
All other countries.....	9,546.9	8,237.7	+15.4	10.3 9.7
Total pairs.....	92,300.4	85,301.2	+8.2	100.0 100.0

## TOTAL IMPORTS OF OVER-THE-FOOT FOOTWEAR

Type of footwear	May, 1969 (thousand pairs)	Percent change in May, 1969 from 1968	5 months, 1969			Percent change, 1969 from 1968	
			Number (thousand pairs)	Value (in thousands)	Average value per pair	Number	Value
Leather and vinyl, total.....	19,993.0	+27.1	89,641.5	\$169,044.0	\$1.89	+7.7	+22.6
Leather excluding slippers.....	10,809.9	+28.4	48,483.9	140,280.9	2.89	+8.3	+23.7
Men's, youths', boys'.....	2,915.7	+49.4	13,506.4	50,411.6	3.73	+28.0	+40.3
Women's, misses'.....	6,718.8	+13.8	30,609.4	81,193.2	2.65	-2.9	+12.2
Children's, infants'.....	924.8	+182.0	3,298.3	4,682.9	1.42	+123.5	+144.7
Moccasins.....	59.4	-13.7	275.8	357.5	1.30	-16.4	+2.6
Other leather (including work and athletic).....	191.1	+14.6	793.9	3,635.7	4.58	-10.1	+26.8
Slippers.....	25.2	+28.6	86.1	191.1	2.22	-15.3	-15.7
Vinyl supported uppers.....	9,158.0	+25.6	41,071.4	28,572.1	.70	+7.0	+17.7
Men's and boys'.....	908.8	+22.6	3,840.6	4,114.7	1.07	+13.3	+29.3
Women's and misses'.....	7,194.5	+23.5	32,707.1	21,750.1	.66	+2.6	+13.5
Children's and infants'.....	884.7	+51.7	3,747.8	2,339.2	.62	+55.8	+47.2
Soft soles.....	170.1	+22.0	775.9	368.1	.47	+9.2	+2.6
Other nonrubber types, total.....	675.3	+50.5	2,658.9	2,432.5	.91	+28.8	+66.2
Wood.....	53.5	+166.2	365.9	863.5	2.36	+204.4	+225.0
Fabric uppers.....	593.2	+55.4	2,013.0	1,285.4	.64	+12.8	+16.1
Other not elsewhere specified.....	28.6	-39.0	280.0	283.5	1.01	+75.7	+211.2
Nonrubber footwear, total.....	20,668.3	+27.8	92,300.4	171,476.5	1.86	+8.2	+23.0
Rubber soled fabric uppers.....	3,655.8	-9.2	18,811.0	13,582.9	.72	-13.4	+5.5
Grand total, all types.....	24,324.2	+20.4	111,111.4	185,059.4	1.67	+3.8	+21.5

Note: Details may not add up due to rounding. Figures do not include imports of waterproof rubber footwear, zories and slipper socks. Rubber soled fabric upper footwear includes non-American selling price types.

Source: National Footwear Manufacturers Association estimates from census raw data.

## TVA

## HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, the Tennessee Valley Authority has set many examples for other areas to follow in developing a relatively poor, flood-prone region into a productive, fertile land.

TVA, through its many projects, has provided a better life for the people who live in the Tennessee Valley. Perhaps its best known projects are flood control and electric power production.

In lieu of tax payments, TVA each year pays large sums to local and State governments and makes large contributions to the U.S. Treasury. I would just like to point out some figures released this past weekend by TVA concerning these payments.

With the June payment the total amount the TVA has paid to State and local governments in lieu of taxes will pass \$150 million.

These payments began in 1933, but about half of the total has been paid in the past 7 years due to the increasing TVA electric power revenues.

TVA payments will total \$14,509,633 for the fiscal year ending June 30. This

Board back in 1966. Our host as President of the American Management Association, Alexander B. Trowbridge, was the Secretary of Commerce who asked me to serve as an Assistant Secretary.

Both these men along with Secretary Stans, who asked me to continue in this office, have demonstrated their support for the Census Bureau and the manner in which it plans to conduct the 1970 Census. I mention this because these are men who have been answerable to the President, to the Congress, and to the people for the conduct of the Census Bureau, which is in the Department of Commerce. They have come to know its operations and its personnel. Two of them served in a Democratic Administration; one in a Republican Administration. This is not a partisan matter. Plans for the 1970 Census have been developed over a period of several years by competent professional civil servants. There has been extensive consultation with government agencies of many types, with Members of Congress, and with interested individuals and groups in the general public. The Nixon Administration and Secretary Stans fully support these plans. Indeed, they could hardly do otherwise and still have a useful Census.

I hope that this will be the last speech I shall have to make on the current controversy over the Census, and on the stake of business and all our people in resolving it promptly and properly. My first talk on the subject was almost exactly one year ago in Hot Springs, Arkansas. Since that time I have tried to acquaint people from Florida to California with the facts about the Census. I have talked with statisticians and Senators, carpet makers and Congressmen, stockbrokers and students.

Quite a variety of objections have been raised. Many have been expressed earnestly and courteously, as by the ladies in Virginia. Others have been snide and vicious.

Just a few weeks ago you could call a dial-a-ll telephone service and hear a perverted message beginning with "Let Freedom Ring!" This message appeared to come from an organization whose identification with the Liberty Bell is with the crack.

It likened the Census to the techniques of Nazi Germany and "Russia and its slave satellites." It told you that your answers to questions regarding income "had better jibe with what you put in your tax return or you will be subject to criminal prosecution by both the Commerce Department for perjury and the IRS for possible income tax evasion."

In a few moments I shall come back to these blatant prevarications.

There have also been some quaintly whimsical observations. Like the man who asked: "Why do we need the Census? You can find all this information in the World Almanac."

For a time, slanted press releases provided fodder for editorial writers who did not bother to verify the inflammatory charges. But there have also been many conscientious pieces of reporting and syndicated columns in newspapers and other publications presenting a more rounded picture of the debate.

Lately, the reporters appear to have become bored with the whole business, as the news value in the controversy has been pretty well drained.

The privacy issue supposedly raised by the Census may now be moving into book form. This is a disturbing development. People will accept what they read in the newspaper as fact, and what they see in the Congressional Record as law. But what they find between hard covers they regard as eternal truth.

Despite extensive hearings before three different Congressional committees and printed words that must run into the millions, there remain a number of questions and doubts about the 1970 Census. These are raised by concerned citizens who are aware

of the growing influence of government in our personal lives and who are worried about the accumulation of information on all of us in private as well as government files.

A combination of misunderstanding about the Census and a valid concern about a general loss of privacy has turned against the 1970 Census many people who would normally be looking forward to filling out their questionnaires cheerfully as a small but significant obligation of citizenship. I believe this is a fair characterization of our ladies in Virginia.

So, on my way to talking about the businessman's stake in the Census, I should like to deal briefly with some of the more commonly raised questions and doubts.

#### 1. CONSTITUTIONAL MANDATE FOR A CENSUS

Virginians have a great attachment to the Constitution, and they like it the way James Madison and his colleagues wrote it. Thus it is not surprising that one of the WHEREAS clauses of the women's resolution should assert: "there are some 120 questions dealing with 67 subjects on the proposed census form but only six questions are directly related to the count of the number of people living in our country."

Most of the current proposals for limiting the 1970 Census would provide that people could be required to answer only six or seven questions. Typically these would ask for name and address, age, sex, marital status, relation to head of household, visitors in the home, and possibly race. Any other questions would have to be asked on a voluntary basis.

The choice of these particular questions reflects a curious innocence of the Constitutional provision on which they are presumed to rely. The authorization for a decennial "enumeration" is in Article 1, Section 2, whose original language provides:

"Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons."

For those who insist they really want just a "head count," as required by the Constitution, can you see the need for inquiring about age, sex, marital status, or relation to head of household? Indeed, if you stop to think about it, these probably include the most personal and potentially embarrassing questions in the entire Census.

The reason for the sanctity of these questions is that they trace back to the first Census conducted in 1790. Even then the Congress interpreted its Constitutional mandate somewhat loosely and used the Census to derive other information it felt was essential to carrying out its own Constitutional duties. Specifically, it wanted to know the number of males over the age of 16 who could be utilized for defense purposes.

That first Census, incidentally, was directed by one of the greatest Virginians of them all, Thomas Jefferson.

#### 2. WHY ALL THESE PRYING QUESTIONS?

This question requires answers to several others that are implicit in it.

First, it suggests that the number of questions asked in 1970 is going to be much greater than in past Censuses. This is not the case. The total number of questions will be about the same as were asked in 1960 and in 1950 and less than were asked in 1940 and some earlier Censuses. The questions themselves, with very few exceptions, will be the same as those asked in the last Census.

Most households—four out of five—will be asked to answer only a short form with about 23 questions. One home in five will be given a longer questionnaire. The longest form,

given to only one household in 20, will require answers to about 89 questions. Through this use of sampling, the average number of questions asked per household in 1970 will be the smallest in over 100 years.

The "why" part of this query can readily be answered in general terms: The questions included in the Census represent a careful screening of many hundreds of suggestions. They have all been demonstrated to be important in providing information needed by Congress itself and by government agencies—including State and local governments—so that they may properly plan and carry out their legitimate responsibilities. The information is sought in the Census because it cannot be obtained effectively in any other way.

I emphasize that the information must be needed by the government, for this is a paramount test for any question put on the Census. Later I shall talk about business use of the Census, which is a welcome by-product—but never a reason for including a question.

Justifying the individual questions, one by one, would be a tedious task for an occasion like this. We have put explicit statements on each question in the records of three Congressional Committees, and we are happy to supply these to anyone who wants them. Secretarial officers of three Cabinet Departments—Health, Education and Welfare; Housing and Urban Development; and Transportation—testified last week regarding the particular questions that are essential to them in dispensing intelligently many billions of dollars of taxpayers' money.

A great many of the questions stem specifically from statutory instructions given to the Census Bureau by Congress itself. I would note particularly that information concerning housing "characteristics (including utilities and equipment)" is required to be a part of the Decennial Census in accordance with the Housing Act of 1949.

#### 3. THE "PERSONAL NATURE" OF THE QUESTIONS

It has been contended that many of the questions on the Census form are of a personal nature or constitute an unnecessary invasion of privacy. When pressed for specifics, those who raise this objection frequently cite the questions on income, on bathroom facilities, and one to women asking how many babies they have had. On this last matter, some women have charged discrimination because we are not asking men how many babies they have had.

The first point I would make is a general observation: Ideas of privacy or of what is personal are highly relative. Considering what has been happening lately on the stage, in movies, and in female fashions, it is clear that one person's privacy is another person's exhibitionism.

But let's look specifically at asking a person or family to report its income in a Census form. In some families, I suppose, men still feel that even their wives have no business knowing how much money they make. In some business firms, revealing one's salary to fellow employees may lead to dismissal. Yet people working in all sorts of government jobs are accustomed to the fact that anyone with the curiosity to want to know can find out their salaries down to the last penny. And corporate executives with six-figure incomes will find their compensation published annually in *Business Week*. You must, of course, report your income to tax authorities. You may have to supply it in applying for credit.

Clearly, then, there are no absolute concepts of privacy with regard to income. But the inquiry can seem nonetheless prying unless it has some point.

The point is that Congress and many government agencies need information on income characteristics of groups of people—not of individuals—so that they can plan and carry out a wide range of major pro-

grams. These extend from school lunch programs to housing to veterans' benefits and social security. This information is not available from tax statistics, because many low-income people do not file returns. Moreover, tax statistics offer no information about family income and not very much information on the characteristics of taxpayers such as age and education. Only a Census can provide this kind of essential information.

The questions on bathroom facilities have enjoyed considerable attention, in part because of the inviting potential for outhouse humor. These have also been the most frequently distorted of all the Census questions.

As recently as January of this year the man most closely identified with proposals to revamp the Census said in remarks reported in the Congressional Record that every person receiving the long Census form would be required to report "with whom bathroom and kitchen facilities are shared." This after some two years of specialization on the Census.

The fact is that the Census form does not and never had any such question. The original wording of the question was:

"Do you have a bathtub or shower?"

"Yes, for this household only.

"Yes, but shared with another household.

"No bathtub or shower."

At Secretary Stan's direction the wording of the second option has been changed from "shared with" to "also used by" another household, in order to prevent any connotation of simultaneous use. The Census Bureau has no interest in exposing hanky-panky in the shower. And it is not even concerned with whether people use their bathtub or shower.

Again, what is the point of these questions? Simply that the presence of bathroom facilities is one of the single best indicators of whether a housing unit is substandard. This in turn is important information in identifying the areas in which efforts to improve housing conditions should be directed.

Let me give you a specific instance. Governor Mandel of Maryland wrote in a letter regarding the Census:

"In the field of housing aid, either under one of the various programs administered by H.U.D. or under the Farmers Home Administration, we are asked for proof that our state's inhabitants are more deserving of aid than those in other locales. For example, the need for special aid for rural housing in Maryland is best understood against the background of figures which reflect that nearly 30% of the housing units on Maryland's Eastern Shore lack running water toilet facilities. Such information not only dramatizes the dimensions of a problem but also serves to guide limited resources to objects most urgently in need of help."

There has been a suggestion that many women would feel very sensitive about being asked the number of babies they have ever had, particularly if there had been an illegitimate birth or a child by a previous marriage. It is, to be sure, reasonable to think that some women might have such a sensitivity. So I asked the Census Bureau what had been the past experience with this question, which was first asked in the Census of 1890. Records for the 1960 Census indicate that this question has raised no particular problems. It was about average among all the sample population questions with respect to the percentage of women who provided a usable response.

Some of the thinking on this and similar questions in the Census has not been especially notable for clarity and consistency. As I remarked earlier, the questions on age, marital status, and relation to head of household seem to me every bit as personal and revealing as asking the number of children ever born. Yet virtually all critics

of the Census would keep these as questions to be asked of everybody on a mandatory basis.

Once again, you are still entitled to know why the government wants to know how many children you have had.

One of the important uses of Census data for research and planning is in the forecasting of population changes. And the single most important variable is the number of babies who will be born in future years. Obviously, this is of critical importance in planning of schools and other public facilities.

You might think that women behave pretty much the same with regard to having children now as they did a decade ago. But the results of a sample survey just released by the Census Bureau last week show this is not so. According to the report, American women of childbearing age in 1968 had 20 percent fewer children under the age of five living with them than did their counterparts only eight years earlier. The decline was particularly sharp—33 percent—among women in the 15-19 age group. The 1970 Census will provide much more detail on this significant development and yield results that will aid in planning on a State and local basis.

#### 4. BIG BROTHER'S PERSONAL DOSSIERS

The Census is sometimes pictured as a monstrous snooping operation designed to assemble incriminating evidence on people. Fortunately, this is done only in the most irresponsible of the attacks, such as the recorded telephone message I cited earlier.

The facts are that the Census Bureau is strictly forbidden by law to reveal any information on any individual to any other government or private agency for any purpose whatever. This prohibition includes turning over Census records on individuals to the Internal Revenue Service for comparison with tax returns. Information is published only in the form of statistical aggregates which are carefully designed to prevent identification of any individual response.

Heavy penalties are provided by law for any violation of this confidence by a Census employee. But in the long history of the Census there has never been a known case of such a violation.

It is suggested that the development of computers makes possible the compilation of personal dossiers on the basis of Census data. Possible, yes. But that does not mean it will ever be done. Tyranny does not need technology, as history abundantly demonstrates.

I am very much impressed by one example of the Census Bureau's exemplary devotion to personal rights. Perhaps the most shameful mass violation of these rights by the U.S. Government in modern times was the herding of Japanese-Americans—including native-born American citizens—into concentration camps after the Pearl Harbor attack in 1941. President Roosevelt endorsed this hysterical operation, and even the Supreme Court showed no hurry in redressing the grievance of these people.

The Census Bureau was approached on providing lists of people of Japanese birth or ancestry from the 1940 Census to aid in the round-up. It stood firm and refused to do so.

#### 5. WHY NOT A VOLUNTARY CENSUS?

We have been asked many times why all, or at least part, of the Census could not be conducted on a voluntary basis. Since the Decennial Census has always been entirely mandatory since 1790 and virtually every similar venture in other countries is also mandatory, the burden of proof *should* be on those who propose the change. This is particularly the case when nobody has yet shown how anybody has been harmed by the mandatory procedure.

We are told that Gallup, Roper, Harris,

Nielsen, and other pollsters use voluntary methods and seem to get satisfactory results. Of course, they have no choice but to use voluntary polls, and admittedly they do a good job. Even the Census Bureau itself runs a great many voluntary surveys.

This argument omits two vital considerations:

First, these voluntary surveys and polls are usually directed at producing only an approximate result for a large area, perhaps even the entire country. The Census, on the other hand, must yield precise information for areas as small as city blocks as a basis for apportionment of representation and expenditure of government funds.

Second, the validity of sample surveys and voluntary polls rests very largely on the scientific basis for devising samples and evaluating results which comes from the more comprehensive Census data. Make the Census voluntary, and you have no benchmark against which to gauge your results.

It is suggested that the American people, who have high standards of citizenship, would respond even better to a voluntary Census than to one that is mandatory. Both logic and experience suggest just the opposite.

One businessman who appeared before a Senate Committee recently and argued for a voluntary Census remarked, at another point in his testimony, that his own firm had a policy of never replying to any questionnaire unless it was legally required to do so! How many people faced with the long form next year would fill it in and return it if they were told they could do so or not, as they pleased? And of those who did return the form, how could you know they were representatives of the total population?

An illustration might help. In the last couple of years the Census Bureau has had several trial runs of preliminary forms of the 1970 Census. These were done on a mail-out-mail-back basis—which will be used for initial contact with over 60 percent of all households next year. (This will mean that three households out of five never need to see a Census enumerator, making the 1970 Census more convenient and more private than any previous Census.)

The initial response rate on the mail questionnaires varied greatly. In Madison, Wisconsin, it was over 90 percent. In Trenton, New Jersey, about 65 percent. This is indicative of what might happen in a voluntary Census unless intensive and expensive personal follow-up procedures were used. Areas with large proportions of low-income, poorly educated people, who are suspicious of government, would most likely have the poorest response rate. Yet these are the very people about whom we have greatest need for the kind of information only a Census can provide.

Couldn't we make part of the Census mandatory—those six supposedly "essential" questions—and the rest voluntary?

First of all, the distinction is specious. Answers to some of the six questions, without the information provided by some of the other questions such as those on education and income, would be of little practical use or interest. All the questions are important, or they wouldn't be asked.

Second, the split between mandatory and voluntary portions would serve to create confusion and undoubtedly require greatly increased follow-up work at enormous expense.

This is simply not an issue that can be resolved by splitting it down the middle. It's like dividing an ice cream cone by giving one kid the ice cream and the other the cone.

#### 6. WHY DO WE NEED PENALTIES?

The Census has always had penalty provisions to back up its mandatory nature. Obviously, it would be idle to say something is required by law unless there is some kind of sanction behind the requirement. Since 1790 there has been a fine for willful failure to

respond. Since the 1930 Census there has been provision for a fine of up to \$100 or a jail sentence of up to 60 days.

The penalty provision has been imposed only twice, so far as we know. Both cases, in 1960, involved flagrant and ostentatious refusal to respond to the long Census form. The Government could scarcely avoid prosecuting such cases unless it wanted to invite widespread imitation. Such activity indeed should be offensive to the millions of good citizens who willingly participate in the Census.

The present penalty is certainly no threat to the housewife who makes an error or omits an answer in her response. There is no mention of the penalty on the Census form, and it is unlikely that most of you will ever be told about it by a Census employee. It is there so it will not have to be used.

The provision for a jail sentence has never been used, but we believe it should be retained. It is needed to afford some discretion to the court in fitting the sentence to the nature of the offense and the circumstances of the individual. To a wealthy individual, a \$100 fine might seem a cheap way of taking out his spite against the Government. But he might think twice about going to jail.

Your concern over the fine and jail penalty provisions in the Census law, Virginia, reminds me of the story about Neville Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister of 30 years ago who was famed for his umbrella and Groucho Marx moustache. Chamberlain was accosted by a forthright woman who said to him: "Sir, there are two things about you that I don't like—your foreign policy and your moustache." Chamberlain eyed her and responded: "Madam, don't worry. You will never come into contact with either one."

#### 7. BUSINESS USE OF THE CENSUS

A final point about the Census that continues to disturb some people is the fact that the resulting information is used so much by private business. Indeed, it is often charged—quite incorrectly—that some of the questions are asked because plumbing manufacturers, air conditioning salesmen, and advertising agencies want them put on the Census. This charge is then followed with the accusing question: "Why don't they do their own market research or pay some private organization to do it rather than ask to have it done at the taxpayers' expense?"

Let me repeat what I said earlier: *Every question asked on the Census is there because of a demonstrated need for it to aid in carrying out some legitimate function of government.* If the information is useful to private individuals, we should regard this as a worthy by-product. But it is never a justification for a Census inquiry.

It has always been the policy to publish the results of the Census. And business firms are just as free to make use of this information as are college professors, high school students, women's clubs, or anyone else. As taxpayers, you are entitled to benefit from the Census in this way.

Published Census reports are available through the Government Printing Office to anyone at a price reflecting printing costs. This is standard GPO policy. The Census Bureau also is frequently asked by both government agencies and private individuals, organizations, and business firms to make data available in the form of computer tapes or to provide data in greater detail or a different arrangement than what is presented in the published reports. It is glad to do so—provided that—

The individual or agency pays any additional expense.

The additional data do not violate the Census Bureau's strict rules against revealing information about any individual person or business firm.

As I see it, the fact that private business can make good use of Census data in marketing, locational planning, and a host of other ways should be a reason for satisfac-

tion and pride—not for embarrassment and apology. Ours is, after all, an economy of private enterprise. Four out of five jobs are in the private—as opposed to government—sector of our economy. Whatever the government can do to make the private portion of our economy work better helps us all.

At the outset I promised that this would eventually be a talk on the businessman's stake in better Census information. I hope that what I have had to say will help make the point clear.

The businessman's stake—and your stake, Virginia—is in having the best possible information on our people, our economy, our resources, our problems so that we can all do a much better job of planning for the future in our government, our business activities, and our own homes. This is what the 1970 Census is set up to do—and with scrupulous regard for the rights of the individual. I hope it will enjoy, as in years past, your willing cooperation and full support.

### VOCATIONAL EDUCATION APPROPRIATIONS

#### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, the Appropriations Subcommittee on the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, under the able leadership of Congressman DANIEL FLOOD, began to mark up the HEW appropriations bill for fiscal 1970.

I am inserting in the RECORD the statement which Lowell A. Burkett, executive director, American Vocational Education Association, presented before the Appropriations Subcommittee.

I am hopeful that this statement will encourage my colleagues on the Appropriations Committee to increase substantially the amount of funds which have been requested for vocational education by President Nixon.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF LOWELL A. BURKETT, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, AMERICAN VOCATIONAL ASSOCIATION BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR, HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. Chairman, and members of the Subcommittee: We are grateful for this opportunity to appear before you today in support of appropriations for vocational-technical education programs operated throughout the fifty states and territories.

Last year when we appeared before this Subcommittee, the House and Senate Committees were in the process of considering legislation to vastly increase and expand the Nation's programs of vocational-technical education. That legislation became a reality when the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968 was signed by the President on October 16.

You will recall that the Vocational Education Act of 1963 represented a major revision of our Federal statutes pertaining to vocational-technical education. This new Act made no fundamental changes in the process of vocational education itself, but it did give a new dimension to vocational education by providing Federal funds on the basis of people to be served. We still retained the traditional purpose of meeting manpower needs which was a concept of the Smith-Hughes Act; however, instead of allocating funds on the basis of occupational categories, the 1963

Act spelled out the groups of people to be served. The mandate was broad and all-inclusive—it spoke of "all people of all ages of all communities" who need and want vocational education.

The 1968 Amendments are based on the concept of serving people, as well as providing for specific occupational training geared to the manpower needs of our economy. But we have, through the 1968 Amendments, added still another dimension. The Act contains the word access, giving us a mandate to make vocational education a central focus of education, thereby enabling all persons to have an opportunity to prepare for the world of work. This key word "Access" has implications for both in-school youth and out-of-school youth and adults.

The Vocational Education Amendments of 1968 repealed the previous statutes relating to vocational education (with the exception of the Smith-Hughes Act, but funds appropriated by that Act are deemed to be funds appropriated pursuant to section 102 (a) of the 1968 Amendments), and for the first time, we have in Federal legislation a comprehensive approach for aiding the many facets of vocational education.

If fully funded, the 1968 Vocational Education Amendments can have a significant impact on education by enabling the schools to meet the social and economic needs of the citizens of this Nation. For purposes of this hearing, I would like to comment on several significant aspects of this legislation:

1. The Act makes it necessary for States, and local communities, to engage in comprehensive planning for vocational-technical education. The planning process at the State level must include long-range projections of a minimum of three years. State plans must be developed in consultation with the State Advisory Council, and must be the subject of a public hearing.

The planning process at the local level must be done in consultation with representatives of the educational and training resources available in the area to be served; plans must provide for the persons to be served with education programs that will make substantial progress toward preparing them for a career; local plans must be related to the appropriate comprehensive areas manpower plan (if any exists) for meeting the vocational education needs in the area or community served.

This planning process, Mr. Chairman, has been underway since the first of the year and is now in the process of completion. The States, and many local communities, have reported to us that this activity has engaged thousands of people and countless hours of energy. For example, the State of Maryland last week held its public hearing on the proposed State plan. Some three thousand copies of the plan were circulated to local school boards, community action agencies, educational groups, industrial development boards, and other groups that have an interest in vocational-technical education.

2. Another significant aspect of this legislation is the potential it holds for making vocational education a central purpose of our schools. This legislation recognizes the fact that vocational education must expand vertically by reaching down to get to youngsters at an earlier age in terms of influencing attitudinal approaches to work; at the same time, vocational education is moving upward in terms of specific vocational skills. Much of vocational education, particularly at the highly skilled levels, is going to demand post-high school programs.

Vocational education, through this new legislation, will also expand horizontally in order to re-train and up-date our labor force. Vocational education is not only an in-school program, but also an educational process that must meet the needs of people at any given point in time.

3. The 1968 Amendments attempt to involve all the groups and segments of society

that have a contribution to make to the vocational education process. The Act provides for a National Advisory Council, appointed from broadly based groups, to advise with the U.S. Commissioner of Education on the implementation of the Act. Similar Advisory Committees are being appointed by the governors of the States to assist in development of State plans and to evaluate the total program at the State level. Provision is made for the private sector, including the use of proprietary institutions through contracting services; the participation of business and industry, particularly in the cooperative vocational education program, is invited; the Act also involves business and industry in the training and re-training of vocational teachers, in exemplary and innovative programs; local advisory councils involving labor, business and industry are to be established for all vocational education programs; special consideration in funding is provided for the disadvantaged and the physically handicapped; in fact, this legislation seeks to involve the total community.

4. This legislation gives great emphasis to meeting the needs of our citizens in urban areas through special funding provisions. Heretofore, Federal funds for vocational education have been so limited that it was impossible to make any impact on the massive problems of the cities. I do not need to remind the members of this Subcommittee of those problems—I simply point out that in terms of specific appropriations, and in terms of the priorities for allocation of funds within the States, the large urban areas will be given urgently needed resources enabling them to move into many vocational areas.

I have reviewed some highlights of this legislation, Mr. Chairman, because we believe that these will indicate to you some reasons why we believe full funding of this Act is absolutely essential. Let me summarize these reasons:

1. As you are well aware, Congress has funded many remedial programs for the unemployed, the disadvantaged, the undereducated. The need for these programs came about because our schools have not done for the non-college-bound student what they have been able to do for the college-bound. We have a school system that is geared and oriented to serve the college-bound student. This system has to change, we believe it is changing, and we further believe that the 1968 Vocational Education Amendments will bring about even greater changes if the Act receives full funding.

As we search for answers to our social and economic problems we must recognize that education is not a quick and easy solution. The problems that we are trying to solve have been a long time in the making, and they will not be solved overnight. We believe that action is needed, but we also believe that we must face the reality of what we are doing when we provide a series of remedial and retrieval programs that may, in the long run, create even more serious problems. I see a danger that we may be moving toward a regimented society by creating a dual school system. One system serves the student who succeeds in the college-bound curriculum, and the other system serves those who are the rejects.

It has been my privilege to serve on the National Manpower Advisory Committee for the past three years. I have observed that the narrowly conceived skill training programs that have characterized the noninstitutional MDTA programs (JOBS, CEP, OJT) are only increasing the frustrations of those whom it is designed to help. In addition, it appears to me that some of the costs of these programs are prohibitive. We have a report from one of the Nation's major cities showing that for every person who received and kept a job as a result of the CEP program, the Federal government spent a total of \$12,980.63 per enrollee. The business groups

who have undertaken to provide on-the-job training in these programs have found that the first thing they must do is provide basic education—reading, writing, and arithmetic. We believe that our schools, if given the resources for vocational education, will do this job and we know that they can do it at far less the cost of the so-called on-the-job training that we are now providing. I do not for one moment denigrate the efforts of the business community in moving to meet these problems; we recognize that without their help, vocational education cannot function, and for that reason we gave our support to the 1968 Amendments which spelled out industry's involvement in education and training.

2. Another urgent need for full funding is created by the mandate to not only change vocational education, but to bring vocational education and general education closer together in an effort to more adequately serve all students. This creates a tremendous need for funds for research and training, for we must have some knowledge of where we are going and how we are to get there. We are talking about research in teacher training, leadership development, curriculum, guidance and counseling. The \$1.1 million that is now allocated for research in the President's budget is totally inadequate. Let me remind you that we are trying to establish and promote programs that have implications for fully 80% of our school population, and for an adult population which must be up-dated and retrained in their occupational fields several times throughout their working lives. When I saw the figure of \$1.1 million that is allocated for vocational education research—funds to change and improve curricula, to develop programs in new careers, to improve teacher training, to relate occupational education to manpower needs, to support the 48 research coordinating units in the States that were established after passage of the 1963 Vocational Education Act—when I think of all these needs being met with \$1.1 million dollars I remember the fact that one of the major universities of this Nation has received approximately \$3 million from the U.S.O.E. just to revise the curriculum in high school physics. Now, certainly the physics curriculum needed to be revised, but if we are serious about meeting the occupational needs of those who make up the bulk of this Nation's population, then we are going to have to put our commitment to the test—and that is the problem that is now facing this Subcommittee.

3. Another urgent reason for full funding has been created because of the set-asides that are written into the language of the 1968 Act. In order to focus more attention on the vocational education needs of the physically handicapped, the disadvantaged, and to encourage development of programs at the post-secondary level, Congress has written into the legislation that 40% of each State's funds shall be spent for these purposes.

If full funding is provided, these set-asides create no problems; in fact, we welcome the opportunity to move into these areas. However, if funded at the level recommended by the Budget Bureau for Part B, over two-thirds of the school districts in this Nation will receive a cut in vocational education funds in the next fiscal year. In order to meet the requirements of the Act, the States will be forced to cut funds for programs that are now in existence in order to meet the new requirements of the set-asides.

This problem is made even more serious by the fact that the level of Federal funding was unknown while school budgets were being prepared for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1969. Therefore, the schools planned for vocational education purposes on the assumption that funds would, at a minimum, remain at the level of last year. Since the budgeting process for FY 1970 is now com-

pleted in almost all States, it is unreasonable to expect that States and local school districts can cover the loss of Federal funds for their on-going programs.

In anticipation of new programs, State and local communities have engaged in extensive planning processes. If the Act is not fully funded, these plans will not be implemented, and the existing programs will be cut.

The American Vocational Association made a survey of the States in an effort to determine the number of school districts, and students, that will be affected by the decreased funds recommended for State grants (Part B). The results of the survey, made by Congressional District within each State, are included as *Appendix A* of this testimony. With your permission, I would like to have this survey included as a part of my statement. In summary, the survey shows that almost 50 per cent of the total vocational enrollment will be affected by programs where funds will be reduced. It also indicates that 69% of those school districts which are presently receiving Federal funds for vocational education will have reduced resources as a result of diverting money for the set-asides in P.L. 90-576.

*Appendix B* of my statement is still another chart which shows the funds needed by the States in FY 1970 to implement the 1968 Amendments. We surveyed the States to ask what funds they could spend wisely, and match, in this next fiscal year in each of the categories specified in the Act. According to this survey, the States could invest a minimum of \$900.1 million, and match these with funds, where required, with State and local funds. The difference in that figure and the Budget Bureau recommendation is some \$629,557,464.

*Appendix C* of my statement is still another chart which shows the impact of reduced funding, by State. You will note that 46 of the 50 States will receive less vocational funds, in State grants, than they received last year.

I am sure, Mr. Chairman, that you and your colleagues who serve on this Subcommittee, are acutely aware of the changes as well as the controversies that are so much a part of public education. As a major institution of our society, education is being challenged by students, by parents, and certainly by Mr. Average Citizen who pays the taxes. We believe that changes are needed; and we believe they can be brought about within the framework of existing institutions—we must not completely tear down our institutions in order to bring about those changes.

It is easy to generalize about "student unrest" and even easier to dismiss it by being in favor of "law and order." But I have been impressed by one example of how our institutions can change to meet the needs of students:

Laney College is a public junior college with some 10,000 students. It has both day and night programs, with enrollment about evenly distributed between the two sessions. It has a black enrollment of 29%; Mexican-American, 6%; Oriental, 5%. It is located in Oakland, California.

Five miles from Laney College is the University of California at Berkeley which, as you know, has been the scene of almost countless explosions for some two or three years. Seven miles across the Bay is San Francisco State College which was strike-bound for four months. Within 50 miles of Laney College are the College of San Mateo, San Jose City College, and San Jose State—all of which have undergone the agonies of what we call "student unrest."

Laney College, located in downtown Oakland, has existed in a supercharged atmosphere of student dissent and community violence. Some 26 bombings occurred in the Oakland community within a period of five

months. Included was an attack on the police station and the County Court House, neither of which is more than 10 city blocks from the Laney campus.

In this setting, Laney College has gained recognition as a community college with a predisposition to change, as well as having an uncommon ability to keep its students busy and its campus orderly. What made the difference?

In response to this question, Dr. Wallace T. Homitz, president of Laney College from 1966-69, replied:

"Whatever else we did at Laney, we had some magnificent people—students, faculty, and others.

"First of all, 30% of our students were enrolled in vocational education. In addition, fully 60 to 80% of our students worked while they went to school. Most of the innovative approaches we used at Laney had, in one way or another, the purpose of giving students jobs while they were with us. They needed jobs as an economic fact and as a

laboratory to test the principles they learned in the classroom.

"We let our students help us plan, help us set priorities to spend our money, help us teach their peers, help us find ways in which the college could help save city life as we want it.

"The point involved here is that there was created at Laney an atmosphere which students the world over are saying is the only relevant one for students on a school campus: an atmosphere of 'meaningful participation.' Meaningful participation, I have learned, is participation in the world of work—varied, practical, relevant work. It is the binding force which connects emotions, muscles, and intellect with a disciplined fusion that makes experience real. If we wish to make education relevant, if we wish to make the schools meaningful, if we wish to fulfill our obligation to our young people, if we wish to give them a future better than their past, then we need to reconstitute our total educational system so that vocational

education becomes the general education of all. There is no other kind."

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, we submit that full funding of the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968 will be a most crucial factor in helping our schools and colleges to make needed changes. We urge you to give highest priority to the funding of this important legislation.

APPENDIX A

FEDERAL FUNDING FOR VOCATIONAL-TECHNICAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS, FY 1970 BY STATES (A Survey Conducted by the American Vocational Association, 1510 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005, May 1969)

This survey was to determine the number of school districts, and students, that will be affected by the decrease in funds for State grant programs (Part B, P.L. 90-576) as recommended by the Budget Bureau, for FY 1970, and to assess the effects created by the 40% set-asides required in Part B, P.L. 90-576.

State by congressional district 1	Number of school districts receiving Federal funds for vocational education, fiscal year 1969 2	Number of school districts for which Federal funds will be reduced as a result of diverting money for the set-asides in Public Law 90-576, fiscal year 1970 3	Number of students enrolled in vocational education by school districts, fiscal year 1969	Number of students affected by programs where funds will be reduced, fiscal year 1970 3	Number of school districts receiving Federal funds for vocational education, fiscal year 1969 2	Number of school districts for which Federal funds will be reduced as a result of diverting money for the set-asides in Public Law 90-576, fiscal year 1970 3	Number of students enrolled in vocational education by school districts, fiscal year 1969	Number of students affected by programs where funds will be reduced, fiscal year 1970 3
Alabama.....	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	Florida—Continued			
Alaska:					3d.....	1	16,045	11,298
Congressional District: 1st.....	32	1	10,621	10,621	4th.....	11	23,035	19,498
Arizona:					5th.....	2	28,295	10,935
Congressional District:					6th.....	1	28,483	11,540
1st.....	9	4	7,500	2,000	7th.....	6	23,568	13,684
2d.....	32	8	4,500	1,100	8th.....	1	47,040	19,371
3d.....	52	3	3,400	250	9th.....	10	29,804	13,060
Arkansas:					10th, 11th, and 12th.....	3	125,741	38,683
Congressional District:					Georgia:			
1st.....	76	19	25,305	6,500	Congressional District:			
2d.....	57	14	21,119	5,300	1st.....	13	17,169	432
3d.....	99	25	25,479	6,400	2d.....	16	21,651	413
4th.....	75	19	25,829	6,500	3d.....	15	16,226	735
California:					4th.....	3	11,484	0
Congressional District:					5th.....	2	25,835	0
1st.....	27	(1)	22,737	(1)	6th.....	20	26,725	50
2d.....	47	(1)	29,172	(1)	7th.....	22	36,160	1,055
3d.....	3	(1)	14,585	(1)	8th.....	21	19,258	848
4th.....	35	(1)	25,338	(1)	9th.....	28	21,645	1,114
5th.....	1	(1)	46,367	(1)	10th.....	18	26,226	1,010
6th.....	4	(1)	5,844	(1)	Idaho:			
7th.....	5	(1)	23,490	(1)	Congressional District:			
8th.....	8	(1)	30,563	(1)	1st.....	49	8,311	8,311
9th.....	8	(1)	19,887	(1)	2d.....	45	11,667	11,667
10th.....	11	(1)	59,149	(1)	Illinois:			
11th.....	7	(1)	33,948	(1)	Congressional District:			
12th.....	23	(1)	37,599	(1)	City of Chicago, 1st, 7th,			
13th.....	13	(1)	26,800	(1)	8th, 9th, and 11th.....	2	56,893	(1)
14th.....	10	(1)	27,561	(1)	2d.....	1	679	(1)
15th.....	17	(1)	42,191	(1)	3d.....	2	657	(1)
16th.....	26	(1)	25,361	(1)	4th.....	12	7,032	(1)
17th, 19th through 32d.....	45	(1)	411,596	(1)	5th.....	1	898	(1)
18th.....	19	(1)	28,010	(1)	6th.....	2	1,621	(1)
33d.....	11	(1)	27,576	(1)	10th.....	5	3,505	(1)
34th.....	4	(1)	7,096	(1)	12th.....	22	7,996	(1)
35th.....	14	(1)	24,449	(1)	13th.....	6	6,791	(1)
36th.....	3	(1)	10,664	(1)	14th.....	14	6,813	(1)
37th.....	4	(1)	31,294	(1)	15th.....	44	10,866	(1)
38th.....	25	(1)	24,517	(1)	16th.....	42	11,852	(1)
Colorado:					17th.....	70	15,357	(1)
Congressional District:					18th.....	52	9,267	(1)
1st.....	1	1	23,372	23,372	19th.....	51	11,983	(1)
2d.....	19	19	20,824	20,824	20th.....	58	10,735	(1)
3d.....	79	79	14,397	14,397	21st.....	75	18,555	(1)
4th.....	84	84	15,529	15,529	22d.....	56	13,495	(1)
Connecticut:					23d.....	71	14,459	(1)
Congressional District:					24th.....	20	9,683	(1)
1st.....	15	14	7,062	1,140	Indiana:			
2d.....	33	33	5,920	2,800	Congressional District:			
3d.....	17	16	6,268	1,140	1st.....	8	3,595	2,800
4th.....	14	11	7,711	2,250	2d.....	29	9,147	7,500
5th.....	22	21	8,081	1,700	3d.....	20	5,702	5,700
6th.....	31	30	8,523	2,250	4th.....	24	8,145	7,500
Delaware:					5th.....	40	10,798	10,000
Congressional District: 1st.....	35	6	26,417	8,000	6th.....	24	6,283	5,000
District of Columbia.....	1	1	7,500	0	7th.....	39	9,890	9,000
Florida:					8th.....	33	13,755	12,000
Congressional District:					9th.....	36	12,945	11,000
1st.....	8	8	21,854	10,932	10th.....	30	10,970	10,500
2d.....	24	24	26,788	18,985	11th.....	3	3,927	2,000

Footnote at end of table.

State, by congressional district <sup>1</sup>	Number of school districts receiving Federal funds for vocational education, fiscal year 1969 <sup>2</sup>	Number of school districts for which Federal funds will be reduced as a result of diverting money for the set-asides in Public Law 90-576, fiscal year 1970 <sup>3</sup>	Number of students enrolled in vocational education by school districts, fiscal year 1969	Number of students affected by programs where funds will be reduced, fiscal year 1970 <sup>3</sup>	State, by congressional district <sup>1</sup>	Number of school districts receiving Federal funds for vocational education, fiscal year 1969 <sup>2</sup>	Number of school districts for which Federal funds will be reduced as a result of diverting money for the set-asides in Public Law 90-576, fiscal year 1970 <sup>3</sup>	Number of students enrolled in vocational education by school districts, fiscal year 1969	Number of students affected by programs where funds will be reduced, fiscal year 1970 <sup>3</sup>
<b>Iowa:</b>					<b>Michigan—Continued</b>				
<b>Congressional District:</b>					<b>Congressional District:</b>				
1st.....	33	(0)	7,430	(0)	18th.....	15	13	8,975	7,101
2d.....	38	(0)	8,684	(0)	19th.....	13	8	13,418	8,894
3d.....	51	(0)	13,907	(0)	<b>Minnesota:</b>				
4th.....	46	(0)	10,580	(0)	<b>Congressional District:</b>				
5th.....	19	(0)	10,396	(0)	1st.....	67	67	11,793	11,793
6th.....	57	(0)	10,866	(0)	2d.....	87	87	11,129	11,129
7th.....	60	(0)	11,168	(0)	3d.....	22	22	6,299	6,299
<b>Kansas:</b>					<b>Congressional District:</b>				
<b>Congressional District:</b>					4th.....	9	9	12,787	12,787
1st.....	(0)	(0)	6,979	(0)	5th.....	1	1	7,775	7,775
2d.....	(0)	(0)	7,787	(0)	6th.....	114	114	16,511	16,511
3d.....	(0)	(0)	1,136	(0)	7th.....	112	112	14,417	14,417
4th.....	(0)	(0)	7,028	(0)	8th.....	35	35	5,958	5,958
5th.....	(0)	(0)	6,344	(0)	<b>Mississippi:</b>				
<b>Kentucky:</b>					<b>Congressional District:</b>				
<b>Congressional District:</b>					1st.....	86	28	19,335	6,750
1st.....	36	(0)	13,825	(0)	2d.....	88	32	25,780	8,600
2d.....	29	(0)	13,361	(0)	3d.....	54	22	15,468	7,350
3d.....	2	(0)	6,344	(0)	4th.....	120	16	23,202	6,500
4th.....	20	(0)	4,085	(0)	5th.....	98	36	19,385	6,400
5th.....	35	(0)	12,512	(0)	<b>Missouri:</b>				
6th.....	34	(0)	10,788	(0)	<b>Congressional District:</b>				
7th.....	33	(0)	11,025	(0)	1st, 2d, and 3d.....	24	10	25,322	5,000
<b>Louisiana:</b>					<b>Congressional District:</b>				
<b>Congressional District:</b>					4th.....	39	7	11,757	3,460
1st and 2d.....	5	5	44,243	(11)	5th.....	1	0	6,529	0
3d.....	8	8	18,875	(11)	6th.....	61	21	12,884	4,719
4th.....	6	6	18,271	(11)	7th.....	65	24	18,102	6,250
5th.....	11	11	13,439	(11)	8th.....	63	26	13,063	5,382
6th.....	6	6	20,989	(11)	9th.....	57	30	12,151	6,390
7th.....	6	6	18,422	(11)	10th.....	51	16	15,038	4,800
8th.....	12	12	16,761	(11)	<b>Montana:</b>				
<b>Maryland: Congressional districts.</b>					<b>Congressional District:</b>				
<b>Massachusetts:</b>					1st.....	41	35	9,139	3,102
<b>Congressional District:</b>					2d.....	54	49	8,333	4,152
1st.....	41	16	28,629	12,015	<b>Nebraska:</b>				
2d.....	22	0	25,716	0	<b>Congressional District:</b>				
3d.....	54	21	36,116	14,736	1st.....	68	66	20,776	17,663
4th.....	22	0	26,775	0	2d.....	15	9	16,449	8,764
5th.....	29	0	35,623	0	3d.....	98	94	16,938	15,497
6th.....	29	12	34,248	13,843	<b>Nevada:</b>				
7th.....	16	7	18,030	7,688	<b>Congressional District: 1st...</b>				
8th.....	5	0	9,039	0	1st.....	15	14	17,620	8,358
9th.....	2	0	20,603	0	<b>New Hampshire:</b>				
10th.....	32	0	25,673	0	<b>Congressional District:</b>				
11th.....	21	7	26,914	11,342	1st.....	25	2	3,560	91
12th.....	43	0	33,591	0	2d.....	36	3	4,656	97
<b>Michigan:</b>					<b>New Jersey:</b>				
<b>Congressional District:</b>					<b>Congressional District:</b>				
1st.....	1	0	735	0	1st.....	7	5	1,958	1,298
2d.....	36	33	11,611	9,710	2d.....	7	5	4,628	4,098
3d.....	36	32	10,705	9,026	3d.....	28	26	29,370	26,790
4th.....	57	55	10,359	9,891	4th.....	23	23	8,188	8,188
5th.....	21	20	7,377	6,300	5th.....	18	17	9,968	9,908
6th.....	30	28	9,277	7,409	6th.....	7	6	8,900	8,150
7th.....	22	17	8,892	6,986	7th.....	15	13	16,910	14,580
8th.....	40	37	11,781	9,099	8th.....	10	10	6,764	6,764
9th.....	40	33	6,665	5,506	9th.....	15	11	15,130	13,440
10th.....	46	45	8,273	7,745	10th.....	14	14	8,188	8,188
11th.....	48	41	8,540	7,168	11th.....	13	8	23,140	10,480
12th.....	23	19	18,685	14,485	12th.....	8	4	9,434	7,764
13th and 17th.....	1	0	37,208	0	13th.....	35	34	17,800	17,700
14th.....	3	2	513	487	14th.....	10	8	8,010	5,580
15th.....	13	9	7,673	6,182	15th.....	14	14	9,612	9,612
16th.....	10	6	9,780	8,021	<b>New Mexico:</b>				
					<b>Congressional District:</b>				
					1st.....	29	15	6,537	3,000
					2d.....	46	22	11,490	5,000

<sup>1</sup> Reporting agency did not break information down by individual congressional district in 3 instances.  
<sup>2</sup> Reporting agency did not break information down by school district in 1 instance.  
<sup>3</sup> At the time of the survey, reporting agencies in California, Illinois, and Texas were not able to estimate where the cuts would take place. Alabama, New York, and Ohio gave narrative comments.  
<sup>4</sup> "... unless we get a considerable increase in funds from Federal and/or State sources, drastic reductions will have to be made in ongoing programs due to the set-asides of 10, 15, and 15 percent which are required."  
<sup>5</sup> Estimates not available.  
<sup>6</sup> Unable to estimate at this time.

<sup>7</sup> Estimates 40-percent reduction of overall program.  
<sup>8</sup> Anticipates "at worst" a loss of 20 percent enrollment.  
<sup>9</sup> Most cuts probably will be in construction and adult programs in Congressional Districts 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6.  
<sup>10</sup> Plus 42,000 adults.  
<sup>11</sup> "... the present level of funding will result in reduced Federal support in virtually every vocational program ..."  
<sup>12</sup> 25 percent of each of 24 counties.

Note: Reports were not available from Hawaii and Maine.

NEW YORK

The following excerpt is the narrative response by the State of New York:  
 When the 1963 Act was passed, New York State took two actions which permitted us

to move rapidly with expansion and improvement of the State's vocational education program. First, funds allotted under the Smith-Hughes and George-Barden Acts were transferred to the '63 Act to permit greater

flexibility in terms of the purposes for which the funds could be expended and second, we began a phasing out of the old procedures whereby minimal amounts were given to school districts as partial reimbursement of

vocational teacher salaries. All reimbursements end June 30, 1969.

Ending the reimbursement system permitted us to utilize better than two million additional dollars for program development. We next moved to a system of lump sum grants to agencies for project proposals based on long-range plans developed locally. Federal funds used in this manner were considered direct grants without a requirement that the dollars be matched with an equal expenditure at the local level. In other words, if an agency needed \$150,000 for equipment to establish a new program we did not require the district to expend \$75,000 of its own funds as a share of the cost for equipment. Matching funds were developed from the operating costs of programs which are supported under the general school aid program. You should know, as well, that *New York State reported a total expenditure for all vocational education programs last year of close to \$200 million of which approximately \$17 million was Federal.*

The distribution of Federal funds among the several purposes for fiscal year 1969 is shown on the attached table. Several explanations are required. The large urban areas received better than 70 percent of the funds identified in purposes one, three and four with New York City being allocated \$2 million. The two-year colleges were allotted \$1.5 million, which is less than previous years because our construction requirements increased significantly with legislation passed two years ago permitting our Boards of Cooperative Educational Services to own school facilities. Prior to having this permissive legislation, it was not possible to begin much needed construction of permanent facilities. Therefore, better than one-third of the total funds were expended for post-secondary programs in 1965 through 1967. This means that the total over the five years allotted for post-secondary purposes amounted to approximately \$13 million, which reflects close to 18 percent of the total funds allotted to the State during the life of the '63 Act.

In addition, I should like to point out our commitment to the disadvantaged and handicapped, where \$2,450,000 was earmarked for purpose four, special needs, in fiscal year 1969. This amount represents 14 percent of our total allotment. Based on figures from the Office of Education, a total of \$9,368,000 was committed by all the states for this purpose last year. New York State's commitment represents better than 26 percent of the National total for special needs.

At the same time, our enrollments at all levels continue to climb. Our secondary enrollments have been growing by better than 10,000 students per year during the past three years. *This year 43 percent of all students in the upper two grades in high school are enrolled in vocational programs.* This percentage excludes enrollments in nonvocational business subjects and the general homemaking program. Significant increases took place at the two-year college level as well.

When the 1968 amendments were enacted, I was delighted with the clear expression of intent and the magnitude of financial commitment in the authorizations. The basic provisions are ones which could do much to move our State's program further ahead faster than we can at present. It would even have been possible to live with the man-

dated set asides if the full amounts authorized in the several sections of the statute were requested. The second column in the table clearly identifies the problems we face. In total, New York State will receive less for State programs based on the administration request than we received in fiscal year 1969. Since we have continuing commitments under ancillary services as well as advanced commitments to school districts for the construction of area facilities, the programs which will suffer most severely are those at the secondary and adult levels. In particular, the mandated set asides will require us to reduce by at least \$3 million the amount available for continued development of expanded opportunities for secondary school students. *The effect of this necessary reduction could reduce the allotment to New York City, as an example, by more than \$500,000.*

When a rough distribution of the funds was made earlier, this possible reduction did not concern me as much because it was my impression that funds would be made available under Section 102(b) for the disadvantaged in urban areas of the State. It was our intention to utilize these additional dollars totally in the large cities where problems are reaching crisis proportions. Without these funds, the areas most in need will suffer. *These same problems in the cities could have been alleviated even more had full authorized amounts been requested for work-study and cooperative education, both of which are desperately needed in the cities.*

It is entirely possible that the cities will face extremely troubled times this summer. I am concerned that idle young men and women in the heat and pressure of crowded cities may erupt in disorder and violence unless it is possible to provide special assistance and extra programs during summer months. We have looked forward to funds under Section 102(b), as well as cooperative education and work-study, to be used for productive work and learning activities to help "cool" the cities.

The third column in the table demonstrates one possible distribution of the full authorizations, assuming the use of the minimum amounts permissible for the mandated set asides. If full authorizations were appropriated, including the amount for the special categorical programs, it could mean almost \$10 million more going to the cities alone.

The general costs of education continue to rise. Financial restrictions within the State are placing school districts in an untenable position in terms of reducing costs. We are concerned that vocational education will suffer greatly as school budgets reach the breaking point of taxpayers willingness to increase the local share. There have already been instances where school districts are planning to reduce their vocational education programs. If only the amounts requested in the administration budget are appropriated, many of the good things we have been able to accomplish may be lost.

I have only touched on the highlights and most significant parts of our problems. There are many additional concerns for the future success of vocational education in New York State. While I realize that dollars alone cannot do the job, the evidence I have of the accomplishments of the last five or six years indicates that New York State has used its dollars wisely and creatively in order to effect change and improvement. *Our basic concept of utilizing available dollars as incentives to encourage school districts to produce better and more programs for persons who have in the past not been served with an adequate education has been an effective device.* Much still needs to be done and without the support intended by the Congress in enacting the Vocational Education Amendments of 1968, we may not be able to even maintain that which we now have.

The needs of our people are great. If we are to overcome disadvantage, unemployment and undereducation, Federal dollars authorized by the statute must be appropriated.

COMPARATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION FUNDS—NEW YORK STATE BASIC GRANTS (NEW PART B)

	1969 (1963 act)	1970 requested	1970 authorized
<b>Set asides:</b>			
(2) Post secondary.....	\$1,500,000	\$2,449,788	\$5,122,685
(4a) Disadvantaged.....	2,450,000	2,449,788	5,122,685
(4b) Handicapped.....		1,633,192	3,415,123
Subtotal.....	3,950,000	6,532,768	13,660,493
(1) Secondary.....	4,923,218	11,900,000	16,000,000
(3) Adult.....	1,500,000	1,900,000	15,000,000
(5) Construction.....	5,000,000	15,000,000	16,000,000
(6) Guidance.....	(*)	1,300,000	11,400,000
(7) Private schools.....			1,300,000
(8) Ancillary services.....	1,650,000	1,699,150	11,790,740
Subtotal.....	13,073,218	9,799,150	20,490,740
Total.....	17,023,218	16,331,918	34,151,233
<b>Categoricals (new part C-H):</b>			
(c) Research.....	(*)		3,794,581
(d) Exemplary.....		200,603	3,908,053
(e) Residential.....			1,366,318
(f) Homemaking.....		1,030,532	1,672,236
(g) Cooperative.....		482,191	2,132,859
(h) Work-Study.....			2,790,538
Special Needs (sec. 102b).....			2,676,191
Total of all sections.....	17,023,218	18,045,244	52,493,009

\* Estimates are for illustrative purposes only and are not based on the completed long-range plan or annual program plan.  
 † Included in secondary.  
 ‡ Included in ancillary.

State, by congressional district <sup>1</sup>	Number of school districts receiving Federal funds for vocational education, fiscal year 1969 <sup>2</sup>	Number of school districts for which Federal funds will be reduced as a result of diverting money for the set-asides in Public Law 90-576, fiscal year 1970 <sup>3</sup>	Number of students enrolled in vocational education by school districts, fiscal year 1969	Number of students affected by programs where funds will be reduced, fiscal year 1970 <sup>3</sup>	State, by congressional district <sup>1</sup>	Number of school districts receiving Federal funds for vocational education, fiscal year 1969 <sup>2</sup>	Number of school districts for which Federal funds will be reduced as a result of diverting money for the set-asides in Public Law 90-576, fiscal year 1970 <sup>3</sup>	Number of students enrolled in vocational education by school districts, fiscal year 1969	Number of students affected by programs where funds will be reduced, fiscal year 1970 <sup>3</sup>
<b>North Carolina:</b>					<b>North Carolina—Continued</b>				
<b>Congressional District:</b>					<b>Congressional District—Continued</b>				
1st.....	23	12	18,826	3,855	8th.....	16	8	18,844	2,121
2d.....	18	3	17,412	717	9th.....	8	1	11,746	244
3d.....	10	7	17,789	3,939	10th.....	15	2	15,497	464
4th.....	9	2	14,566	175	11th.....	22	9	16,385	2,456
5th.....	12	5	14,413	1,648	North Dakota: 2 congressional districts.....	123	123	14,191	14,191
6th.....	10	1	15,826	1,347					
7th.....	14	4	18,184	1,192					

<sup>1</sup> Reporting agency did not break information down by individual congressional district in 3 instances.  
<sup>2</sup> Reporting agency did not break information down by school district in 1 instance.

<sup>3</sup> At the time of the survey, reporting agencies in California, Illinois, and Texas were not able to estimate where the cuts would take place. Alabama, New York, and Ohio gave narrative comments. Note: Reports were not available from Hawaii and Maine.

**OHIO**

The following is the narrative response of the State of Ohio:

Ohio has 24 Congressional districts. Districts, or parts of Districts 2, 3, 9, 12, 14, 15, and 16, and 22 through 23 would gain most in terms of set-asides for handicapped and disadvantaged. The Districts listed serve approximately 20 school districts with approximately 84,000 students. But these 84,000 would not benefit. Approximately 16,800 would benefit by these set-asides the first year. These Districts, and all other Districts,

however, will lose in relationship to construction funds for needed facilities, adult and apprenticeship programs of vocational education, guidance services, local leadership, personnel, teacher education, supplementary equipment, exemplary and pilot programs.

All Districts (585) serve 282,000 students annually.

Districts, 2, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 16, and 17 and 20 through 23 covering approximately 175 Districts would likely gain funds in terms of post-secondary set-asides, but again these Districts and all 585 Districts, would lose

money on the above listed items. Approximately 8,000 would benefit the first year under the set-asides for post-secondary education.

Since there is less money available under the new appropriation for both the existing program and the set-asides, the result will be a process of destroying the existing programs and services which are already inadequate in order to establish new programs. To destroy and build again is inefficient. The present programs are directed toward economic and social needs. The Congress envisioned growth, not a tearing down process.

State, by congressional district <sup>1</sup>	Number of school districts receiving Federal funds for vocational education, fiscal year 1969 <sup>2</sup>	Number of school districts for which Federal funds will be reduced as a result of diverting money for the set-asides in Public Law 90-576, fiscal year 1970 <sup>3</sup>	Number of students enrolled in vocational education by school districts, fiscal year 1969	Number of students affected by programs where funds will be reduced, fiscal year 1970 <sup>3</sup>	State, by congressional district <sup>1</sup>	Number of school districts receiving Federal funds for vocational education, fiscal year 1969 <sup>2</sup>	Number of school districts for which Federal funds will be reduced as a result of diverting money for the set-asides in Public Law 90-576, fiscal year 1970 <sup>3</sup>	Number of students enrolled in vocational education by school districts, fiscal year 1969	Number of students affected by programs where funds will be reduced, fiscal year 1970 <sup>3</sup>
<b>Oklahoma:</b>					<b>South Carolina:</b>				
<b>Congressional District:</b>					<b>Congressional District:</b>				
1st.....	16	16	7,799	7,799	1st.....	13	13	8,682	5,680
2d.....	74	74	15,567	15,567	2d.....	20	20	9,936	5,887
3d.....	109	109	19,507	19,507	3d.....	15	15	10,744	6,341
4th.....	78	78	14,171	14,171	4th.....	10	10	10,040	6,035
5th.....	10	10	10,593	10,593	5th.....	12	12	12,252	7,572
6th.....	103	103	14,063	14,063	6th.....	23	23	17,325	10,750
<b>Oregon:</b>					<b>South Dakota:</b>				
<b>Congressional District:</b>					<b>Congressional District:</b>				
1st.....	39	(*)	21,479		1st.....	70	70	7,619	(*)
2d.....	47	(*)	12,202		2d.....	52	52	6,007	(*)
3d.....	6	(*)	7,368		<b>Tennessee:</b>				
4th.....	26	(*)	12,714		<b>Congressional District:</b>				
<b>Pennsylvania:<sup>3</sup></b>					<b>1st.....</b>				
<b>Congressional District:</b>					<b>2d.....</b>				
1st through 5th.....	(*)	(*)	41,791	(*)	<b>3d.....</b>				
6th.....	(*)	(*)	8,424	(*)	<b>4th.....</b>				
7th.....	(*)	(*)	5,898	(*)	<b>5th.....</b>				
8th.....	(*)	(*)	9,135	(*)	<b>6th.....</b>				
9th.....	(*)	(*)	4,146	(*)	<b>7th.....</b>				
10th.....	(*)	(*)	8,132	(*)	<b>8th.....</b>				
11th.....	(*)	(*)	9,982	(*)	<b>9th.....</b>				
12th.....	(*)	(*)	13,808	(*)	<b>Texas:</b>				
13th.....	(*)	(*)	6,694	(*)	<b>Congressional District:</b>				
14th.....	(*)	(*)		(*)	<b>1st.....</b>				
18th.....	(*)	(*)		(*)	<b>2d.....</b>				
20th and 27th.....	(*)	(*)	32,700	(*)	<b>3d.....</b>				
15th.....	(*)	(*)	8,897	(*)	<b>4th.....</b>				
16th.....	(*)	(*)	6,525	(*)	<b>5th.....</b>				
17th.....	(*)	(*)	12,655	(*)	<b>6th.....</b>				
19th.....	(*)	(*)	8,228	(*)	<b>7th.....</b>				
21st.....	(*)	(*)	8,760	(*)	<b>8th.....</b>				
22nd.....	(*)	(*)	10,073	(*)	<b>9th.....</b>				
23rd.....	(*)	(*)	9,615	(*)	<b>10th.....</b>				
24th.....	(*)	(*)	12,345	(*)	<b>11th.....</b>				
25th.....	(*)	(*)	11,418	(*)	<b>12th.....</b>				
26th.....	(*)	(*)	11,163	(*)	<b>13th.....</b>				
Rhode Island: Congressional District 2.....	24	17	5,812	2,451	<b>14th.....</b>				
					<b>15th.....</b>				

Footnotes at end of table.

State by congressional district <sup>1</sup>	Number of school districts receiving Federal funds for vocational education, fiscal year 1969 <sup>2</sup>	Number of school districts for which Federal funds will be reduced as a result of diverting money for the set-asides in Public Law 90-576, fiscal year 1970 <sup>3</sup>	Number of students enrolled in vocational education by school districts, fiscal year 1969	Number of students affected by programs where funds will be reduced, fiscal year 1970 <sup>3</sup>	State by congressional district <sup>1</sup>	Number of school districts receiving Federal funds for vocational education, fiscal year 1969 <sup>2</sup>	Number of school districts for which Federal funds will be reduced as a result of diverting money for the set-asides in Public Law 90-576, fiscal year 1970 <sup>3</sup>	Number of students enrolled in vocational education by school districts, fiscal year 1969	Number of students affected by programs where funds will be reduced, fiscal year 1970 <sup>3</sup>
<b>Texas—Continued</b>					<b>Virginia—Continued</b>				
<b>Congressional District—Continued</b>					<b>Congressional District—Continued</b>				
16th.....	26	(?)	7,486	(?)	9th.....	15	3	19,220	5,300
17th.....	102	(?)	15,436	(?)	10th.....	5	1	25,080	19,000
18th.....	70	(?)	16,542	(?)	<b>Washington:</b>				
19th.....	51	(?)	10,430	(?)	<b>Congressional District:</b>				
20th.....	3	(?)	8,392	(?)	1st.....	14	14	73,677	73,677
21st.....	36	(?)	15,678	(?)	2d.....	35	35	42,221	42,221
22d <sup>4</sup> .....					3d.....	51	51	42,879	42,879
23d.....	109	(?)	11,355	(?)	4th.....	60	60	37,915	37,915
The following figures are for secondary enrollments only:					5th.....	44	44	29,821	29,821
7th.....	7	(?)	5,265	(?)	6th.....	21	21	45,439	45,439
8th.....	9	(?)	10,046	(?)	7th.....	9	9	26,588	26,588
22d.....	2	(?)	4,810	(?)	<b>West Virginia:</b>				
The following figures are for post-secondary enrollments only:					<b>Congressional District:</b>				
7th, 8th, and 22nd.....	2	(?)	2,345	(?)	1st.....	11	11	8,736	4,280
<b>Utah:</b>					2d.....	20	20	10,685	7,125
<b>Congressional District:</b>					3d.....	7	5	14,085	2,720
1st.....	31	27	21,500	21,750	4th.....	10	6	11,573	3,260
2d.....	9	8	18,500	18,900	5th.....	7	2	8,991	2,240
<b>Vermont:</b>					<b>Wisconsin:</b>				
<b>Congressional District: 1st.....</b>					<b>Congressional District:</b>				
52	36	14,025	7,296	1st.....	20	15	20,100	3,200	
<b>Virginia:</b>					2d.....	48	38	26,000	4,300
<b>Congressional District:</b>					3d.....	80	49	16,200	5,200
1st.....	10	0	17,394	0	4th.....	4	3	20,700	1,800
2d.....	2	1	12,037	4,700	5th.....	4	3	14,200	2,100
3d.....	3	1	15,116	4,850	6th.....	23	23	18,400	2,700
4th.....	19	0	16,569	0	7th.....	38	32	16,000	3,000
5th.....	15	2	20,537	2,500	8th.....	29	23	18,500	3,400
6th.....	14	1	17,246	1,050	9th.....	11	11	10,300	1,400
7th.....	24	3	17,343	4,500	10th.....	52	40	18,100	4,000
8th.....	19	1	21,501	2,150	<b>Wyoming:</b>				
					<b>Congressional District: 1st.....</b>				
					78	60	9,966	4,000	

<sup>1</sup> Reporting agency did not break information down by individual congressional district in 3 instances.  
<sup>2</sup> Reporting agency did not break information down by school district in 1 instance.  
<sup>3</sup> At the time of the survey reporting agencies in California, Illinois, and Texas were not able to estimate where the cuts would take place. Alabama, New York, and Ohio gave narrative comments.  
<sup>4</sup> Reduction will be shared proportionately by all districts.

<sup>5</sup> Statewide adult D.E., 7,383.  
<sup>6</sup> All districts will receive less funds than in fiscal year 1969.  
<sup>7</sup> No estimates available.  
<sup>8</sup> Partial figures are shown following Texas 23d District below.  
 Note: Reports were not available from Hawaii and Maine.

APPENDIX B

FEDERAL FUNDS FOR VOCATIONAL-TECHNICAL EDUCATION AUTHORIZED BY THE VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AMENDMENTS OF 1968 (PUBLIC LAW 90-576)

[A survey of the States made by the American Vocational Association and the National Association of State Directors of Vocational Education, May 1969]

Purpose	Amounts authorized, fiscal year 1970, Public Law 90-576	Budget Bureau request for fiscal year 1970	Funds necessary for fiscal year 1970 to implement Public Law 90-576 according to survey of 50 States <sup>1</sup>	Increase needed over Budget Bureau recommendation to meet minimum needs of States, as authorized <sup>2</sup>
Grants to States for Vocational Education, sec. 102(a) and sec. 131(a).....	\$565,000,000	\$7,161,455	\$496,451,154	\$258,953,699
Programs for the disadvantaged (sec. 102(b)).....	40,000,000	230,336,000	69,248,042	40,000,000
Exemplary programs (pt. D).....	57,500,000	0	36,866,145	23,866,145
Demonstration residential schools (pt. E).....	30,000,000	13,000,000	97,447,996	30,000,000
Grants to States for residential schools (pt. E).....	15,000,000	0	11,800,761	11,800,761
Consumer and homemaking education (pt. F).....	25,000,000	15,000,000	28,138,761	10,000,000
Cooperative work-study (pt. G).....	35,000,000	14,000,000	30,698,466	16,698,466
Work-study (pt. H).....	35,000,000	0	33,414,835	33,414,835
Curriculum development (pt. I).....	10,000,000	2,000,000	16,184,909	8,000,000
Vocational education professions development (title II).....	35,000,000	0	90,803,850	35,000,000
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>847,500,000</b>	<b>281,497,455</b>	<b>911,054,919</b>	

<sup>1</sup> Plus the District of Columbia and the Territories.  
<sup>2</sup> \$566,002,545 (col. 1 total minus col. 2 total).

<sup>3</sup> Smith-Hughes.

APPENDIX C  
 VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AMENDMENTS OF 1968 AUTHORIZED \$565,000,000

State	1969 allotments				Total	Basic grants <sup>2</sup>	Increase or decrease 1970 over 1969
	Vocational Education Act of 1963	George-Barden and Supplemental Acts	Smith-Hughes Act	Total			
Total.....	\$198,225,000	\$49,990,823	\$7,161,455	\$255,377,278	\$237,497,455	-\$17,879,823	
Alabama.....	4,614,302	1,140,849	143,330	5,898,481	5,493,553	-404,928	
Alaska.....	248,662	259,576	30,000	538,238	293,153	-245,085	
Arizona.....	1,854,445	279,450	51,789	2,185,684	2,237,119	+51,435	
Arkansas.....	2,521,671	797,790	85,107	3,404,568	2,963,572	-440,996	
California.....	14,922,781	2,549,008	534,067	18,005,856	18,153,766	+147,910	
Colorado.....	2,017,684	434,455	66,744	2,518,883	2,410,681	-108,202	
Connecticut.....	2,172,944	461,753	92,547	2,727,244	2,613,726	-113,518	
Delaware.....	390,613	232,631	30,000	653,244	478,774	-174,470	
District of Columbia.....	546,924	228,058	0	774,982	650,227	-124,755	
Florida.....	6,176,783	967,146	187,558	7,331,487	7,393,929	+62,442	
Georgia.....	5,814,837	1,291,071	172,456	7,278,364	6,961,237	-317,127	
Hawaii.....	770,673	230,196	31,661	1,032,530	943,321	-89,209	
Idaho.....	867,516	335,250	39,430	1,242,196	1,032,903	-209,293	
Illinois.....	8,170,538	2,130,336	360,319	10,661,193	9,870,472	-790,721	
Indiana.....	4,730,738	1,440,031	193,488	6,364,257	5,660,581	-703,676	
Iowa.....	2,778,374	1,327,878	122,556	3,228,808	3,309,767	-919,041	
Kansas.....	2,304,812	784,270	91,385	3,180,467	2,789,750	-390,717	
Kentucky.....	4,134,806	1,324,728	143,135	5,602,669	4,894,998	-707,671	
Louisiana.....	4,540,971	912,068	134,293	5,587,332	5,488,273	-99,059	
Maine.....	1,180,574	310,388	48,182	1,539,144	1,387,705	-151,439	
Maryland.....	3,299,377	666,815	118,672	4,084,864	4,025,023	-59,841	
Massachusetts.....	4,550,020	833,089	179,461	5,562,570	5,409,065	-153,505	
Michigan.....	7,485,612	1,798,634	497,765	9,582,011	9,105,044	-476,967	
Minnesota.....	3,629,968	1,312,235	141,929	5,084,132	4,346,673	-737,459	
Mississippi.....	3,135,370	1,613,305	107,308	4,855,983	3,755,696	-1,100,287	
Missouri.....	4,518,813	1,390,638	173,605	6,083,056	5,453,944	-629,112	
Montana.....	816,523	299,881	38,665	1,155,069	971,393	-183,676	
Nebraska.....	1,492,576	642,728	64,271	2,199,575	1,742,754	-456,821	
Nevada.....	337,994	228,058	30,000	596,052	390,324	-205,728	
New Hampshire.....	713,245	228,058	34,050	974,353	834,902	-140,451	
New Jersey.....	5,370,458	876,457	201,903	6,448,818	6,497,533	+48,715	
New Mexico.....	1,301,356	245,693	43,107	1,590,156	1,524,933	-65,223	
New York.....	13,747,518	2,700,384	575,316	17,023,218	16,331,918	-691,300	
North Carolina.....	6,717,387	2,032,505	221,793	8,971,685	7,956,680	-1,015,005	
North Dakota.....	836,196	434,085	42,740	1,313,021	975,062	-337,959	
Ohio.....	9,805,752	2,201,568	369,365	12,376,685	11,817,532	-559,153	
Oklahoma.....	2,963,910	735,384	96,258	3,795,552	3,531,214	-264,338	
Oregon.....	1,995,016	508,946	73,613	2,577,575	2,410,600	-166,975	
Pennsylvania.....	11,264,655	2,343,066	437,176	14,044,897	13,347,672	-697,225	
Rhode Island.....	855,836	231,350	37,901	1,125,087	1,031,291	-93,796	
South Carolina.....	3,617,426	973,362	114,757	4,705,545	4,365,478	-340,067	
South Dakota.....	835,145	436,475	42,940	1,314,560	978,137	-336,423	
Tennessee.....	4,958,986	1,426,595	159,386	6,544,967	5,843,004	-701,963	
Texas.....	12,579,049	2,357,417	359,602	15,296,068	15,170,553	-125,515	
Utah.....	1,211,106	228,854	38,478	1,478,438	1,445,921	-32,517	
Vermont.....	476,650	228,058	33,318	738,026	563,453	-174,573	
Virginia.....	5,406,574	1,294,292	173,136	6,874,002	6,456,132	-417,870	
Washington.....	2,887,280	723,517	113,306	3,724,103	3,519,602	-204,501	
West Virginia.....	2,405,400	604,758	91,340	3,101,498	2,836,702	-264,796	
Wisconsin.....	4,083,226	1,364,517	162,147	5,609,990	4,890,133	-719,857	
Wyoming.....	362,756	228,058	30,000	620,814	416,792	-204,022	
American Samoa.....	32,102	81,875	0	113,977	47,465	-66,512	
Guam.....	111,293	135,910	0	247,203	147,807	-99,396	
Puerto Rico.....	3,602,108	1,528,432	0	5,130,540	4,122,310	-1,008,230	
Virgin Islands.....	57,669	68,892	0	126,561	83,706	-42,855	
Trust Territory of the Pacific.....	0	0	0	0	132,500	+132,500	

<sup>1</sup> Public Law 90-576 replaces all former vocational education legislation.

<sup>2</sup> Does not include \$15,000,000 for "Consumer and Homemaking Education."

SOVIET WARSHIPS OFF COAST AT  
 DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, aggressive Soviet provocations against the United States have increased in recent months, just as foreseen by the Czech defector, Gen. Jan Sejna—see CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 26, 1969, page 17594, et seq.

Russian aircraft fly against our west coast, a large fleet of Soviet spy ships stand off the Atlantic coast disguised as fishing vessels, and now Russian warships are off the coast at Washington, D.C., steaming toward their Havana base in the Soviets' Caribbean colony, just 90 miles from U.S. shores.

President Monroe was a farsighted leader when he promulgated the Monroe Doctrine.

The American people will be watching to see what response, if any, is made by the administration to this reckless demonstration of military might in our backyard.

Judging from past performance, the President will send Henry Kissinger in a U.S. rowboat, symbolic of our meekness to welcome the Red fleet commander, and offer our reassurance to the Russians of their right of free use of our coastal waterways.

It is considered by our experts at Foggy Bottom that only Cubans in exile attempting to return to their Cuban homeland create global tensions.

I include a local news clipping:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 9, 1969]

U.S. TRACKS RED SHIPS NEAR CUBA

NORFOLK, July 8.—A spokesman for the Navy's Commander in Chief Atlantic Fleet (CINCLANT) said today the Navy is conducting regular air surveillance of seven Russian warships which are bound for Cuba in what the Kremlin has said is a "friendly visit."

Navy Cmdr. F. R. Ellis, CINCLANT Deputy Public Information Officer, said the Russian ships are more than 200 miles off the U.S. coast. "There is nothing sinister about them," Ellis said.

The task force, which consists of a rocket cruiser, two screening ships, two submarines, a submarine tender and a tanker, keep splitting up and reforming, Ellis said.

Ellis gave no definite position for the Soviet ships but said they were expected to be off the Virginia coast by about Thursday.

THE TRAGEDY AND THE HOPE OF  
 THOMAS MBOYA

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, the assassination of Thomas Mboya, Economic Minister of Kenya, came as a personal sorrow as well as a tragedy for Kenya and the world. The death of this young

leader marks the passing of one of Africa's most forward-looking leaders and the developer of some of Kenya's most creative plans for the future. Afro-Americans have lost a black man who symbolized the political participation which they have been seeking in this Nation for so long.

From the outbreak of the Mau Mau rebellion in British Kenya in 1952 until his violent death July 6, 1969, Mboya remained dedicated to a philosophy of African nationalism. Beginning with his work to strengthen trade unionism under British rule and climaxing with his powerful role in guiding an independent Kenya during the pangs of development, Mboya rallied Kenyanites to the goal of self-determination.

As a politician, he spurned the divisive tactic of tribalism, choosing to promote instead a unifying nationalism. He subordinated his personal ambition to the good of the nation. Thus in 1963 with Kenya's independence approaching, he bowed to popular demand to allow Jomo Kenyatta, recently released from prison, to become the leader of the party which Mboya had led to victory in the general elections. His political skill, nevertheless, won admiration even from his opponents. With Kenya's independence, he became Minister of Justice and soon thereafter Minister of Economic Planning and Development. His administrative strategy included a dogged attack on immediate problems such as hunger, education, and employment which plague all developing nations while ever anticipating the future with his farsighted plans for economic growth. His life was marked by efficiency as an administrator and a philosophy that stability demands a government founded on strong institutions, not strong personalities. Tom Mboya, the politician, the administrator, the economist, was above all a Kenyan nationalist and a strong proponent of Pan-Africanism. As such he provided underdeveloped Kenya an essential symbol of itself as a sovereign yet a determinedly African member of the world community.

As with all great men who die leaving unfulfilled hopes, the most meaningful tribute that can be paid to Mboya is for his mourners to remember not the tragedy of his death but rather to actualize that hope which his life began. To black men throughout the world, he stood for the integrity of the African heritage. He showed that Africa need not adopt the "Western way of life" to gain the benefits of its life style. They must rather learn how to live with the Western culture while maintaining their own identity, as did Mboya, Afro-America could look to him as a black man controlling black destinies. As a Kenyan politician, Mboya's sole concern was the nation—not his personal future or the advancement of a particular segment of society such as one tribe at the expense of another. His unswerving belief in self-determination for blacks resulted in him being regarded as one of the most modern and forward-looking leaders in Africa. His loss will be felt by those who recognized Mboya as unique among leaders on any continent

or in any culture. The man may no longer be with us but the aspirations which he symbolized remain.

REMARKS BY ROGER LEGRAND,  
VICE PRESIDENT OF WITI-TV  
MILWAUKEE DELIVERED AT THE  
TV AWARDS LUNCHEON FOR  
NPPA MEMBERS, JULY 3, 1969

### HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I present the remarks of Roger LeGrand, vice president of WITI-TV in Milwaukee, delivered at the recent TV Awards Luncheon for National Press Photographers Association members for insertion in the Record at this point:

HOW THE "LENSMAN" IN AN AGE CRYING FOR BETTER COMMUNICATIONS CAN STAY "IN FOCUS"

This convention is made up of "lensmen" . . . photographers . . . with a large majority of you engaged in reporting the news. Your still pictures, your motion pictures, communicate with the public through magazines, newspapers, television networks and stations. What you shoot becomes extremely important, not only for you in your personal careers, but to the public you serve. You can bring truth and impact to a report or narrative by being a responsible camera reporter, or you can use your camera unfairly and distort an incident.

My business is television, and, as general manager of a television station in one of America's major markets, reaching hundreds of thousands of homes every day, I share this kind of responsibility for fairness with you. Many of my colleagues in the television industry became extremely upset several weeks ago when the United States Supreme Court upheld a government rule requiring broadcasters to give people attacked over the air a chance to reply. The rule is an outgrowth of the Federal Communications Commission's "Fairness Doctrine," which had been challenged by a group of broadcasters as inhibiting free speech.

Some broadcasters didn't like that Supreme Court decision. They felt the decision took the position that the First Amendment (guaranteeing freedom of speech) was giving a different order of protection to broadcasting than to the printed press. Because a broadcaster, the owner and operator of a television or radio station, is using a frequency which is not available to all, he does have an obligation to comply with a standard of performance that may not be demanded from an unlicensed media. A former Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, Fred Ford, put it very simply when he described the difference between the press and radio and TV: "A newspaper has the right to be unfair. A broadcaster has the obligation to be fair."

There may well be a danger here. With a firm, tight grip on the broadcaster by a government agency, some broadcasters might not be likely to pursue controversial topics for discussion. A broadcaster might decide to avoid all controversial discussion and thereby avoid the necessity to give anyone a reply. He might say: "If I don't editorially criticize a person or group of persons and avoid controversial discussions and documentary programs, then I won't have to be concerned about living up to the FCC ex-

pectations of fairness, and my license to broadcast will never be suspect."

This, of course, would be most unfortunate. Here would be a broadcaster, owning and operating a television or radio station in the public interest, but refusing to use the impact of his media to become involved in the vital issues around him. Not only would this be unfortunate . . . it would be a disservice to the public.

I doubt that many broadcasters will take this route. By and large, most of them . . . in fact, the vast majority of them, are responsible, involved individuals who appreciate and respect the power of the medium they control.

I do not believe the "Fairness Doctrine" and this recent ruling of the high court confirming its validity will do harm to the broadcasters. On the contrary, I believe we need the guiding principles embodied in the "Doctrine." We are operating on publicly allocated frequencies with the custodial power to program persuasive material on those frequencies.

As I said, the vast majority of broadcasters are responsible, dedicated individuals. However, let's be honest. There are some who are not. And, without a "Fairness Doctrine" to control them, there's no end to the damage they might accomplish in their own self-interest. They could tout their own personal beliefs . . . their own social philosophies . . . and fail to give a balanced, fair presentation of all the facts on their powerful electronic platforms. This is the type that is kept in line . . . forced to be fair . . . through the "Fairness Doctrine." The responsible radio and television operators, and they are in the majority, will always be fair . . . with or without a "Fairness Doctrine."

Those of you who are involved in the news operations know full well that it is not always easy to be fair, try as you might. The issues on which we report today are highly controversial, involving people who are firmly convinced that their views are totally right and those they oppose are totally wrong. People are quickly angered, frustrated, embittered. And to satisfy all involved with what both sides consider a fair and thorough report is extremely difficult. Most of the time they want you to show and say only what they desire to see and hear. To them, you are fair only when you show their side. The electronics medium is especially the target of criticism. Perhaps it is because television has such powerful impact. Every story becomes a front page story, because it is the *only* story being told at a given time. It stands alone. This is unlike a newspaper that can cram ten stories on one page without any special emphasis on any of them.

It seems if you really want to be fair today, you've got to work at it. In the recent Milwaukee brewery strike, we wanted the public to know what the strike was all about. Our newsroom worked hard at reporting all angles on what has got to be one of the major local stories of the year. After all, "beer town" was slowly but surely running out of suds. The breweries were shut down. The public, the beer-drinking public, had a right to know how the strike was coming along. Some violence occurred at the Schlitz bottlehouse when the brewery moved trains, loaded with beer, out into the yards. Pickets tried to stop the trains, and there were skirmishes with police when strikers refused to move off the tracks and permit the trains to move in and out of the plant. At one point, union officials told our reporters Schlitz was deliberately fomenting the trouble at the bottlehouse. The company wanted these incidents to occur, they said, to make the strikers look bad.

In attempts to balance out the story, our

news people went to the company representative and asked for a statement. In fact, they tried for several days to get a statement. It never came. Now here was an opportunity for the company to calm a very touchy, explosive situation. They declined. This is an example of how sometimes you do your level best to be fair and seek out all sides of an issue . . . but, in this day of broad communications, they just refuse to communicate. It was unfair to the public, but we were forced to report a one-sided story. Not our fault, you say? Of course not. But we didn't like it. I'm sure it will happen again in similar situations, and again, we'll try hard to give both sides of the story.

Need I remind you this is an era of protest . . . of dissent . . . much of it healthy, some of it damaging? Reporting on a country in revolt (and that is really what we have today whether we like it or not) is a most difficult assignment. Many old, hard-line news editors . . . men with long years of experience in journalism . . . will tell you it's never been so difficult. No matter what you report, it seems you're damned if you do, damned if you don't. We in television constantly hear from people who say: "Why do you put all those kooks on the air? If you didn't give them coverage and recognition, they just wouldn't make trouble any more." It's hard for us, who see the events of the world go by every day, to believe that we still have people who think that if you ignore a problem, it will go away. But, I fear, that is exactly what some of them would like us to do. An we cannot do that. We need to apply the best kind of journalistic know-how and judgment and hope and pray we're making the right . . . the fairest . . . decision possible.

Apparently in television we're not doing too badly. We must be making some right decisions. At least there's no longer any doubt about television's power and popularity and its impact on today's society. We get our share of criticism, but most of that criticism comes from professional intellectuals. While they go on talking to each other about how bad television is, that great mass of American people are watching the tube . . . and, for the most part, are liking what they see. According to an extensive Roper Survey released several months back, 59% of Mr. and Mrs. America have chosen television as their prime source of information. Newspapers were chosen by 49%; radio by 25%; and magazine by 7%. Multiple answers, which were recorded, accounted for the total of over 100%. No one, including the press, has seriously challenged that survey.

If television is the prime source of information, obviously it has great influence. Whatever appears on the tube can be a source of good or evil . . . for clarity or distortion . . . for honesty or dishonesty.

There's an old expression that is so familiar to photographers: "The camera doesn't lie." Well, it's true the camera shoots and records what is there . . . but a news photographer's coverage, the series of pictures he shoots, can lie. By highlighting certain aspects of a story, and ignoring others, he can give an entirely different version of the actual happening.

And, television's cameras can lie in the same manner. Unless that broadcaster, who strives to be fair, has people in his news department who also believe in fairness, his hopes for honest, straightforward reporting are lost. His television station can be telling a very convincing, persuasive lie if the wrong people are manning the news cameras.

A still man can shoot a picture on a story that will take the whole incident out of context. He can accent the negative side of the story and give the public a false impression of what really went on . . . as we say, *a lie*. And, if he shoots sound-on-film, the story can be even more seriously distorted on the editing tables by taking sound quotes out of context and isolating them. There's no end to

the mischief, damaging mischief, that you men with a camera can cause if you so choose.

Probably good examples of what I'm trying to say were found in Chicago during the now famous Democratic Convention of a year ago. Live TV cameras, motion picture TV photographers, and still pictures, clearly showed police beating demonstrators unmercifully. No one can deny this happened. But, what about the other side? Rarely did we see those bent on causing violence taunting police, daring them to make an arrest, calling them obscene names. Somehow, I feel both sides were not represented in a fair, balanced report.

In some of our university demonstrations, again we saw police clubs swinging, tear gas permeating over the campus, blood spilled by police officers forcing arrest. We rarely saw, or heard, the taunting, the obscenities from the foul-mouthed anarchists. Nor did we see the majority of students diligently going about their business of getting an education. We need to tell the whole story. We have the obligation to tell it like it really happened.

And look at Vietnam. We see our planes strafing, dropping deadly napalm. But, when's the last you saw the results of a Vietcong attack on a village, where all was burned to the ground, where women and children and old people were deliberately, savagely slaughtered. We can't seek out only the sensational aspect of a story and dwell on that. The whole story is there to tell, and we are obligated to tell all of it.

There are so many other incidents where the man with the camera can impress his viewer in an honest or dishonest manner. Pictures, whether they're still shots or on motion picture film, and properly, skillfully taken, can bring us so close to the actual happening. This is an age that cries for better communications, and you are the communicators. With that camera, you hold a powerful instrument for good or for evil, for distortion or for clarity.

At a time when there is so much misunderstanding, your pictures can bring understanding. At a time when there is so much mistrust among our people, your pictures can build trust and confidence. You can make violence more violent; or you can show violence in its true perspective . . . as a last resort for only a few misguided people. Use your camera well, and use it with good conscience. Thank you for this privilege of being with you. Good luck . . . and . . . stay in focus!

#### AMERICA IS ABOUT TO PUT MEN ON THE MOON

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, as we approach closer to the day when three outstanding Americans will set foot on the moon it is appropriate to note that the North American Rockwell Corp., one of the prime contractors of the Apollo program, has placed a thought-provoking and significant advertisement in the news media. During these days when we must consider the future of our national space program and what we will do with the investment that we have already made in this effort, these words make significant reading:

AMERICA IS ABOUT TO PUT MEN ON THE MOON

Please read this before they go.

Perhaps the best way for anyone to try

to understand the size of such an undertaking is not for us to list the thousands of problems that had to be overcome, but for you to simply go out in your backyard some night, look up, and try to imagine how you'd begin, if it were up to you.

But our reason here is not to talk about the technicalities of the Apollo project. Rather, it is simply to ask you to think, for at least one brief moment, about the men and women who have applied their heads and their hearts and their hands—and a good many years of their lives—to putting a man on the moon.

Many of these people have worked for less money than they could have made in other places, and it is safe to say they have worked through more nights and weekends and lunch and dinner hours than they would have anywhere else.

And the astronauts, the brave men who will fly again down that long, dark and dustless corridor of space, this time to set foot—to walk upon the surface of the moon—they know the price that's often paid in setting out for lands uncharted. They know the price their fathers' grandfathers paid just to walk across the wilderness of America for the first fifty years.

For a long time now, we have been involved with the people who are the thinkers and the designers and the builders and the pilots of America's man-to-the-moon dream, of America's man-to-the-moon determination. We have worked with them, eaten with them, lived with them.

Yet our appreciation and admiration for them continues to grow each day—for their energy, for their imagination, their confidence, for their patience, their resourcefulness, for their courage.

We ask you, in the days ahead as we wait for the big one to begin, to understand this fantastic feat for what it is and to put it in proper perspective, a triumph of man, of individuals, of truly great human beings. For our touchdown on the moon will not be the product of magic, but the gift of men.

In James A. Michener's novel, "The Bridges at Toko-Ri," an American admiral stands on the deck of his carrier early one morning and ponders the subject of his brave men. And thinking to himself, he asks a question of the wind which we believe all of us should ask as we think of the men who will finally make it to the moon and of the men who got them there: "Why is America lucky enough to have such men? . . . Where did we get such men?"

NORTH AMERICAN ROCKWELL.

#### JOB OPPORTUNITIES

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, it was very pleasing to me to see the promptness with which Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz is attacking the problem of job training. Certainly this subject should have a top priority.

In a very comprehensive report, Secretary Shultz tells us that more than a million job opportunities for the disadvantaged will be available in the next 12 months.

President Nixon in his inaugural address said that his administration would "Lift up the poor and hungry."

He also declared that:

We shall plan now for the day when our wealth can be transferred from the destruc-

tion of war abroad to the urgent needs of our people at home.

We find now that President Nixon is making strides to carry out this commitment. His present budget calls for 1,054,230 opportunities for fiscal 1970—an increase of almost 80,000 over fiscal 1969. This represents an 8-percent increase in job training opportunities over fiscal 1969 under the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Economic Opportunity Act, and the social security amendments.

When we consider that the dollar investment for this worthwhile project is increased by 16.4 percent, one realizes that the Nixon administration is making sincere efforts to improve the lot of those who have not been prepared to enter the industrial field.

It was very pleasing to me to see that Secretary Shultz had a concern for our immediate problems in this field. He tells us that the number of summer jobs for youth—under the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the JOBS program spearheaded by the National Alliance of Businessmen—will reach an alltime peak this summer. A record number of disadvantaged young people will be entering the business world for the first time.

Secretary Shultz' detailed announcement follows:

In major programs slated for F.Y. 1970, the *Job Opportunities in the Business Sector* (JOBS) program has more than doubled its dollars and opportunities, going from \$160 million to \$420 million and from 51,000 opportunities to 140,000 opportunities. In doing so, the plan being sponsored by the National Alliance of Businessmen expands from 50 of the largest metropolitan areas in the Nation to 125. The goal of the Alliance has also been increased from 500,000 by June 1971 to 614,000 disadvantaged persons hired and in training by that date. The NAB already has met its first year goal of 100,000 hired and in training by June 30, 1969. More than 102,000 are on the job.

The *Concentrated Employment Program*, with its major components of classroom and on-the-job training contracts with schools and employers, has been increased by nearly \$79 million and 20,000 opportunities. This includes the Manpower Development and Training Act funds earmarked for the classroom, OJT and part-time work projects.

One of the major new directions during the new fiscal year will be the emphasis placed on upgrading of job skills for persons newly on the job and for those marking time in static situations.

This emphasis will be applied in the regular MDTA on-the-job training programs, and through the JOBS contracting options which will, for the first time, assist in the cost of upgrading workers through this program.

Secretary Shultz has pointed out that upgrading must become an integral part of any job-entry training effort if workers are to move ahead once they learn basic jobs and skills. Upgrading results in new entry job opportunities, he said.

Referring to the cutback in *Job Corps* openings, from 35,000 to 22,300, the Secretary said that this was made up more than six-fold by the increased overall manpower training program budget.

"The Job Corps," the Secretary said, "is, and was, a relatively small part of the massive total job training effort that is being undertaken."

The 47 Job Corps centers have room for nearly 17,400 youths. Upwards of 2,700 are expected to be enrolled each month. An additional 300 will be recruited each month for the residential manpower centers when all 30 new centers are established and operating for 4,600 youth.

State Employment Service offices have already begun assignments of 1,750 youths to residential centers: 720 to the men's centers, 822 to the Conservation centers, and 216 to the women's centers.

The first of the new centers, with a total capacity of 700 youths, have been announced for Fall opening in Phoenix, Ariz., and Edison, N.J.

A listing of programs and budgets are attached for Fiscal Year 1969 and Fiscal Year 1970. Job Corps totals are included in the 1969 listings, even though it was not a part of the Labor Department program, to permit proper comparisons.

A COMPARISON OF THE FISCAL YEAR 1969 PROGRAMS AND THOSE PROPOSED FOR FISCAL 1970

	Fiscal year 1969		Fiscal year 1970			Fiscal year 1969		Fiscal year 1970	
	Amount	Opportunities	Amount	Opportunities		Amount	Opportunities	Amount	Opportunities
Job opportunities in the business sector	\$159,750,000	51,000	\$420,000,000	140,000	Neighborhood Youth Corps:				
Concentrated employment program	115,400,000	105,242	209,000,000	156,200	In school	\$50,900,000	81,600	\$62,400,000	100,000
Institutional MDTA training	186,000,000	98,800	186,000,000	98,800	Summer school	138,300,000	336,000	121,500,000	291,000
On-the-job MDTA training	54,608,000	83,240	54,608,000	83,240	Out of school	124,140,000	46,100	98,000,000	32,500
Upgrading, part time, and other MDTA training	24,728,000	52,956	10,084,000	21,590	Operation Mainstream	41,000,000	10,700	41,000,000	10,700
Title V, State supplements			20,000,000	10,000	New careers	18,600,000	4,400		
Special summer	13,000,000				Special impact	9,788,000	3,300		
Program support	75,916,000		111,313,000		Public and community employment (new careers and other)			50,000,000	16,700
Carryover	5,040,000				Job Corps	280,000,000	35,000	180,000,000	22,300
					Work incentive program	105,419,000	66,300	73,500,000	71,200
					Total	1,402,589,000	974,638	1,637,405,000	1,054,230

ALLOW VOLUNTARY PRAYERS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

HON. JAMES F. HASTINGS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, my colleagues who have arranged for Prayer Day to underscore their efforts to amend the Constitution to allow voluntary prayers in public schools cannot be commended too highly. I fervently pray—if I may be permitted to use such an expression without raising the hackles of those Constitution-watchers who feel the halls of freedom will collapse into a dusty heap if a child speaks the name of God in a schoolroom—that the sponsors of Prayer Day will meet with greater success in this session of Congress than in the past.

I cannot believe that the minds of the men who gave us our Constitution intended that a child's prayer should be considered unlawful. It is against the very nature of this Nation whose heritage is based on a devout belief in a Supreme Being. But the Court has

spoken and the results have been widespread public concern. I feel the school prayer ruling has been incorrectly and unrealistically interpreted by perhaps a well-intentioned minority which disregards the religious character of the majority of our society. Free choice to worship or not to worship is the rule. It should be the same for prayer.

The writers of our Constitution never meant that its words should be interpreted so a minority could exercise its will over the majority. More than 80 bills relating to prayer in public schools have been introduced. All are not the same but they generally point in the same direction—legislation which would permit voluntary prayer in public schools. Again I say a prayer that this may be achieved during the current session of Congress.

SMUT PEDDLERS—PART II

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the merchants of smut can be put out of business,

but it will take the combined efforts of all of us.

Legislation can help in its own way. But the most effective attack is on the local scene.

A former House colleague, the Honorable O. K. Armstrong from Missouri, wrote an interesting article for the March 1966 edition of *Reader's Digest*—an article which still is quite timely. The text follows:

FILTH FOR PROFIT: THE BIG BUSINESS OF PORNOGRAPHY

(By O. K. Armstrong)

"We are starting a new line of paperbacks and need tough, hard-hitting, sex-action-filled books, geared to the demands of today's competitive market. What we seek is offbeat sex, with emphasis on deviations. The sex must be as strong and as offbeat as possible.

The above was sent by a publisher to prospective writers in November 1963. Sick as it may seem, it offers only a glimpse into one corner of a huge underworld—the extremely profitable business of pornography.

Until the early 1950's obscene materials were sold privately. Now hard-core obscenity has emerged into the open. On countless newsstands, paperback books by the score present explicit accounts of sexual perversion. "Stag" movies and slides, records of obscene songs and humor, pornographic pic-

tures and comic books—all are available on the open market, to buyers of any age.

According to Henry B. Montague, chief inspector of the U.S. Post Office Department, at least 100 million copies of "objectionable" publications go through the mail each year. The Department estimates that a half-billion-dollars' worth of obscene materials is distributed, by mail or truck and express.

Who produces this filth? Most pornographers are reluctant to discuss their trade. But since many are under indictment, or have been convicted, for violating laws against obscenity, the major facts about the lucrative racket can be established from court records.

According to James J. Clancy, a former assistant district attorney of Los Angeles County who has been active in the prosecution of many big smut peddlers, about 60 percent of the lewd magazines and paperbacks that circulate in the United States are published by California firms. Two big West Coast producers of magazines or books declared obscene by the courts are Sanford E. Aday of Fresno and Milton Luros of Los Angeles. Aday began publishing paperbacks as early as 1952. Records show that, operating under several firm names, he produced 826,840 volumes featuring lurid sex in one five-month period. He has been indicted numerous times, and he and an associate were convicted in a federal court in Grand Rapids, Mich., in 1963, under a law which permits prosecution of a publisher wherever his obscenity is sold. The court assessed heavy fines and imposed a prison sentence, but the case is on appeal. Meanwhile, Aday's firm continues in business.

The companies controlled by Luros turn out a tremendous volume of offensive literature, some paperbacks featuring lesbianism, incest, perversion, sadism and homosexuality. Court records show that from July 1963 through July 1964 Luros also published 2,490,000 copies of girlie magazines, retailing for an average \$1.50 a copy. In that same 12-month period, he turned out at least 28 nudist magazines, averaging 25,000 copies of each. His total annual sales approximate six million dollars. Luros has been indicted four times, convicted twice. (The second conviction, at Sioux City, Iowa, in January 1966, will be appealed.)

In the New York area, Edward Mishkin has held front rank among numerous publishers and sellers of sex literature. In 1960, New York City police, armed with a search warrant, seized 42 different titles of paperbacks in one of Mishkin's retail stores. The writers testified that Mishkin had directed them to fill the books with raw sex scenes. Leatha Hackshaw, one of the authors, told the court: "The sex had to be very strong; it had to be rough; it had to be clearly spelled out. He wanted scenes in which women were making love to women, men with men—sex in an abnormal and irregular fashion."

Mishkin was convicted, and the verdict was upheld by the New York Court of Appeals. His case is on appeal before the Supreme Court.

By late 1965, according to the National Office for Decent Literature (an organization that screens all paperbacks for guidance of Catholic families), the offensive soft-bound books were hitting the market at the rate of about 200 new titles a month. In addition, magazines for the "homosexual trade" have multiplied. Last fall, I counted 19 in one bookstore in Washington within a block of the White House.

After the opening of the first "sunbathing" camps in the United States during the early 1930's, a few nudist cults issued privately circulated publications, using photographs taken at the camps. They were not pornographic. "But today the situation is changed," declares Mervin Mounce, editor

and published of *Eden*, one of the legitimate nudist magazines. "The new so-called nudist publications, which number more than 100, are simply girlie magazines." They use pictures of professional models posed to excite prurient interest.

How do the publishers of pornography operate? The going rate of pay to an author of a smutty paperback is \$600. The author grinds out a manuscript in about a week. Retail price per copy, when published, is 95 cents. Paper, artwork for the cover, and printing cost a total of about 10 cents. National and local wholesale distributors, retailers and transportation expenses take another 45 cents or so. That leaves 40 cents for the publisher. If all of a standard printing (30,000 copies) is sold, he stands to realize approximately \$12,000—minus the \$600 for the author.

"And many of these publishers make no capital investment," says Clancy. "Their business is done on credit."

One of the biggest mail-order smut dealers in the nation is John Amslow and Associates, of Culver City, Calif. Amslow uses an assortment of pseudonyms, selling by direct mail such items as nudist films, pornographic records, pictures and playing cards, and lingerie. One enormous mailing recently went out advertising records that present "the actual sounds of erotic love." During 1965, thousands of families received advertising matter from "X Sales, Winnetka, Calif.," openly soliciting the purchase of stag movies. The films portray the worst in perverted sex.

Printing the magazine and paperback smut is itself a substantial business. At least 25 firms work at the job in the Los Angeles area. Two of these are Nu Cal Litho and London Press, the latter owned by Milton Luros. Gross income for the printer runs about 15 cents for a magazine, 10 cents for a paperback. Also, many small legitimate firms take on print orders for a girlie magazine or two for the extra profit. At one plant I saw presses, which had just completed 100,000 "nudies," being readied for a run of a monthly religious publication.

The final step for the pornography publisher is distribution. Ordinarily he tries to arrange for a wholesaler to handle his wares. "We leave with each retail outlet, on consignment, the number of copies of each publication we think that outlet will sell, based on past performance," a big distributor told me. Most general distributors protest that they do not pressure retailers to take the sexy magazines and paperbacks. But many retailers say: "We have to take the bad publications with the good, or be penalized."

Some big distributors have taken the ultimate step in merchandising: they underwrite their own retail stores. Shops have been opened in many large cities to handle lewd magazines and paperbacks almost exclusively.

If this tide of obscenity is to be beaten back, citizens must recognize pornographic materials as the public enemies they are—destructive of the values essential to a wholesome, law-abiding society. We need not stand by helplessly; the multi-million-dollar smut industry is vulnerable to determined, united effort by concerned citizens. The first Amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees free speech, does not make the smut peddlers immune to prosecution. The U.S. Supreme Court has declared: "Implicit in the history of the First Amendment is the rejection of obscenity as utterly without redeeming social importance. Obscenity is not within the area of constitutionally protected speech or press."

Here is a program of action that citizens of any community can follow:

1. *Speak out.* The spread of pornography results from public apathy and ignorance of the problem. Do not act as a self-proclaimed

editor, but make your voice heard. Examine the paperback books, magazines and films sold in your community. If you think some material is offensive, say so. Ask your town attorney if it violates any law.

2. *Organize community support.* Clergymen, parents, civic, business and labor groups can form an effective committee to demand action from law-enforcement officials. Citizens for Decent Literature, Inc., 3300 Carew Tower, Cincinnati, Ohio, has helped to establish 300 such committees across the country.

3. *Secure expert legal advice.* The battle against pornography is often won or lost in the courtroom. Convictions depend upon vigorous prosecution backed by strong laws. Make certain that the anti-obscenity statutes in your state are powerful and consistent with the latest Supreme Court decisions, and that your police officials know the proper procedures to enforce them. Urge that all cases be tried in a criminal court before a jury, by an attorney experienced in obscenity law.

## CITIZENS CRUSADE FOR CLEAN WATER ASKS MORE FEDERAL FUNDS FOR SEWAGE TREATMENT PLANTS

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, the Citizens Crusade for Clean Water, a group of more than 40 citizen organizations, has urged that the full \$1 billion authorized for sewage treatment plants in the Clean Water Restoration Act be granted in fiscal 1970. The administration has requested only \$214,000,000 of that amount. I include the June 9, 1969, statement of Mrs. Donald Clusen, vice president of the League of Women Voters of the United States, setting forth the program of the Citizens Crusade, in the RECORD at this point:

STATEMENT TO PRESS CONFERENCE, CITIZENS CRUSADE FOR CLEAN WATER

(By Mrs. Donald Clusen)

The entire effort to clean up the nation's waters has been based from the beginning on federal promise to help finance sewage treatment plants. This program is now on the brink of financial disaster, and it is this crisis which has brought together the organizations which realize the need for money in an attempt to galvanize public demand and public support for funds before it is too late.

In a rare show of unanimity Congress, in 1966, passed the Clean Water Restoration Act. This Act authorized \$1 billion for federal sewage treatment facility construction grants-in-aid in fiscal 1970. Thus far the new Administration has left unaltered the fiscal 1970 budget request of the former Administration which amounts to \$214,000,000. This sum, the same amount appropriated for fiscal 1969, is inadequate to accelerate water cleanup. The nation will never achieve the water quality standards set by the states unless improved treatment plants and interceptor sewers are built. Construction will not be encouraged by \$214,000,000 in federal help. The Citizens Crusade for Clean Water is asking the President to request and the Congress to appropriate the full \$1 billion authorized for fiscal 1970.

The grant program is authorized in the Federal Water Pollution Control Act as

amended. The total federal appropriation for this grant program is allotted among the states according to a formula set forth in the law. Each state then allocates its share among localities selected by the responsible state agency. Plans for construction and for funding the local share must meet state and federal requirements.

Congress has consistently failed to meet its commitments to the states and localities via the grant program. In fiscal 1969, Congress authorized \$700,000,000 in treatment facility grants but appropriated \$214,000,000. The Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966 raised expectations when it removed the dollar ceiling, offered a larger percent of federal aid, and increased the amount authorized for construction grants.

In reality these increases never materialized because federal appropriations have been so low. By 1968, 23 states, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands had passed legislation authorizing a state share of 25-30 percent, but in the same year the Congress appropriated only \$203,000,000 instead of the \$450,000,000 authorized. Thus the incentive offered by the Clean Water Restoration Act has been almost no incentive at all. Only states able to undertake prepayment of the federal share in expectation of reimbursement can get leverage out of the promise implicit in the percentages of the Act. State legislatures that met after the President's budget was sent to Congress in 1967 had scant reason to authorize appropriation of matching state funds.

Every year that we expend less money at the federal level on the grant program, the effect is felt all the way down the line. These are incentive grants and they represent seed money to encourage local and state investment. In the last 11 years, the Federal Water Pollution Administration reports, investment of \$1,200,000,000 has stimulated construction of more than \$5 billion of waste treatment facilities in local communities.

The Citizens Crusade for Clean Water today issues a call to every American who objects to water pollution. Instead of hand-wringing and lamenting about how dirty the river or lake is, every interested citizen should write his Representative and Senator and the President. The message is simple—a much bigger share of our tax money spent to clean up the water. The public has been told on innumerable occasions that what is required for cleanup is a public opinion that is angry and vocal. Members of organizations cooperating in the Citizens Crusade for Clean Water will put this theory to the supreme test and let the Executive and Legislative branches of our government know that pollution abatement has more than citizen support, it has citizen demand.

#### HELPING CHILDREN OVERCOME LEARNING DISABILITIES

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the General Subcommittee on Education, which I serve as chairman, is this week holding hearings on H.R. 8660 and related bills to help school-age children with learning disabilities.

"Learning disabilities" can be described as a disorder in one or more of the basic psychological processes involved in understanding or using language, spoken or written, which disorder manifests itself in imperfect ability to

listen, speak, read, write, spell, or do mathematical calculations. The term "learning disabilities" does not include children with learning problems which are primarily the result of visual, hearing or motor handicaps, or mental retardation, of emotional disturbance, or of environmental disadvantage.

It has been estimated that between 3 and 5 million of our school-age children have one or more learning disabilities which, while in no way interfering with their intelligence and potential, severely hampers them from absorbing classroom material as readily as other students.

In order to keep my colleagues in the Congress abreast of the interest and concern among teachers, parents, doctors, therapists, and educators in coping with learning disabilities in our classrooms, I wish to include an article which appeared in the May issue of *Today's Health*, entitled "Helping Children To Overcome Learning Disabilities."

This article provides some insightful information into these increasing phenomena in our American school system. Our subcommittee has heard equally impressive testimony from qualified individuals in this field, and we are hopeful this legislation will be acted upon by the House and Senate during this session of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, the article follows:

#### HELPING CHILDREN OVERCOME LEARNING DISABILITIES

(By Theodore Irwin)

When he reads aloud, seven-year-old Johnny reverses letters in words, saying "was" for "saw" and "cupperbut" for "buttercup." Susan, at six, can't tell left from right. In class, Bobby is hyperactive, exploding in sudden rages and tantrums. Other youngsters handle a pencil clumsily, can't concentrate, or seem confused in their speech.

Your own child may have one or more of these and other learning blocks. Yet he could be intelligent, his health, hearing, and eyesight perfectly normal. Your child would not be unique. According to Dr. James Cavanaugh, chief of pediatrics at Boston's St. Elizabeth Hospital, "one out of four American kids has some problem in regard to learning."

Often it's termed a "perceptual motor difficulty," involving impressions received through the senses and appropriate movements. It's possible—but by no means certain—that a child's special learning handicap may be due to a subtle, slight irregularity of brain function. The condition, or syndrome (a group of characteristic symptoms), has come to be generally known as minimal brain dysfunction (MBD) or special learning disabilities—a relatively new entity in the health field. Last May, a Congressional Subcommittee on Education conservatively estimated that one to three percent of our school population may have learning disabilities severe enough to require special remedial procedures.

This does not necessarily mean that if a child misbehaves or does poorly at school, his brain functioning is out of whack or that he's "retarded." He may just be a late starter, have a poor teacher, feel an emotional conflict, show an hereditary lag in development, or suffer a low-grade physical ailment. Some other innocuous hidden factor also could be responsible. Still, it is important for parents and teachers to understand, recognize, and know what to do about MBD, if that's the eventual diagnosis.

The following careful definition of "learning disability" has been suggested by the Na-

tional Advisory Committee on Handicapped Children: "Children with special learning disabilities exhibit a disorder in one or more of the basic psychological processes involved in understanding or in using spoken or written languages. These may be manifested in disorders of listening, thinking, talking, reading, writing, spelling, or arithmetic. . . . They do not include learning problems which are due primarily to visual, hearing, or motor handicaps, to mental retardation, emotional disturbance, or to environmental disadvantage."

Various states refer to learning disabilities by other names, such as educational handicaps, special learning disorders, or perceptual impairments.

An increasingly recognized element in learning failure, minimal brain dysfunction is a catch-all technical phrase for widely differing problems. When a child is diagnosed as having MBD, he may have no demonstrable brain injury, as in cases of cerebral palsy or epilepsy, which show irregular electroencephalograph (EEG) patterns.

"MBD is largely an inference, and cerebral impairment is assumed," says Dr. Norman Sher, child psychiatrist at Maimonides Medical Center, Brooklyn, New York. "The assumption is that there is anatomic damage, that it may be minute and limited to highly focal areas of the brain."

Significantly, whatever hindrance in the nervous system there may be in a mild learning-disability case is "minimal," subtly affecting learning and behavior without evident lowering of a child's general intellectual capacity. In other words, these youngsters may be smart. When tested, they achieve near average, average, even above average in intellectual functioning.

About 100 symptoms of MBD have been identified, and each affected child has his own particular cluster. Signs may show up in various combinations of impaired visual or hearing awareness, language, memory, concept-formation, or muscular function.

Among early medical symptoms are slowness or awkwardness of movement, an inability to develop a sense of up and down, a deficiency in the senses of touch, time, or distance. An MBD-child's hearing, vision, and voice may be normal, but something in his brain centers may not understand the messages received by his eyes and ears; or his brain centers may not direct his tongue and lips to talk properly.

Behavioral clues include overactivity or underactivity, lack of normal attention span, and displays of unusual and changeable emotions. Educational symptoms are detected in a child's reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic.

Many of the characteristics, however, tend to smooth out and vanish spontaneously as the child grows older, with the natural maturing of his central nervous system. Very bright children with reading problems often learn to read later, when they're highly motivated. They compensate for their original difficulty by interest and intelligence, though they may be hampered by a spelling problem.

If the multiple symptoms confuse you, the labels being applied to MBD are even more perplexing. "Terms are often used to lend a touch of mystification to ignorance," contends Dr. Alfred L. Abrams, senior staff psychiatrist at Queens College, New York.

In an effort to clarify the lingo, a task force of 14 experts was assigned to the job by the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness. Their report revealed that some 38 terms are employed to describe conditions grouped as minimal brain dysfunction. Labels range from "association-deficit pathology" to "organic behavior disorder," "perceptual cripple," "clumsy-child syndrome," and "dyslexia."

Perhaps the most familiar and fashionable term today is "dyslexia." Simply, this means a child is a poor reader. He may reverse let-

ters or words, "mirror write," be unable to translate symbols on a printed page into meaningful ideas, or exhibit other symptoms.

The syndrome is not caused by brain damage, in the opinion of Dr. Lloyd J. Thompson of the University of North Carolina Medical School. It's accounted for, he believes, by "an innate or constitutional developmental lag," and a child can catch up through special treatment. Doctor Thompson calls dyslexia "a congenital word-blindness and word-deafness" comparable to color-blindness, which is independent of intelligence. Others say that while dyslexia often accompanies MBD, an MBD child is not necessarily dyslexic.

The very existence of specific dyslexia is questioned by some knowledgeable authorities, although more than 20,000 books, articles, and reports have been published on the condition. Dr. Henry F. Eichenwald of the University of Texas Southwestern Medical School maintains that most of what's written on dyslexia is "speculation, faddism, unproven theory, uncontrolled data, or dogma presented as fact." The vast majority of otherwise normal children called dyslexic, contends Doctor Eichenwald, could do as well, perhaps better, if they were left alone to "have time to heal their trouble."

Parents are apt to accept, perhaps even welcome, the dyslexic label because it's respectable—not a report-card "F." If Mary brings home a poor paper from school, her suburban mother might say, "I must find out if Mary is dyslexic."

In cases of faulty learning ability attributed to MBD, what are the causes? Medical researchers have found that neurologic disorders such as MBD are significantly linked to pregnancy complications of the mother and to prematurity. In the prenatal period there may be "insults" (physical or chemical injuries) to the embryo or fetus; at birth, anoxia (lack of oxygen) could affect the central nervous system. Or there may have been an illness or injury during the critical development years of the brain and central nervous system. Frequently, however, the cause of the brain dysfunction cannot be traced.

It's not unusual for a learning problem to be tied to emotional disturbance. They could be related, but it's hard to say whether the learning trouble triggers the emotional upset or vice versa.

Says Dr. J. G. Minskoff, director of the U.S. Bureau of Education of the Handicapped: "Parents should bear in mind that a learning-disabled child may be physically intact and intellectually normal except for one or more areas, such as learning arithmetic."

Currently, concepts, orientations, and approaches to the problem vary widely among professionals in the field. Thus, they often differ over methods of diagnosis and treatment.

How is an MBD-learning disability detected?

"Diagnosis of minimal brain dysfunction," explains Dr. John Emmette Peters, director of child psychiatry, University of Arkansas Medical Center, "is made on the basis of clinical behavior, history, psychologic evaluation, and neurologic signs. These must be evaluated against the background of environmental and interpersonal factors."

Ideally, evaluation includes both a physical and an educational checkup. The first symptoms may be observed by a parent or teacher. Initially, the question is whether anything is wrong medically. The family physician, pediatrician, pediatric neurologist, and other specialists all may play a role.

Starting with a thorough medical history and physical (including neurological) examination, a full check should be made of vision and hearing. When advisable, the physician may ask for special tests. For example, he may order an EEG to record the electrical activity within the brain or refer the child

to an endocrinologist for tests of brain chemistry.

An educational or behavioral diagnosis encompasses an analysis of the child's school record, psychological tests, an assessment of his speech and coordination, his ability to use ideas meaningfully, his language development, plus observation of behavior in a variety of situations. With all this data, a hypothesis is arrived at to see what may be expected of the child and what can be done for him.

Experts explain that in most instances MBD is an unproved diagnosis. Warning against alarming parents with an unwarranted diagnosis of "brain disorder," Doctor Abrams of Queens College recommends that, in cases where brain dysfunction can't be proven, a descriptive term such as "delayed or irregular maturation" should be used.

Specialists in the field rely on a wide range of diagnostic tools. Some exams measure visual-motor functions or visual perception. Others focus on psychological areas as related to language abilities. Many phonics tests analyze a child's ability to relate sounds and symbols. The best diagnostic clinics tend to use several of these, plus observation of the subject.

Philosophies and techniques differ among clinics throughout the country. One of the most up-to-date facilities is the Learning Rehabilitation Service at Maimonides Medical Center. Part of the Community Mental Health Center, it was started three years ago as part of the child psychiatry program headed by Dr. Norman Sher. The service, helping about 650 children a year, was developed and is now directed by a vibrant educational psychologist, Dr. Cecelia Pollack.

In her diagnosis of a child's learning problems, Doctor Pollack looks for developmental lags, beginning with observations of behavior (distractibility, attention span, etc.). She notes such factors as coordination, directional awareness, and sense of rhythm. The child is asked to skip, hop, balance on a board, face right and left, throw and catch a ball. Sundry other psychological and physical tests are given. The service has access to such hospital departments as pediatrics and neurology; when necessary, a psychiatrist, ophthalmologist, speech therapist, or other specialists are consulted.

The other morning, chubby, eight-year-old Tommy bounced in for diagnosis. Hyperactive, he moved quickly, touching one object after another as though driven. He asked, "What's this?" and reached for something else without waiting for an answer. On various tests, he couldn't balance himself or tell one direction from another. When Doctor Pollack moved a pencil in front of him, Tommy moved his head and shoulders with it. His eye motions were erratic. Shown a sketch of a chicken, he failed to discriminate whether it was looking up or down. The psychologist said words like "swing-sling" and "butterfly-flutterby," and Tommy was asked to tell if they were the same or different.

During three such sessions, Tommy submitted to some 30 different tests. Then Doctor Pollack called in the boy's parents to analyze his condition. Tommy had perceptual motor disabilities and poor coordination. He was unable to deal with written symbols in a meaningful way, could not combine his visual, auditory, and motion senses. Emotionally, he was on the level of a three-year-old. Based on the entire spectrum of symptoms, Doctor Pollack's diagnosis was that Tommy was a learning-disabled child.

The remedial program is based on the diagnosis. Doctor Pollack believes in delineating the areas of a child's weakness, then trying to treat these specific areas. "I prefer to call ours a rehabilitation clinic," she says. "I believe learning functions can be rehabilitated."

For example, seven-year-old Martha may be given various visual exercises to help her develop a sense of spatial relationships—awareness of her body in space. Later, an intersensory reading method may heighten her reading skills. Such a method combines linguistic and phonic principles, employing visual, auditory, and kinesthetic (motion) senses. Speech-sound skills, letter recognition, and reading are developed gradually.

Many training methods begin with a phonic readiness kit to develop a "phonetic ear." These systems work with sounds, build them into words, then into sentences—in a programmed sequence. Thus Martha will learn to read, write, and spell simultaneously.

Elsewhere in the nation, efforts to help the learning-disabled take multiple forms. Mild cases may be corrected by a regular classroom teacher, but only a small percentage of schools give special attention to those with more severe difficulties. Sometimes two or three schools share the time of an itinerant special teacher and a resource room. A hopeful trend is the enactment by 13 states—including California, Illinois, and New Jersey—of legislation to set up educational programs to deal with learning disabilities.

"The need for clinical teaching is apparent from the great variety of programs presented," notes Dr. Jeanne McCarthy, associate professor of education, University of Illinois. "Each child has his own learning style. A system that works for one youngster may not work for another. So the teacher must precisely match the learner and his treatment. What these youngsters need is individualized attention."

One treatment method which has occasioned a great deal of publicity and controversy is the Doman-Delacato system for neurologically handicapped children. The treatment, which includes a variety of exercises and "patterning" of motions, has been sharply criticized by medical specialists.

Writing in *The Journal of the American Medical Association*, Dr. Roger D. Freeman, a Temple University psychiatrist, concludes that the claimed results are "inappropriate and have not been documented in a scientific manner . . . No generally accepted proof exists that . . . the patterning or other techniques used by the Doman-Delacato Institutes . . . give superior results in management of brain damage."

An official statement prepared by the American Academy of Pediatrics and the Committee on the Handicapped Child notes, "There is no empirical evidence to substantiate the value of either the theory or practice of neurological organization."

At approved remedial centers in hospitals or universities, certain medicines sometimes are helpful. "The purpose of the medication," says Robert A. Kramer, professor of pediatrics at Johns Hopkins University, "is to correct an aberrant pattern in the central nervous system. There is no way of knowing which child will respond well."

Some overactive MBD children may quiet down with a prescribed medication so that they can study in regular classes. According to \* \* \*.

#### BEWARE OF DUBIOUS CLINICS

Overanxious parents are being taken in by certain private reading "services," "clinics," and "institutes" which make extravagant claims. While some appear to be doing a good job, many others are ineffectual, have poorly trained instructors, tend to exaggerate a child's difficulty, and offer facilities far less than those in up-to-date public schools.

One private Eastern school, boasting a long list of "consultants," charges \$2000 to \$3000 a semester. At a thriving private clinic in New England, parents pay \$100 for a battery of tests, after which their alarm is apt to be heightened by a diagnosis of "dyslexia."

If you listen to this clinic's director, "anyone who is one or two years below grade level is dyslexic"—even though grades differ from one community to another.

In one Southern state, for \$24 you can buy a kit containing material for training preschool kids who are "perceptually handicapped." A reputable psychologist describes this kit as "illiterate."

Hundreds of summer camps have also been getting into the act, including "remedial reading" among their attractions. Inexperienced "reading teachers" may receive only a week of indoctrination before the campers arrive. Dr. Gertrud L. Wyatt, child psychologist in the Wellesley, Massachusetts, public schools, observes that not much can be accomplished in eight weeks: "Children may learn something about the mechanics of reading but fail to understand the meaning of a sentence."

To detect a quack, Dr. Roger D. Freeman of Temple University School of Medicine suggests that you note whether the clinic makes grandiose claims without good evidence or if it provides services for which the practitioners clearly lack training and experience.

"Check into the training of the tutors themselves, not just the director of the clinic," adds Dr. Jeanne McCarthy, a University of Illinois education professor. "Be wary of persons who provide services in areas for which they do not have specific training."

Before taking your child to a learning clinic, check it out. Inquire about it at the nearest university or hospital which deals with child development.

#### CAN MAN SURVIVE? HIS RECORD HINTS NO

### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the Detroit News of Sunday, July 6, 1969, carried an article by the respected columnist, Marquis Childs headlined, "Can Man Survive? His Record Hints No." Citing an exhibit marking the 100th anniversary of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City, Mr. Childs notes the great damage which man has done to his environment during the last few decades. He also points up the fact of inadequate funding for our air and water pollution control and abatement programs.

Mr. Childs' column points out the need for an independent agency to oversee those activities which have an impact on our environment. Such an agency is the Council on Environmental Quality which would be created under the terms of legislation recently approved by the Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.

So that my colleagues may have an opportunity to read Mr. Childs' column, I include it at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

#### CAN MAN SURVIVE? HIS RECORD HINTS NO (By Marquis Childs)

NEW YORK.—For its 100th anniversary the American Museum of Natural History has an exhibit that would have startled the daylights out of the Establishment figures who financed one of the most comprehensive collections of man's past and present on this troubled planet.

It is called "Can Man Survive?" With films, sound tracks and blown-up photomontage, the despoiling of the elements fundamental to life—air, earth and water—is shown in appalling detail.

Here is industry belching out vile fumes and dense smoke—133 million tons of aerial garbage a year, says the sound track. Waste poured into rivers big and small that are hardly more than sewers.

The consequences of the population explosion are shown in the proliferation of peoples far beyond the food supply in many parts of Asia and Latin America. The films of Asians on the ragged edge of starvation are strong stuff, hardly conducive to sitting down to that full dinner with complacent disregard for one's fellow man.

In a few decades technological man has begun to undermine the elements built up over millions of years as the first animate creatures crawled out of the slime. The answer to the question posed by the exhibit must be a hesitant maybe yes, maybe no.

The setting points up the drama of the challenge. The museum's great hall is dedicated to Theodore Roosevelt and his robust words are in imperishable bronze celebrating the strenuous life. In the hall of African mammals are trophies of his big-game hunts from that far-off time before much of African wild life was threatened with extinction.

In bronze, too, are the plaques to the donors, the men who early in the century built their large fortunes on America's resource base which at that point seemed inexhaustible.

With a jolt this country has begun to wake up to a realization of how far down the road to devastation we have gone. The first small steps are being taken to reverse the trend. But as an answer to "Can man survive?" they are only the most tentative footprints in the wasteland.

Among the bureaucracies created in Washington to clean up the rivers and restore the balance in the polluted air of our cities is the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, housed in the Department of Interior.

Secretary Walter Hickel has testified that the administration could effectively spend \$600 million a year in grants to build sewage disposal plants. This is almost \$400 million more than the request in the budget for the coming fiscal year.

The estimate of leaders in the clean-up drive—Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine in the forefront—is that between 1969 and 1973 it will take \$10 billion to make a substantial advance. At the rate of \$214 million a year, the budgetary request, you can see how far we'll get in four years.

Most states which pay 40 percent of the construction cost for sewage plants as against 60 percent from the federal grant, put the cleanup cost much higher than the federal estimates. This is particularly true in the big-city states where industry adds a constant stream of pollution to the raw sewage flowing into rivers and lakes.

Here in New York state the federal estimate is \$1 billion. The state's own estimate is more than twice that amount. Maine, where the vision is of sparkling streams and lakes, sets a goal of \$148 million as against the federal estimate of \$47 million.

The National Center for Air Pollution Control, in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, has requested \$95.8 million for next year. As with water, that is woefully inadequate when measured against the cost of doing a job that will begin to remove the poisons millions breathe every day.

Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin, a valiant champion of a clean environment, tells a story of how the animals of the earth held a congress to charge man with destroying their world. They voted with only one exception to find man guilty as charged. The

exception was the dog. Pay no attention to him, said the presiding officer, he's an Uncle Tom.

#### CONTINUING THE TAX SURCHARGE

### HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, this past Monday I voted in support of the bill to continue the income tax surcharge, repeal the investment tax credit, and to provide an income tax allowance for low-income families. I voted for this measure only after prolonged study and deliberation on the crisis that is confronting our economy.

I regret that the present state of the Nation's fiscal affairs requires the Congress to ask our overburdened taxpayers to carry the additional tax load represented by the 10-percent tax surcharge.

During the past 2½ years I have continually stressed the need for restraint in Federal spending policies. We have seen a pattern of more and more spending and larger and larger Federal deficits. In fiscal year 1968, the Federal deficit totaled an astounding \$25 billion. There should be no mystery why our present economic situation borders on chaos. We have runaway inflation, the highest interest rates in more than a century, and the American dollar is in danger of being devalued in our international accounts.

The new administration has gone on record with a top priority goal of stopping inflation. President Nixon has already cut \$4 billion out of the budget left by President Johnson. At last we have an economy-minded administration that intends to exercise financial responsibility. The surcharge is necessary to achieve a balance in the Federal budget for the coming fiscal year after a series of mounting deficits. Without the surcharge, Federal revenues would be reduced by \$9 billion and Washington red ink would flow for another year.

It is indeed ironic that many of those opposing extension of the surtax are the same big spenders responsible for the chronic deficits that necessitate a surtax. They were so eager to spend money we did not have and now back away from the responsibility of paying the bills. They would like to have it both ways.

I voted against the tax surcharge when it was enacted last year because I had voted against the free-spending policies that required the tax increase. I am still opposed and voting against excessive spending, but now that inflation has taken hold, we have no choice but to keep the fiscal pressure applied until the economy cools off and we can again look forward to stable prices.

The costs of combating inflation are high, but the consequences of allowing inflation to continue are much more severe. The diminished value of savings; soaring costs of food, clothing, education, appliances and housing; higher interest rates, and doubts about the stability of

the dollar in international trade will be compounded if we relax anti-inflationary pressures at this crucial time.

To extend the tax surcharge is an unpleasant task. But to not extend it would further stimulate an overheated and inflationary economy. We must pay for past spending sprees either by taxes or by inflation. Inflation is the cruelest tax of all because it amounts to a permanent tax that grows from year to year.

It is very important that this be the last time it be necessary to vote for a surtax. The President has stated that the budget will be cut and that we will have less spending. The continued surcharge will be phased out completely in 1 year. I feel that the new administration should be supported for this period as they work to put the Nation's financial house in order.

Our choice is between two evils. Clearly an extended tax surcharge is necessary along with reduced Government expenditures if we are to effectively stem the inflationary tide.

#### FAILURES AND SUCCESSES OF ECONOMICS

#### HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, with approval of the Full Employment Act of 1946, and establishment of the Council of Economic Advisers and the Joint Economic Committee in Congress, the United States gave official recognition to the importance of the science of economics.

With good cause, we as a Nation were aware of the human misery and national hazards inherent in the unrestrained "boom and bust" business cycles of the 1920's and 1930's. The Full Employment Act established national economic goals and our commitment to their realization.

Prof. Kenneth E. Boulding, writing in the May-June 1969 issue of *Think*, recounts both the successes and failures which practitioners of the once-considered dismal science can claim.

Mr. Speaker, as we in the Congress seek to solve the most serious of our economic problems—the control of inflation and the elimination of unemployment—Professor Boulding's article on the strengths and weaknesses of economics as a science is of special interest. I insert it at this point in the RECORD:

#### FAILURES AND SUCCESSES OF ECONOMICS

(By Kenneth E. Boulding)

(NOTE.—Just as medical men can point a finger of pride at falling death rates, says the author, economists can boast of falling unemployment and steady economic growth. But in every success story, he adds, there are failures to consider; here he explains what they are and how we can learn from them. Dr. Boulding is a program director of the University of Colorado's Institute of Behavioral Science.)

Economics is one of the big success stories of the last generation, so much so that one is a little frightened of it. The success is reflected in the establishment of the Council

of Economic Advisers, the Joint Economic Committee in Congress, and the presence of economists in virtually every government department and most corporations. This demand is reflected in the salaries of economists, which now are the highest in the academic profession, exceeding even physicists. The success is in two fields.

The first success was the development of national income statistics, macroeconomics and full employment policy; the tax cut of 1962 and the great rising market of the 1960s are the historical monuments. Just as the doctors can point with pride to the falling death rate, so American economists can point in the 1960s to falling overall unemployment rates and to a reasonably steady and satisfactory rate of economic growth.

The second success is less apparent, but may be equally important. Concepts of what economists call "maximizing behavior" have penetrated decisionmaking in business and government. The evidence is the use of such things as linear programming, program budgeting, systems analysis and the general attempt to improve the information system that underlies decisions and so to make decision-making more "rational." The rise of computer technology may have performed somewhat the same role here that the development of national income statistics did for the Keynesian revolution and employment policy, but the contribution of economics is real nevertheless.

Nothing, however, falls like success if we do not learn from it. And if we fail to learn, the successes may do us no good in the long run.

There are failures first in the successes themselves. The success of full employment policy and the great achievement of having gotten through nearly thirty years without a major depression should not blind us to the fact that we have still not solved a critical problem: how to get full employment and satisfactory growth without a constant inflation of the money-price-wage level? The dismal theorem of the new economics is the "Phillip's Curve," which suggests that, beyond a certain point at least, the more employment the more inflation. At present it looks as if we cannot have an acceptable volume of employment and rate of growth without an unacceptable amount of inflation, or we cannot have an acceptable amount of price stability without an unacceptable amount of unemployment and sluggishness in growth.

This is a dilemma which obviously requires institutional solutions, yet very little attention has been paid to proposals for institutional reform. Those of Gardner Means (*Pricing Power and the Public Interest: A Study Based on Steel*) are the only ones I am familiar with, and these have received virtually no discussion. One has a feeling that somewhere in the dark recesses of potential tax systems there is an answer to this problem by discriminating against a rise in money income, which is a result of an increase in the price-wage level, and in favor of a rise in money incomes, which is a result of increasing productivity. Whether this would be enough to solve the problem, however, nobody knows. Certainly since 1945 we have oscillated between "liberal" periods, when we have been prepared to pay for high employment with a little inflation, and "stingy" periods, when we have paid for price stability with a level of unemployment that was uncomfortably high, and a rate of economic growth uncomfortably low.

#### SUBTLE FAILURES

At the "micro" level of decision-making, the failures may be more subtle and less observable, but they may be nonetheless dangerous. The greatest and most subtle danger here is that of "suboptimization." This goal may let us find the best way of doing something that should not be done at

all, or maximize something that should not be maximized, or be efficient in the production of an undesirable output. This might be described also as mission-oriented behavior, that is, finding the best way of accomplishing a mission without asking whether the mission should in fact be accomplished.

Oddly enough, economics is virtually the only social science which has addressed itself to this problem, which is precisely the problem of the "invisible hand" of Adam Smith. How can we be sure that when everybody is doing his best, the best for everybody is in fact being done? The economists' solution to this problem is perfect competition. Under such circumstances it is not difficult to show that profit maximization and the free movement of resources among occupations from those perceived as lower, to those perceived as higher in advantage to the person making the choice, do in fact produce some sort of optimum solution for the society as a whole. Unfortunately, perfect competition is impossible for several reasons, the most important of which is that economies of scale and organization produce organizations which are large enough to destroy perfect competition in the environment.

The failure of economics at this point is reflected in the present condition of what is usually called in economics departments, "government regulation of business." It seems fair to say at the moment that government regulatory agencies are floundering, perhaps not hopelessly or helplessly, but nevertheless floundering in the absence of any clear principles which can give them direction.

There are two problems at issue here. One is the problem of the "ideal" structure of relative prices. The other is the problem of competition within a structure of institutional checks, balances and alternatives which prevents undue concentration of power and provides an optimum degree of security for the powerful decision-maker—not too secure or he would never take any risks.

Conventional economic theory has argued that the ideal set of relative prices is that which is the same as the set of alternative costs. If sacrificing, say, one pound of butter releases resources which can then produce 10 pounds of bread, then, in terms of alternative cost, one pound of butter is "worth" 10 pounds of bread, in terms of real resources employed. If now in the marketplace one pound of butter does not exchange for 10 pounds of bread, the commodity that is high-priced in the market, relative to its alternative cost ratio, will be unusually profitable, the commodity that is low-priced by a similar comparison will be unusually unprofitable, and in the absence of monopolistic constraints, resources will move from producing the less profitable to producing the more profitable commodity. The result will be a rise in output and fall in price of the high-priced commodity, and a decline in output and rise in price of the low-priced commodity. This will go on until resources are distributed in such a way that all lines of production are equally profitable.

Thus, suppose that butter in the market was a dollar a pound and bread was 10 cents a pound. Under these circumstances, it would not pay to switch production from one to the other, for the resources that could produce a dollar's worth of butter could also produce a dollar's worth of bread. If, however, the prices in the market were, let us say, 10 cents a pound for bread and 80 cents a pound for butter, resources that could produce only 80 cents' worth of butter would be able to produce a dollar's worth of bread, and if (a very big if) the transfer of resources is costless, producers would tend to shift out of butter into bread production. As they do this, however, the output of bread will increase, the price of bread will decline, let us say, to 9 cents a pound, butter production will decline and the price of butter will in-

crease, let us say, to 90 cents a pound until the alternative cost ratio of 1 to 10 is re-established, at which point further movement will cease.

#### A QUESTIONABLE IDEAL

Economists have often regarded that structure of relative prices in the market which corresponds to the alternative cost ratios as in some sense "ideal" and much of their criticism of monopoly and restriction, from Adam Smith on, rests on the assumption that such restrictions prevent the achievement of this ideal price structure.

This ideal, however, can be criticized from at least two directions, both from the point of view of development and from the point of view of distribution.

From the point of view of economic development, it may well be that there is a "developmentally ideal" set of relative prices which is not the same as the set of present alternative costs. The primary reason for this is that the rate of development depends on the proportion of existing resources which are allocated to what might be called "developmental occupations," or "the developmental industry." It is not easy to define in practice what development industry includes, but obviously education and capital industries are more likely to be developmental, where luxury goods and items of conspicuous consumption are not. A high rate of development, therefore, may well require the "distortion" of both the relative price structure and the distribution of resources towards the developmental occupations, so that the developmentally ideal price structure would have the prices of developmental goods "high" by comparison with the existing alternative cost structure. The failure of economists to recognize this may be in part, at least, the explanation for the lack of success of economics in the theory of development. Development, indeed, is a total integrated social process and presumably requires a total integrated social theory, an intellectual product that economists cannot be blamed altogether for not producing. Even within the framework of economics itself, however, the absence of any developmental price theory may well have made economics a negative input when it comes to solving the problems of development. Certainly, the advice which peripatetic economists have given to the poor countries on how to get rich quick has not always been of the highest value to them.

The other problem of the ideal relative price set arises because the set which corresponds to present alternative costs may not satisfy the prevailing sense of social justice and may result in a distribution of income which is politically unacceptable. The whole problem of justice in distribution is very thorny.

There is a problem, for instance, of justice between the generations. If economic development involves the sacrifice of one generation for the benefit of its posterity, there is at least an important question implied in the plaintive question of one gentleman, "What has posterity ever done for me?" There is a problem also of distribution over the life span. We might have a society, for instance, with what looked like a very unequal distribution of income, but in which all the poor people were young and all the rich people were old, and in which over the total life span everybody had about the same income.

There are problems also of short-run adjustments which last for an extraordinarily long time. Agriculture is a good case in point; where agriculture is technologically progressive with constantly increasing productivity, it will, paradoxically enough, tend to be depressed because, having an inelastic demand for its product, an increase in the productivity of agriculture results in a decline in the proportion of resources

devoted to it. We see this very dramatically in the United States, where the resources devoted to agriculture have fallen over two hundred years from something like 90 percent of G.N.P. to a little over 5 percent, entirely because of an enormous increase in agricultural productivity which now enables the average farmer to feed at least twenty families. This decline, however, has only been accomplished by a squeeze, that is, by making agriculture relatively less attractive than other occupations.

Current confusion in economics in regard to price policy is admirably illustrated by the results of American agricultural policy in the last thirty years. Since 1933 there has been extensive governmental intervention into the prices of agricultural commodities, ostensibly in the interests of social justice. This, incidentally, is a good example of sub-optimization, for the ideal of "parity," that is, the terms of trade for agriculture equivalent to what prevailed in the period 1909-1914 is a preposterous ideal from any point of view and illustrates the dangers of an arbitrary measurement becoming a political ideal.

If technical improvement proceeds faster in agriculture rather than in other occupations the alternative cost of agricultural commodities will decline, and justice requires that the relative price of agricultural commodities should decline also. If they do not, agriculture will be "too profitable." Nevertheless, from the point of view of development, the policy has been an extraordinary success. American agriculture was technologically rather slow in the period from 1880 to 1930, but from 1933 on we have achieved almost a 6 percent per annum increase in per capita productivity in agriculture, as compared with slightly under 3 percent in manufacturing and almost certainly minus something in education. Developmentally it is clear that the distortion of the price structure in favor of agriculture paid off.

#### THE RICH GET RICHER

From the point of view of social justice, the results are much more dubious. If we try to change the distribution of income by manipulating prices we will always benefit the rich more than the poor, for it is the rich who have a lot to buy and sell. Certainly agricultural price supports benefited the rich farmer much more than the poor one. Indeed, the poor farmer has been driven out of agriculture on a large scale, which has helped to create the present problem of the cities! A contributing factor in the development is the greater security from price fluctuations which price supports afforded. This reduction in uncertainty may actually have been more important in encouraging investment in development in agriculture than the actual level at which prices were supported. This, again, is something which economists have neglected. Far too much economic theory assumes that decisions are made under conditions of certainty about the future, whereas in the real world this is never the case.

Some of the confusion which economics has created in the field of price policy has come from its obsession with exchange to the neglect of what I have been calling lately the "Grants Economy," or that segment of the economy which deals with the one-way transfer of exchangeables. In an exchange, A gives an exchangeable to B and B gives an exchangeable to A.

In a grant, or transfer, A gives an exchangeable to B, but B gives no exchangeable to A, though he may give him something intangible or unexchangeable, such as prestige or status. Thus, when I buy a shirt I participate in an exchange in which I give the store an exchangeable asset in the form of money and the store gives me an exchangeable asset in the form of a shirt. If, however, I give money to a beggar, my assets

are diminished and his are increased in the transaction.

#### THE POLITICAL ECONOMY

The grants economy in the United States, which includes both private and public transfers, has risen from about 3 percent in 1910 to over 13 percent today, which is a major structural change. Indeed, it is one of the three major structural changes in the American economy in this period, the other two being the decline in agriculture and the rise in the war industry. Yet the grants economy has been accorded little study, either theoretically or empirically, until very recently. There is indeed now a small association for the study of the grants economy, but the number of people who are actually working in this field is still very small. I believe, however, that this is likely to be one of the most fruitful areas of inquiry in the next generation. In the exchange economy, not only is there a good deal of theory, and some strong normative principles, but there is also a great deal of information. In the grants economy, both theory and information are scarce. Nevertheless, qualitatively this represents the heart of political economy, because it is precisely at the level of one-way transfers that the political system intervenes in the economic system.

Political interventions, indeed, may be conceived as an attempt on the part of the collective or community-oriented organs of society to correct perceived defects in the pure exchange economy. If the exchange economy is perceived as not developmental enough or as too unjust, it is likely to be subject to intervention through one-way transfers. Part of these are likely to be private, as, for instance, grants within the family or through private charity or foundations. Increasingly, however, the grants economy is becoming public, the public grants economy being defined as the tax system, plus that aspect of government expenditure which is not "government business." Part of government, such as the post office, is in the exchange economy; by far the larger part these days, however, is in the grants economy. Yet there is very little discussion in economics of the principles which determine either how large the overall grants economy is going to be or how it is going to be distributed.

The key to the understanding of the grants economy is to be found in the study of what I have been calling the "integrative system." This is that aspect of social life which deals with such matters as status, identity, community, legitimacy, loyalty, benevolence, trust, and so on. A one-way transfer is a symbol of an integrative relationship of some kind. It suggests that the parties belong to the same family, or the same church, or the same community, or the same nation, or perhaps one day to the same planet. The total magnitude of one-way transfers depends more than anything on the strength of community and on the extent to which people find their identity in identifying with others of the same community.

One of the aspects of the grants economy which has been badly neglected is the fact that it is an "economy" in the sense that the total of grants is not indefinitely expandable, being limited by the strength of community, and that hence grants are subject to scarcity, for if A gets one, B does not.

#### DOES CRIME EVER PAY?

The grants economy has another and more sinister aspect which, likewise, has been almost completely neglected by economists. This is the grant as tribute, or as an aspect of the threat system, rather than of the integrative system. Grants may be made out of fear rather than out of love, and the economics of fear has been neglected even more strikingly than the economics of love. Econ-

omists have tended to regard the war industry and the police as consisting of activities as much beyond their ken as a volcanic eruption. There is, however, an economics of crime and violence, both domestic and international, which is well worth investigation. Under what circumstances, for instance, does crime pay, or if it does not pay, why does it persist? There has been some study in recent years of the perverse dynamic processes such as arms races by which we get involved in the shockingly wasteful game of deterrence, but there has been virtually no analysis of the circumstances under which tribute is cheaper than defense.

It may be, of course, that economics should be prepared to lose its life in the interest of a larger social science. I have sometimes argued this, for the sociosphere is a single system and the divisions among the social sciences are due much more to the accidents of history than they are to anything inherent in the nature of reality. Nevertheless, scientific disciplines, like nations, are useful concessions to the need for defending ourselves against information overload, and I have long held that they should be redeemed rather than abolished. Their redemption, however, implies perceiving them in a larger framework and at the moment these frameworks are very weak. The Social Science Research Council, for instance, is about as effective as the United Nations, and while these frameworks are not to be despised, being all we have, neither can they be contemplated with complacency. The organization of the republic of learning, like the republic of mankind, involves a long learning process in which we are still at the kindergarten level.

#### RESTRAINT OR CONTROLS?

**HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN**

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, I opposed the pay increases for Members of Congress and certain others in the executive and judicial branches of our Government. It was my conviction that the raises were too high, of the wrong type, and that they would make it much more difficult to hold the line against escalating demands from all segments of the economy.

This is proving to be the case. In this connection I include at this point in the RECORD, the interesting and challenging editorial observations of Mr. Walter J. Campbell, editor in chief of Steel magazine issue of June 23, 1969.

This sort of thing continued indefinitely will surely lead to wage and price controls. Anyone familiar with the operation and vitality of the free enterprise system knows full well that wage and price controls are the death knell of our economy. Let no working man or woman be misled for one moment into believing that controls mean improvement in their net take-home pay. In the long run everyone is harmed by mandatory controls that only build up pressure in the boilers of demand and supply until the boiler bursts and then everybody gets hurt. The article follows:

**HOLD YOUR HATS**

Unskilled construction laborers in Lorain County, Ohio, have just won wage and bene-

fit increases totaling \$2.20 an hour over the next 13 months. By July next year, their base rate will be \$6.68 an hour. That will be \$267.20 for a 40-hour week, or nearly \$14,000 a year, without overtime.

Percentage-wise, the laborers' raise rivals those gained earlier this year by congressmen, cabinet officials, high court justices, and the President. Dollarwise, of course, the administrative and legislative leaders, whose prime job now is to combat inflation, still have an advantage.

We really can't blame the wheelbarrow pushers in this inflationary environment for striking for all they can get. But the Lorain settlement, and others like it, scare us. We think those outside wage grants should scare all people, including those in Washington.

We believe those 40 percent wage increases should trigger some real action to halt inflation.

We believe the Administration should lay aside its timidity and forget its fears that anti-inflation action would slow down full employment.

Actually, we today have overemployment. The competition is not for jobs. The competition is among employers for people—even for warm bodies. Such overemployment lowers productivity, prompts excessive wage demands, and puts a megaton thrust behind inflation.

While the oversize wage settlements have been most pronounced in the service, construction, and related industries, those settlements inevitably will affect demands in the manufacturing industries quickly. U.S. manufacturers already are at a sharp disadvantage with overseas competitors and further widening of the employment cost gap would price us out of the world market even more and create an impossible imbalance of international payments.

It is past time for Washington to recognize that inflation is really a survive-or-perish problem and requires quick and stern measures.

Meanwhile, hold your hats.

WALTER J. CAMPBELL,

Editor in Chief.

#### THE SUBSIDIES TO 10,000 RICHEST FARMS EXCEED U.S. FUNDS FOR HOUSING POOR

**HON. GILBERT GUDE**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, it has been for me both interesting and significant to note the considerable emphasis which has been placed within recent months on the question of national priorities. Various distinguished colleagues both in this Chamber and in the other body have undertaken studies, examinations, conferences and the like in search of some sort of accurate sounding of this country's priorities—economic, military, and social. And in many instances from the studies which they have conducted have come calls for re-assessment and realignment.

I am, therefore, bringing to the attention of my colleagues the following article written by Laurence Stern and Richard Harwood for the July 2, 1969, issue of the Washington Post with the thought first, that it might give new impetus and fuel to the general trend of investigating national priorities and, second, that it might again reveal the vast inadequa-

ties in our present approach to poverty. The article follows:

#### SUBSIDIES TO 10,000 RICHEST FARMS EXCEED U.S. FUNDS FOR HOUSING POOR

(By Laurence Stern and Richard Harwood)

The Federal Government is spending \$335 million this year to underwrite its program of low-rent public housing in the United States. It will spend somewhat more than that—about \$390 million—to maintain 10,000 affluent American farmers and farm corporations in the style to which they have grown accustomed.

This tells us something about the order of priorities in this country and it says something about our system of politics.

That system has decreed that ceilings of some sort should be placed on welfare handouts to poor people, whether in the form of subsidized housing or subsidized incomes. In the case of Mississippi—the worst possible case for comparison—the ceiling on subsidies to a dependent child has been fixed at \$9.50 a month or \$114 for a full year.

The same system has decreed that ceilings of that sort are inappropriate for the welfare handouts to wealthy commercial farmers. Accordingly, one large farm corporation received more than \$4 million in subsidies from the Federal government in 1967 and more than \$3 million in 1968. The average payment to the 10,000 most favored commercial farmers in the country last year was \$38,610.

For years it has been argued by the farm lobby and its Congressional spokesmen that there is a crucial difference between handouts to farmers and handouts to poor children, that farmers are not really subsidized; instead they are compensated by their government for reluctant "adjustments" to the market economy.

That argument was demolished formally a few weeks ago by Agriculture Secretary Clifford M. Hardin. More than \$1 billion in farmer payments last year, he said, were income supplements, pure and simple—a form of guaranteed annual wage. They had nothing to do with crop diversions, marketing quotas or any of the other complex rationalizations for farm subsidies. And the bulk of this money went to the wealthiest and most successful farms.

In the case of cotton, \$784 million was paid out, of which \$508 million was for "income supplements." One of the recipients of this money was Sen. James O. Eastland's Mississippi plantation—\$116,978. Using Hardin's formula, the Eastland welfare payment was \$78,000, an amount adequate to maintain 684 dependent children for a year under the Mississippi program.

Innumerable economic studies have shown that the subsidy programs operated by the Agriculture Department benefit most those farmers least in need of assistance.

Last year for example, these programs dispensed \$52 million to 264 of the largest commercial farms in the country and dispensed the same amount, \$52 million, to 540,000 of the smallest farms. The average payment to the big farms was \$200,000; the average for the smallest farms was about \$100. Over-all, more than 80 per cent of the Government's farm subsidies go to fewer than 20 per cent of the farmers.

One of the critics of this upside-down welfare program is John A. Schnitker who had considerable experience with it as Under Secretary of Agriculture in the Johnson Administration. If a payment ceiling of \$10,000 a year were to be applied to the program, Schnitker has said, the Government could save more than \$250 million a year (enough to expand the public housing program by 75 per cent) without any harmful effect on the agricultural situation.

The House of Representatives feels much the same way. It voted last month to impose a \$20,000 limitation on payments to any one farm. The Senate Appropriations Committee,

however, has rejected the House proposal in favor of the status quo. If things follow the patterns of the past, the full Senate will go along soon with its Appropriations Committee and the big farmers will continue to enjoy subsidized affluence.

In their zeal to reorder the Nation's priorities, leading members of LAC (the Liberal-Academic Complex) have exhibited a single-minded preoccupation in recent months with the Pentagon and its bloated budget. The wondrous workings of the farm program suggest that it is not only the Pentagon that has its priorities out of focus. LAC might look into that, the only difficulty being that some of its Senate heroes—J. William Fulbright and John Sherman Cooper, for example—are among the leading proponents of the agricultural status quo.

#### LEHIGH UNIVERSITY'S COLLEGE BOWL TEAM RETIRES UNDEFEATED

### HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, recently, Lehigh University sent a team of scholars to compete in the General Electric College Bowl program on the National Broadcasting Co. network.

Just as its students traditionally have done in many fields of endeavor, Lehigh's College Bowl team demonstrated its scholarly excellence by winning five consecutive contests, defeating the "brains" of five other outstanding U.S. colleges and universities.

Upon their fifth consecutive victory, the members of Lehigh's "brainpower" team were declared undefeated champions, a feat accomplished by only five other teams this past year.

Lehigh University's president, Dr. W. Demming Lewis, his administrative staff, the Lehigh faculty, and student body are understandably proud of their College Bowl champions. The city of Bethlehem, home of Lehigh, shares the university family's pride and paid tribute to the scholar team by resolution of commendation enacted by the city council.

I am proud to have Lehigh University in my congressional district. And I am particularly proud that a member of the team, Jeffrey C. Bowker, of Bethlehem, and the team coach, Dr. Jack C. DeBellis, associate professor of English and resident of Bath, Pa., are my constituents.

Several of my colleagues, too, will be pleased to know that their constituents are members of the championship Lehigh scholars and I am proud to recognize them as well—the remaining team members, Alexander Miller, of Rockville, Md.; Craig R. Biddle, of Baden, Pa.; Seth E. Frankel, of Brooklyn, N.Y.; Donald W. Miles, of Cranford, Pa.; and Michael S. Silverberg, of Short Hill, N.J. All of them have my warmest congratulations and very best wishes for a future I know will be successful.

This fall Lehigh plans to pay special tribute to the entire team—a most deserved honor. In addition to bringing nationwide attention and acclaim to Lehigh, they have earned \$19,500 in scholarship funds for the university.

Through their intellectual achievements, they will enable other young Americans to receive a college education.

#### THE INCREDIBLE DREAM—A WALK ON THE MOON (PART III)

### HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, in a moment of national gloom, a glorious concept came forth. On the heels of the Vostok I flight of Russians Cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin, the first man to orbit the earth, the late President John F. Kennedy asked Vice President Lyndon Johnson on April 20, 1961, to commission a top-secret, urgent survey of the Nation's space potential. Next Wednesday—July 16—man's incredible dream becomes a reality when the brave and bold crew of Apollo 11 blasts off from Cape Kennedy on the first lunar landing mission. In the third article of his revealing series—"Blast-off Minus 7"—New York Daily News science editor Mark Bloom today unveils the drama and struggle behind the efforts that has made America the world leader in space expertise. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include Mr. Bloom's concise reportage of the events setting up the climatic mission of Apollo 11:

#### BLAST-OFF MINUS 7—IN A MOMENT OF GLOOM... A GLORIOUS CONCEPT (By Mark Bloom)

Eagle and Columbia are proud symbols of America's glorious tradition, and it was fitting that they should be chosen by the Apollo 11 astronauts as call signs for the two spacecraft which will carry out man's first landing on the moon.

But the origins of this mission spring from one of the least glorious periods in the nation's history.

It was early spring of 1961, and the Bay of Pigs fiasco had just followed on the heels of the Vostok I flight of Russian Cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin, the first man to orbit the earth.

On April 20, 1961, President Kennedy asked Vice President Johnson to commission a top-secret, urgent survey of the nation's space potential in a search for something dramatic where America could be first.

Could we be first with a manned orbital laboratory? A manned flight around the moon? A manned landing on the moon? A manned flight to Mars? Anything, so long as it was dramatic and important and America would be first.

On May 5, Alan B. Shepard became America's first man in space, a 15-minute dart above the atmosphere. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration made a great fuss over the achievement, but it was clearly a weak response to Gagarin's orbital flight.

The following morning, six men met secretly at the Pentagon in response to Kennedy's request.

At this meeting on the Nasa side were Administrator James E. Webb, Associate Administrator Robert Seamans, and Planning and Evaluation Director Abe Hyatt. On the Defense Department side were Secretary Robert McNamara, Deputy Secretary Roswell Gilpatric, and Assistant Secretary John Rubel.

The six men all realized that in order to catch up and pass the Russians in space, a difficult objective had to be selected, one the Russians might not be able to match.

The Defense Department representatives argued strenuously for a manned mission to Mars, but the Nasa officials contended that such a flight was too complex to even consider at that stage of space expertise.

They argued for a manned landing on the moon before the end of 1969, and won. Seamans and Rubel prepared a memorandum over the weekend for Johnson, who agreed with the recommendation.

On May 8, Kennedy received and approved the memorandum, and on May 25, he announced to Congress: "I believe this nation should commit itself to achieving the goal, before this decade is out, of landing a man on the moon and returning him safely to earth."

With these words, the strategy had been decided. But decisions on the tactics were still in the future. Still to be figured out was the little matter of how a manned landing on the moon would be achieved in less than nine years. As a matter of fact, it was almost a year before Nasa succeeded in orbiting John Glenn.

The Apollo project had been originally announced in October 1960 with the vague goal of sending three men to the surface of the moon sometime in the 1970s. There was the possibility of a manned flight around the moon in the 1960s.

At the time, there were three major techniques under study for carrying out a manned lunar landing, and the one most favored was called earth orbit rendezvous.

In this technique, a series of four or five launchings would be carried out, and each would carry a new piece of hardware for construction of a moonship in orbit. Once the ship was ready, it would carry three men directly to the surface of the moon. They would return to the earth in the same vehicle.

Another possibility lay in a variation of the earth orbit rendezvous technique. This would involve two launches—one of a ready-made moonship, and the other of a rocket fuel tank. The manned spacecraft would rendezvous and link up with the fuel tank, head directly to the moon, and return in the same ship.

The third technique was to develop a monster rocket called the Nova which would launch a manned spaceship directly from the earth to the surface of the moon, the crew returning in the same vehicle.

While a furious debate raged over the relative merits of these three techniques, an engineer at Nasa's Langley Research Center in Hampton, Va., who had nothing to do with manned space flight, had another idea.

His name was John Houbolt, and he believed the best, cheapest and fastest way to accomplish a manned landing on the moon was to send a pair of linked spacecraft into lunar orbit.

His idea was to have one astronaut remain in lunar orbit aboard the command cabin, while the other two descended to the surface aboard a landing vehicle.

After they had explored the moon, the two astronauts would launch from the surface, fly into rendezvous with the command ship, and link with it. They would discard the landing vehicle, and fly home in the command ship.

Houbolt, who was chief of theoretical mechanics at Langley, and his colleagues calculated that the entire mission could be flown with the launch of a single Saturn 5 rocket. He reasoned that there would be a great saving of fuel weight since only half of what went to the moon would return.

He first presented his ideas to Seamans in September, 1960. Seamans was not impressed.

Neither were chief flight director Christopher Columbus Kraft Jr. nor Saturn 5 developer Wernher von Braun when Houbolt

broached the idea at a mission studies task group meeting in the summer of 1961.

Finally, Houbolt leaped over channels and wrote a letter to Seamans in November, 1961 complaining that his proposal deserved more than being virtually ignored by Nasa planning personnel.

Seamans, who by then had become intrigued with lunar orbit rendezvous, ordered Brainerd Holmes, then Nasa's associate administrator for manned flight, to make a serious study of Houbolt's idea.

By July 1962, the Houbolt idea had so taken hold of Nasa that Seamans authorized Holmes to begin consideration of hardware for such a mission—a spacecraft which could fly such a landing flight.

Nevertheless, there was still strong opposition to the plan, most vocally expressed by Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner, who was Kennedy's science adviser. In late July, Wiesner's Presidential Science Advisory Committee issued a report strongly criticizing the technique.

On Sept. 11, 1962, Kennedy was making a tour of Nasa's Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville, Ala., when a shouting match over lunar orbit rendezvous erupted between von Braun, by then a convert to the plan, and Wiesner. Embarrassed, Kennedy stood by quietly.

In October, Webb sent a letter to Wiesner indicating that Nasa was going ahead with Houbolt's plan. Later in the month, Wiesner publicly called again for the earth orbit rendezvous concept.

On Nov. 7, 1962, Nasa announced formally that Americans would fly to the moon and return via lunar orbit, and that the Grumman Aircraft Engineering Corp., of Bethpage, L.I., had been selected to build the two-man landing craft.

Because of the controversy on tactics for lunar travel, Grumman had a late start on building the craft which was first known as the lunar excursion module and later simply lunar module.

As a call sign, it was known as Spider on Apollo 9, Snoopy on Apollo 10, and now it is Eagle on Apollo 11.

And Grumman was always aware of the dominating specter surrounding the lunar module. It had to work as advertised on its first landing on the moon or two astronauts would be killed. There is no possibility of rescue on the moon.

The possibility of the slightest little thing causing tragedy was all the more highlighted by the Apollo 1 fire in the command cabin which had been slated to fly America's Apollo crew—Gus Grissom, Ed White and Roger Chaffee in earth orbit.

The pre-launch fire at Cape Kennedy Jan. 27, 1967, which killed this crew, set the Apollo project back more than a year, but it resulted in a safer, more reliable command cabin for today's Apollo crews.

Known as Columbia on Apollo 11, the command module and service module (the steering rocket) form the mothercraft which is built by the Space Division of North American Rockwell in Downey, Calif. The three-man vehicle was known as Gumdrop on Apollo 9 and Charlie Brown on Apollo 10.

Awarded the command and service module contract by Nasa on Nov. 28, 1961, North American had a year's head start on Grumman. This however, had its drawbacks, since new and better ways of building spacecraft came along in the mid-1960s. North American was so far along, it had to build, in effect, two versions of the command module.

The early "block one" missions would be launched by the Saturn 1B rocket, the smaller brother of the Saturn 5, while development work on the big moon launcher proceeded.

Apollo 1 was to be the first "block one" vehicle flown. After the fire, it was decided that only the improved "block two" spacecraft would be flown.

And when they were, first by Apollo 7, they turned out to be magnificent machines,

shuttling Apollo crews between the earth and lunar orbit with the apparent ease of a drive through the countryside, and setting up the climactic mission of Apollo 11.

#### TIMBER

### HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent editorial appearing in National Parks magazine, the official publication of the National Parks Association, in the June 1969 issue of that fine publication entitled "Timber!" pointing out several problems meriting consideration of the Nation with regard to timber supply, national parks, and similar conservation matters:

#### TIMBER!

The timber interests having just launched a vigorous campaign for overcutting the national forests, we are moved to reminiscences and forecasts.

The national forest system arose out of widespread raids on the public domain which were leaving forest land in devastation. Gifford Pinchot was the most important figure among a handful of men who brought significant portions of the public lands into the forest reservations and eventually the national forests. Pinchot was an advocate of what we would now call ecological forestry (of which more below), and a bitter enemy of wholesale clearcutting.

Some twenty years or more ago we took part in the successful defense of the national forests against proposals for their surrender through the states to private interests, which were to return them to the Government, after cutting, to hold through the costly period of regrowth, and for eventual surrender again for private harvest and profit.

And more recently there were serious attacks in terms of certain large private grazing interests.

Now it is sad to be a housing emergency; more lumber is needed; most of the remaining saw timber is in the national forests; the large private forest holdings have been heavily cut over; most of the small woodlots have been in ruin for generations.

This situation strikes us as a confession of bankruptcy on the part of the private corporate timber interests, and hardly a justification for stepping up the cut in the national forests at the expense of the future. We predict—we do not exhort, but merely predict—that conservationists and environmentalists will unite in opposing the increased cuts in the national forests.

A bad situation in the private timber lands ought not to be pinned on housing. In this day and age there are plenty of other materials if lumber is really short. And perhaps it is not so short, and someone should take a hard look at the lumber inventories of the large corporations. Recent sharp rises and drops in lumber prices more than hint at a privately administered price and supply situation.

Confusion between private and public property also seems to have arisen at Mineral King in Sequoia National Forest in California.

We are wholly in favor of the use of the national forests for the kind of natural outdoor camping recreation which has been typical in the national forests in the past.

We have never questioned a reasonable use of the national forests for skiing; we have favored cross-country skiing, non-mechan-

nized, in both national parks and national forests. But when it comes to enormous resorts like Mineral King with a splurge of mechanical ski lifts, a cityful of so-called chalets, the inevitable shopping centers, attendant parking lots, even though at a distance, and the logistics of big highways, the discourse drops to a lower level.

We still think the Forest Service should abandon Mineral King as not in keeping with sound recreational development in the national forests. We think the Department of the Interior should rescind permission to construct an access highway across an arm of Sequoia National Park. We recommend to the prospective concessioner that it withdraw from the enterprise in the interest of its own public relations. And we think conservationists should continue to oppose the project.

It is not just Mineral King; it is the example which will be set for similar developments in other national forests. Simple campgrounds for natural outdoor recreation are one thing; building up vested private interests in big construction is another; subsidizing concessioners with huge roads and sanitary facilities is yet another. Mineral King moves in the wrong direction and ought to be stopped.

The laws governing the national forests provide authority, among other things, for multiple-use management.

We always thought this arrangement was good and will continue to support it. If the traffic which is smothering our national parks, to the injury of what people seek there, is to be mitigated, recreational facilities must be provided outside the parks, and among other places in the commercial cutting areas of the national forests. If timber-harvest and recreation are to be reconciled under the heading of multiple use, harvesting has to be by compatible methods.

Not only for recreational reasons, but for the sake of soil, waters, wildlife, scenery, and most certainly the perpetual yield of wood and wood products, ecological forestry must become the norm. In recent years the harvesting of forest products has been linked too heavily to the convenience of big machinery; it has trended away from selective cutting to clear-cutting; this trend must be reversed. There needs to be a wider understanding that selective cutting was once regarded as the standard of excellence by good foresters; that forests can be managed and timber harvested in ways not incompatible with considerations of recreation, wildlife, and scenery. The journals of the conservation movement, ours among others, should dedicate themselves to such education.

And it is also time we got going on a reforestation program in America. The revelations provided by the timber interests in connection with the present overcutting program should shock us as a nation into action.

The national forests are in relatively good condition because the principle of sustained yield has never been wholly abandoned. There are enormous areas of privately-owned land, however, often in large tracts, which were cut in such manner as to leave them unproductive. Small holdings all over the continent, including farm wood lots, have been timber-mined and high-graded to the point where little remains but brush. Complex economic and legal problems are involved but are not so difficult as to defy solution.

We think that the present Administration should have a look at the timber problem as a whole, refrain from being stampeded by pressures for quick solutions which solve nothing, and offer the nation some plans based on the protection of present public holdings against overcutting and recreational commercialization, and for ecological forestry and vigorous reforestation.

The growing awareness of the significance of the entire environment in the life of the nation would ensure a cordial response and

strong support for such a forward-looking forestry program.

WILLIAM BECHILL: FRIEND OF THE AGED

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the Older Americans Act of 1965 gave testimony to our concern for the very special problems of our older citizens and established the Administration on Aging within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Mr. William Bechill served as the first Commissioner of this important Government agency. Under his aegis were launched, throughout the country, programs which have brought hope and comfort to thousands of our senior citizens:

Opportunities for work, recreation, and education have been developed;

Hundreds of senior centers have been established;

Federal-State-local partnership programs have stimulated programs by non-governmental groups on behalf of older citizens;

Research on nutritional problems of the aged has been started;

Efforts are underway to expand the volunteer service which the aged can provide.

Bill Bechill worked untiringly and effectively for the improvement and expansion of these programs, aware always of the great need and of the marked difference which a modest program could make in the lives of our elderly people.

He knew what a joy a foster grandparent felt in bringing happiness to a disadvantaged youngster.

He knew what a tragic waste we make of the wisdom, experience, and concern when we ignore our retirees' rich talents.

He knew how keenly old people, living alone, anticipated the daily treat in one community that utilized, in off-hours, its school cafeteria to provide a warm meal, and a social hour for the neighborhood's aged.

Last month, under the leadership of our very able colleagues, Congressmen JOHN BRADEMAS and OGDEN REID, we voted to extend the Older Americans Act, embodying in it many of Mr. Bechill's suggestions. As he left Government service to continue work in the social welfare field at the University of Maryland, he would ask no finer tribute than our continued dedication to the cause he served so well.

I hope that the other body will also approve the new amendments and that both Houses will fund the programs properly. The Washington Post, in an editorial on July 8, underscores their importance, and I insert it at this point in the RECORD:

THE SENIOR AMERICANS

In a country where youth, sex, speed and beauty are glorified almost to the point of liturgy, it is small wonder that 19 million older people are often kept out of sight and out of touch. A small wonder but a large disgrace.

The Older Americans Act of 1965, and its later amendments, was an attempt at meeting the rights and needs of the elderly, 40 per cent of whom are poor or near-poor. As far as they went, programs generated by the Act were effective: over 1000 community projects were funded through the Title III programs, serving over 660,000 older persons in such things as home health aide services to paid part-time jobs. Nevertheless, in FY 1969, only \$1.10 was spent per senior citizen, with \$1.41 the appropriation for this year.

In mid-June, the House, led by John Brademas and Ogdin Reid, approved an authorization of \$62 million for FY '70. Despite this, the Nixon Administration appears determined to stand firm with its niggardly \$28.3 million budget request for the program's continuation. It is tempting for politicians to feel that they can get away with short-changing the old: many are too worn or weak to fight back; they have no lobby to speak of and less prospect of an opportunity for future political reprisal.

But the Nation needs the elderly. The Foster Grandparents program alone has used the talents and energy of 4000 older people who, on a small stipend, are matched on a personal basis of service with 8000 orphaned and disturbed children. If this simple idea of matching the leisure time of the old with the special needs of the very young has worked for 4000 old people why can't it be done with 40,000 or 400,000?

The answer, or at least the political answer, is lack of funds. Yet in recruiting the elderly for community projects, massive funds are not necessarily needed. For example, the House Education and Labor Committee adopted the Retired Senior Volunteer Program (called RSVP) which requires only \$5 million—money that will be returned many times over in services rendered by the elderly.

The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee will shortly consider new amendments to the Older Americans Act, and will likely see the need for an authorization figure equal to the House's \$62 million. It is not too late for the Administration to go beyond its \$28.3 million sum and begin recognizing that 19 million older Americans have not just rights and needs to be met, but contributions of talent and wisdom to be made.

TRIBUTE TO DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, Dwight David Eisenhower can be regarded as perhaps America's last true hero. In an age when heroes are fashioned from blind and emotive desperation—and, at a time when our citizens are beckoned forth to the recurrent apotheosis of mediocrity—the image of this man can be clearly discerned through it all—surrounded by the serenity of confidence and swathed in the memories of all those Americans who believed in him and in what he stood for.

Dwight Eisenhower in his calm and unassuming manner received the respect of America and became what we are likely to see little of in the future—a true leader. In seeking out the finest qualities of leadership, I think we must agree that the tendency to heroism should be included on the list, together with executive ability and, in the rare case, accompanied by a genuine proclivity for modesty.

These have been the qualities of all the outstanding heroes of our national history—from George Washington through Abraham Lincoln to Dwight D. Eisenhower—all of whom could reach decisions with dispatch, carry them out firmly and without trepidation. And all of them would know, ultimately, that they acted not so much as the direct agents of divine intelligence but merely as humble human beings acting with whatever talents they were fortunate enough to have at their command.

Such are the qualities of our great men, and such are the qualities we witness all too seldom in this age of turbulence, weakness, confusion, and periodic chaos. The traditional and honored institutions of our great land are under furious onslaught by the marshaled forces of philistine error. Dwight Eisenhower, the man, is gone, but Dwight Eisenhower, the constant symbol, remains to serve as an example to recall, to praise, and to salute with pride. His record in battle inspired our country in time of war, and brought us from the brink of horror and destruction to the point of glorious victory. He brought us victory as a general. He brought us peace and prosperity as President of these United States.

General Eisenhower captured the spirit of the citizen-soldier, and, therein, lay the secret of his great popularity which buoyed our Army and drove us to victory. And how did he accomplish this? By bold, straightforward policies, un-mixed by political pettifogging. He was uncomplicated and direct—and his soldiers loved him for it.

President Eisenhower captured the spirit of the citizens of this country—the voters—and therein lay the secret of his great popularity at home, which buoyed our country and brought us peace and prosperity. This he accomplished in the same fashion as he accomplished his military success—by bold, straightforward policies—uncomplicated and direct. The American people loved him for it—and they always will.

Ike was a winner. He knew that war had only one purpose; to win. And when the war was over and General Eisenhower returned, to what could have been the greatest hero's welcome in the history of our planet, he requested and obtained a modest welcome. If he had wished, he could have paraded in every city of America—every city in the Allied world, in fact—and he would have been assured of a jubilant and cheering turnout. But that was not his style. He knew that victory was his only purpose and that applause is not the stuff of victory.

As long as America remains great, she will be in the vanguard of the struggle for freedom. We will always be well advised to emphasize the spirit which Dwight Eisenhower engendered; the spirit of victory; the spirit of democratic triumph—a spirit which electrified the Republic in those dark days, and which, if permitted to flourish, will electrify the Nation once again.

Ike will endure not simply as a great man, but as a symbol—a symbol which unified America. He stood and stands above the petty machinations of small men as the wise and understanding leader, the eminent counselor.

In trying times, it is, indeed, a credit to the memory of this great man that his final tribute was not a vast and cacophonous caterwauling from the brutish mob, but a thunderous silence of dignified respect for the man and for what he represented.

Dwight David Eisenhower is dead. But he has quietly and indelibly emblazoned his memory on the past, present and, hopefully, the future of our Nation.

#### ETERNAL VIGILANCE

### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, now perhaps more than ever American citizens are realizing that their civic duties under our representative system do not end with the election of men to the many offices of government on the local, State, and Federal levels. Little by little, it seems, citizens are getting the message that their necessary oversight of government is a serious and never-ending process.

The idea of citizen responsibility and involvement has been a favorite theme of Meldrim Thomson, Jr., of Orford, N.H., candidate for Governor in the last election and a leader in education in the State of New Hampshire.

His column of February 20, 1969, in the Farmington News and his talk given at the townhall in East Kingston, N.H., on April 26, both efforts dealing with education in his State, are excellent examples of why citizens must be vigilant in their concern over governmental matters. In the area of the judiciary too, public concern is a prime necessity if the interpretation of our laws are not to deviate to the extreme. Mr. Thomson's address on last Law Day to the Plymouth Lions Club outlines briefly the trend which has come to pass when sociologists don judicial robes.

The thoughts of Meldrim Thomson in these areas are worthy of consideration, I think, for students of good government, and for this reason I include them in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Farmington (N.H.) News, Feb. 20, 1969]

OUR STATE AND YOU

(By Meldrim Thomson, Jr.)

Professional days for teachers, such as those engaged in by the organized teachers of Manchester, Plaislow and Franklin, and the one threatened in Dover, were recently described as "illegal" by the lawyer for the New Hampshire Education Association.

Attorney Frederick Upton, counsel for N.H.E.A., appeared before the House Education Committee last Wednesday, in opposition to HJR No. 27, a resolution that would create an impartial legislative committee to investigate the cause and scope of teacher militancy and unrest.

He admitted, under questioning by the committee, that the "professional days" of organized teachers in Manchester and Plaislow were "illegal."

How "professional" are teachers when they bluntly openly and defiantly commit "illegal" acts? What kind of example are they setting for the young, impressionable minds they daily teach?

What should be the responsibility of school board members, our representatives of the public in local school matters, when the teachers call a "professional day" and fail to appear for scheduled classes?

At the very least they should withhold the pay of teachers for time lost from school. And at most, they could cancel their pending contracts and deprive them of tenure for their "illegal" acts. It would seem that board members owe this much to the public they represent.

In this matter of teacher unrest and active militancy, the public has a vital concern—the education of its children.

This is why only good could result from the passage of HJR No. 27, sponsored by Representative Richard Smith of Rochester.

Already, the hearing on this resolution has developed valuable information.

For example, the "conflict of interest" fact that the president of N.H.E.A., Norman Cook, is a full time employee of the Department of Education at a salary from the state of \$11,100; and also the fact that the National Education Association helped N.H.E.A. finance its biased report entitled "New Hampshire—A State of Neglected Opportunities."

In future columns we will talk about the "sanctions alert" on New Hampshire and present some facts about the salaries of teachers and sanitation employees.

#### WHO RUNS OUR SCHOOLS?—THE INVISIBLE EDUCATION EMPIRE

(By Meldrim Thomson, Jr.)

One-fifth of the entire population of our State is part of that vast hope constituting our public schools.

At the core of this army of approximately 152,000 are the educational leaders, numbering about 300.

Almost 100 couriers as superintendents, assistants, and teacher consultants scurry among 6,400 teacher-captains who in turn ride herd on 145,000 students.

This multitude is provisioned by an annual local-State outlay which in this next fiscal year will amount to about \$150,000,000—by far the largest sum appropriated for any of our State services.

Who controls and directs this powerful public school force?

Since we call them public schools it would seem obvious that the public—you and I, as voters control our schools. But do we; really?

More than 300 years ago when New Hampshire was a part of Massachusetts, the first public school law was enacted. It stated simply that whenever there were fifty or more householders they should provide for the instruction of their children.

In 1784, about 150 years after this first public school law was enacted, we provided in our State constitution for "spreading the opportunities and advantages of education through the various parts of the country."

During the next 100 years, in response to this constitutional direction, several thousand autonomous public school districts were created. For many years they received neither funds nor direction from the State.

Before the turn of the century the centralization of our public schools was on the way. Then in 1919 our legislature enacted what was considered the strongest centralized school system possessed by any State up that time.

In the past 50 years the process of centralization has hurried apace, though haphazardly; until now, we have public schools supported by the public's tax dollars, filled with the public's children, but for the most part controlled and directed by denizens of an invisible empire.

If you were one of the many public-spirited voters who attended your last annual school meeting and voted on a school budget and for a school trustee, you may feel that you and your fellow voters run your school.

Hold on to your textbooks and let's see how far from the chalkboard you are.

#### COMPONENTS OF THE EMPIRE

Some parts of the invisible education empire, are like the visible, tiny tops of massive icebergs, we can see; but most of the empire and especially its power and its operations, are seldom in view.

#### The State board of education

A State board of education, described by statute as similar to a board of directors of a corporation, heads our public school system.

The seven members are appointed by the Governor for five year terms which generally overlap the term of the appointing Governor.

Neither you, the voters, nor your representatives in the legislature, have anything to say about the membership in this State board of education.

And yet this board holds absolute and dictatorial power over our schools.

The commissioner of education and superintendents are employed by it: School districts are arbitrarily assigned to or taken from supervisory unions, at times in the teeth of lawful but ineffective votes of local school districts: Minimum school standards, no matter how capricious or unreasonable some may seem, are fixed by it; building plans and sites must be approved by it; even regulations drafted by your school board for the operation of your school must pass the scrutiny of the State board.

The power of this board is awesome, its success in building an empire has been great.

It presently favors a broad base tax. Its appetite for your tax dollars is insatiable and is whetted with arrogance. Witness its budgetary request for \$69,000,000 for the next biennium, an increase in the current figure of 2½ times, and please bear in mind it would take a sales tax of 4 to 5 cents just to raise the extra money now demanded by the State board of education.

#### The department of education

Operating below the board and answerable only to it is the department of education, staffed principally by professional educators.

The membership of this department was suddenly doubled a year ago when Federal monies became available. And now they are asking for many more new positions.

Here is where the will of the board is executed, statistics gathered, inspections made, and plans for new expansions on the periphery of the empire are constantly being formulated.

Here operates that chamber of horrors for teachers, the certification division, that grinds out such absurd decisions as that a teacher with a major in art cannot teach art in the elementary school because she lacks one three-hour methods course.

#### The superintendents

Perhaps in all this great empire none have a greater influence in shaping the direction of our public schools than do the superintendents.

These are the professional generals in our public school army—though at times, when viewed through a pedagogical kaleidoscope they look more like masters of intrigue, dictatorial satraps, or big-time promoters.

I say this, knowing full well that there are many dedicated, conscientious, and hard-working superintendents, without specifics I would not indict any one of our 75 superintendents.

But I bitterly indict a system that not only tolerates but encourages the arbitrary and mean actions practiced by some superintendents!

Superintendents are nominated by supervisory union boards and employed by the State board. Supervisory unions, you know, operate on a high plateau of obscurity, descending annually to the voters level with their sacred budgetary tablets for perfunctory approval.

The salaries of superintendents are paid in small part by the State and largely by local taxpayers within a supervisory union. The

salary fixing process is done by school board members of several districts when acting as members of the supervisory union. Once the salary is established by the supervisory board it can not be changed by the voters.

Many superintendents' salaries exceed those of the heads of State departments and agencies. For example, at least seven superintendents now receive salaries that are higher than the maximum \$17,160 provided by statute for the commissioner of education. In addition, they receive substantial in-state travel allowances that run as high as \$2,000 per year.

Salaries for superintendents, teacher consultants and business administrators amounted to \$1,108,000 in 1967-68. This figure rose to \$1,251,000 in 1968-69, an increase in salaries in one year of \$143,000. Much of this, I believe, could be saved by our taxpayers if we abolished supervisory unions and made superintendents employees of the department of education.

#### Special groups

In addition to the hard core of professional educators and State officials—the State board members, the officials and employees of the department of education, and the superintendents—there are several semi and unofficial groups that exert a profound influence on the course of public education in this State. These include, among many, the New Hampshire School Boards Association, the New Hampshire Education Association, and the New Hampshire Council for Better Schools.

#### THE DIMINISHING POWER OF THE PUBLIC

Aligned with or opposed to this great power structure of the invisible education empire, depending on what education you believe our public schools should pursue, are you, the voters, and your 749 school board members, when they march in step with you, as I believe most school board trustees try to do.

In only two practical areas can you now control or direct your public schools. These are the election of your school trustees and the appropriation of local taxes for school purposes.

And yet, if the education empire is able to continue for just a few more years its mad fight to power, it will reduce both the number and role of school trustees. In the past five years the number of school trustees in this State has been reduced from 849 to 747.

It will, if it can, impose a broad base tax so that fiscal control—the last great hold that the local voter has on his schools—is broken. This means that all State money for public schools would be raised at the State level, as now advocated by Dr. James Conant and his powerful brainchild, the Education Commission of the States.

When that happens all moneys for schools will flow from Concord and Washington, and so too will all control over them!

And when that day arrives you will have nothing to say about what goes on in your schools, not even through a local trustee, and most certainly you will then have no direct voice over school taxation. What a day in June—what a utopia—that will be for the professional educator!

#### THE INTERLOCKING FORCES

Let us see how intertwined are the sinews of our invisible education empire.

Until recently one member of the State Board of Education serves simultaneously as a member of his local school board.

The executive secretary of the School Boards Association is a former superintendent. He was also chairman of the recent Legislative Education Study Commission, which produced some rather startling legislative bills, innocently called housekeeping measures, but so substantive in nature that they would have made kindergarten mandatory for all schools and would raise to 50

the number of petitioners required to call a special school meeting.

The president of the New Hampshire Council for Better Schools is a member of the influential House Education Committee. He, like his council, is on record as favoring a broad base tax.

The House Education Committee is heavily weighed with former teachers and one superintendent, many of whom have voted in the past for a broad base tax.

One of the greatest of their inter-locking forces—and perhaps the grossest example of a possible conflict of interest in our State government—is the dual role played by the president of N.H.E.A. who is also a full time employee of the Department of Education at a salary of \$11,140.00.

The N.H.E.A., you will recall, is that militant teachers' association that has placed a sanction alert on our "state of neglected opportunities"—as they have meanly labeled New Hampshire.

It operates on a budget in excess of \$100,000 made up primarily from dues of \$25.00 per member. It is pushing for a minimum teachers salary law of \$6,200; a professional negotiation law that would provide for union-like check-off of dues, shop stewards, and a closed shop; and threatens to strike or abandon the classrooms if its demands are not met.

Can you see any conflict of interest in being president of the N.H.E.A., on the one hand, and being an employee of the Department of Education receiving taxpayers' money, on the other?

If you can you are more discerning than either the executive secretary of the N.H.E.A. or the Commissioner of Education.

The former has publicly testified that he saw no conflict, and the latter has written a letter saying the same thing.

These are but a few examples of the interlocking forces of our invisible education empire—wheels within wheels, within wheels! Many other such examples could be added.

#### SOME EVILS OF OUR PRESENT SYSTEM

We have many anachronisms and obsolescent appendages in our present school laws.

Two glaring examples are teacher contracts and teacher tenure.

Under our law (RSA 189:39) teachers are nominated by superintendents and elected by the contracting school boards.

In actual practice teachers are hired by the superintendents. Few, indeed, are the school board members who actually interview or carefully examine the qualifications of a teacher.

I have always wondered how a board member could make a meaningful election without interviewing and checking the credentials of the candidate.

Further, it has long been my belief that our present practice in hiring teachers does not in fact constitute an "election", as provided in Part I, Art. 6 of our State constitution, and might some day be contested by an aroused taxpayer.

Our tenure law as set out in RSA 189-14-a, is a cruel hoax on beginning or transferring teachers. It places them completely at the mercy of the superintendent until they have passed the magic and meaningless mark of three years service in a school.

I have drawn, and am pressing for the passage of a bill that would change this law by establishing tenure for a teacher who has taught one or more years, which tenure would apply to employment anywhere in the State.

Here, let me give you several examples of what I consider abuses of power in connection with the contract and tenure provisions of our law.

1. A teacher signed a contract of employment with one school district and several weeks later signed another contract for the same teaching period with another district.

Neither of the superintendents involved were particularly concerned. However, an irate school board held the teacher to the first contract until the superintendent found a replacement.

2. A teacher with 20 years of teaching in New Hampshire but with less than 3 years at the latest position, refused to let an intern teacher who was an acknowledged member of Students for a Democratic Society assist in his social studies course. This teacher's contract was not renewed and his teaching services have now been lost to New Hampshire.

3. A married teacher finishing her third year was told by her superintendent that because she might become pregnant and lived 23 miles from school she would not be rehired. She was also told that if she would quietly resign she would be given a letter of recommendation.

4. A teacher who falsified his college credits in order to graduate, when exposed, was still retained by his superintendent on the ground that he was a good teacher.

I have heard of almost 50 cases of teachers who will not be rehired next year!

Never again will I place credence in statistics telling us there is a teacher shortage!

There can be no such shortage in this State when superintendents can play a cruel cat and mouse game with the economic lives of new or transfer teachers!

The N.H.E.A. would like to use against our schools the union weapon of strikes. I challenge this association in the name of thousands of our good, dedicated, and tremendously effective teachers, to be as solicitous of the untenured teacher as they are concerned about their unholy sanctions.

No union, that I am aware of, would allow one of its members to work 3 years and then be discharged without one word as to cause!

And any school board that will hide behind the technical shield of silence now, unfortunately, afforded by our law, can not be much of an inspiration to the children whose education is entrusted to them!

#### A NEW SCHOOL LAW NEEDED

This state is in urgent need of a completely new education law—one that focuses on a sound, clean, and basic education for our children—one that will keep our schools "public", that is responsive to the will of our people.

We must reject the patchwork process of legislative change of the past and cut a new cloth from a new pattern of partnership, in which the professional educator in his field of expertise and the public in the area of taxation and policy are full partners.

With such a new school law, New Hampshire can enter the decade of the seventies with a highly effective and truly Democratic educational system—one that we can afford!

#### DESTROYING AMERICA WITH FREEDOM

(By Meldrim Thomson, Jr.)

On this May Day, Communists around the world celebrate the substantial success of their revolutionary and nihilistic way of life.

Here in America we celebrate May 1st as Law Day.

It is a farce for us to pay tribute to the role of law in our country while from the national fountains of judicial learning pours forth the dark waters of decisions that are destroying our great American civilization.

In the name of the constitutional guarantee of free speech, our Supreme Court has fashioned a tool of self-destruction for America. Even now, on our college campuses, this weapon is pointed at the jugular vein of our body politic.

For almost two hundred years we have jealously guarded and vigorously defended our personal liberties.

By the Declaration of Independence our Founding Fathers pledged their lives, for-

tunes and sacred honor to establish the truth that all men are endowed with the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Eleven years later they established the Constitution of the United States of America to secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity.

Then to this great document they added a Bill of Rights consisting of ten amendments.

The First or Freedom Amendment constrains the Congress from making a law respecting the establishment or prohibiting religion, or abridging freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition their government.

When New Hampshire on June 21, 1788 ratified the Federal Constitution, and by this action established the United States of America, it asked that twelve amendments be added.

New Hampshire version of the Freedom Amendment provided, "Congress shall make no laws teaching religion, or that infringe the rights of conscience."

For many years, even after the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, prohibiting a state from making a law that would deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, the First Amendment was considered to apply only to Acts of Congress.

Then, in the *Gitlow* case in 1925 and the *Fiske* case in 1927, the Supreme Court decided that the "liberties" protected against state acts by the Fourteenth amendment also meant those in the First Amendment.

Thus, no state law, as well as no act of Congress, can abridge the freedoms guaranteed in the First Amendment.

The court, in interpreting the First Amendment through a long line of decisions, gradually evolved what came to be known as "the clear and present danger test."

By this doctrine the court said that a state law abridging the freedoms established in the First Amendment, was invalid if "no clear and present danger to life or property existed."

The famous lines of Justice Holmes in the *Schenck* case, decided in 1919, neatly state the clear and present danger test when he said: "The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theatre and causing a panic."

It was Justice Douglas in 1949 in the *Terminiello* case who turned the course of this doctrine into the avenue of permissiveness.

He said, "a function of free speech under our system of government is to invite dispute. It may indeed best serve its high purposes when it induces a condition of unrest, creates dissatisfaction with conditions as they are, or even stirs people to anger."

Justice Jackson took sharp exception to this new direction proposed for the clear and present danger test.

Actually, the language used in the case had provoked hostile mobs to riot.

"A great number of people," said Justice Jackson, "do not agree that introduction to America of communism or fascism is even debatable. Hence, many speeches such as that of *Terminiello*, may be legally permissible but may nevertheless in some surroundings be a menace to peace and order. When conditions show the speaker that this is the case, as it did here, there certainly comes a point beyond which he can not indulge in provocations to violence without being answerable to society."

It is easy to see how the road taken by Douglas has led the court to find recently in two New York cases that desecration of the American flag and threatening the life of the President were not permissible under state laws because such acts were protected by the guarantee of freedom of speech.

Earlier this year in the *Tinker* case involving the wearing of black armbands by school children to protest the war in Vietnam, Justice Fortas held the school could not stop the students from wearing such insignia.

Fortas said the act of wearing armbands was closely akin to free speech and protected by the First Amendment. "It can hardly be argued that either students or teachers shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate."

Justice Black, in a blistering dissent, set the record straight for millions of Americans when he said he did not hold that "the Federal Constitution compels teachers, parents, and elected school officials to surrender control of the American public school system to public school students."

Freedom has become a hippie word of love for a majority of our Supreme Court.

The freedoms of the First and Fourteenth Amendments not only permit the indulgence of personal filth by an individual, a freedom no one would argue against even though offensive to passing olfactory glands, but constitute a license to destroy.

The noble doctrine of freedom of speech has fostered the emergence of every mean, dangerous and filthy characteristic of man. It has left our society almost destitute of any effectual means of protecting itself against utter destruction.

The "freedom" decisions of the court have created a clear and present danger to our Republic.

No society can endure if it falls or refuses to exercise its inherent right to survival.

Surely, deep within our nation there is a reservoir of faith in our ultimate destiny and strength to achieve it. Let us move upward from our present morass of social discord so that next year Law Day might also be a great day of freedom for America and all of her citizens.

#### A TRIBUTE TO TOM MBOYA

### HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to express my deep sorrow at the tragic assassination of Tom Mboya, Minister of Planning and Economic Development in the Government of Kenya.

The death of this young and dynamic leader is a tremendous loss, not only to the Government and people of Kenya, but also to all those who hope and work for the future development of the continent of Africa in peace and freedom.

For Tom Mboya represented all that was good in the new generation of African leaders.

He came to maturity in the turbulent period of the Mau Mau uprisings of the early 1950's, and his own experience of the destructiveness of insensate violence strengthened his commitment to orderly processes of change.

At the age of 23 he became head of the Kenya Federation of Labor. He welded this organization into a potent force for African nationalism which did much to hasten the end of British colonial rule.

As leader of the African National Union, he led his party to victory in national elections. Then, when independence had been won, bowing to the wishes of the Kenyan people he stepped aside

to allow the venerable Jomo Kenyatta to assume the Presidency.

In a continent painfully deficient in trained leadership at independence, Mr. Mboya proved to be a brilliant administrator and an incisive politician.

In a continent too often subject to the demagoguery of extremist leaders, Mr. Mboya worked for the development of institutions strong enough to survive the passing of individuals.

In a continent rent by bloody tribal conflicts, Mr. Mboya rose above tribal loyalties and helped to develop a constructive sense of nationality from which the effort to modernize could draw its strength.

It would indeed be both tragic and ironic if his death should spark the same tribal conflicts which he labored so hard to avoid.

I had the pleasure of spending some time with Mr. Mboya and his wife at his home in Nairobi last November. In talking with him, I was impressed both by the sharpness of his intellect and the depth of his concern for his people.

Mr. Mboya is the second moderate African leader to be assassinated in recent months. Earlier this year, Eduardo Mondlane, the Mozambique freedom fighter, met the same fate in Dar Es Salaam. The cause of moderation in Africa has thus been dealt two staggering blows. The future of the continent has been darkened.

We Americans, who have also seen our finest young leaders struck down in their prime, can extend our deepest sympathy to the family of Mr. Mboya and to the people of Kenya, whom he so ably served in his brief and tragically shortened life.

Mr. Speaker, at this point in the RECORD, I insert an article by Anthony Astrachan, published in the Washington Post, entitled "Mboya Envisioned a Greater Africa."

Mr. Speaker, I also insert an editorial which appeared in the Washington Post on July 9, 1969, in tribute to Tom Mboya.

The articles follow:

#### MBOYA ENVISIONED A GREATER AFRICA

(By Anthony Astrachan)

LONDON, July 5.—The assassination of Tom Mboya is a tragedy for Kenya and for Africa in ways far beyond his association with the West, where he was one of the continent's best-known public figures.

It is a tragedy because it strikes a note of individual violence that has left upheaval in its echoes every time it has been heard in Africa—as in the assassination of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo in 1961 and four Nigeria's civilian leaders in 1966.

It is a tragedy because it deprives the country and the continent, new to modern statehood, of a leader young enough to provide continuity when the elder generation of nationalists passes from the scene. Mboya at 38 was a leading contender for the succession to elderly, ailing President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, who is 76. It is a rare country in Africa whose second generation of leaders shows promise of improving on the first.

#### BUILT INSTITUTIONS

Mboya's death is a tragedy because, in a continent where politics is usually personal and tribal, he was one of the few leaders with a well-articulated concept of the need for building institutions in the state that would outlast any individual or generation—that would provide at least the chance of

viability for countries that need every chance they can get.

His friends in the West will mourn his supposed attachment to Western style democracy. His understanding of the uses of power and of African politics made many observers doubt the depth of the attachment.

Others will mourn the death of the man whose vital Ministry—economic development—often seemed one of only two or three in Kenya to function with anything remotely approaching efficiency.

Others will wonder about and perhaps shudder at, the prospects of Kenya's future without Mboya. None of his allies in Kenya's faction-fighting seems strong enough to fight for an institution-building regime without him. None of his enemies has shown the capacity to do as much for the country as he could.

#### IRONIC LEGACY

Mboya knew that, and the way he showed his knowledge made him more enemies. Still, if his assassin is found and turns out to be politically motivated, the bitterness could poison Kenya's already troubled air for years.

That would be an ironic legacy from the man who first made Kenya's trade unions an irritant, but a feared irritant, to the British colonial rulers—i.e., made them an African national force: from a man who organized an airlift of hundreds of students to America in a crash attempt to provide the trained manpower Kenya lacked for the independence she received in 1963: from a man who deferred his own vast ambition in devotion to Kenyatta, the prime leader brought from prison to power.

There is also something personal to regret about Mboya apart from the tragic violence of his death. He was a man who enjoyed life in both African and Western styles, who could combine serious talk with cocktail chat, who moved from quasi-revolutionary to realist-reformist with a minimum of trauma and maximum of vibrancy.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, July 9, 1969]

#### TOM MBOYA

No country is so well endowed with leadership talent that it can afford to lose men of the caliber of Kenya's Tom Mboya, dead at 38 of an assassin's bullet on a busy street in Nairobi. Mission educated, he was first employed as a colonial health inspector—at a fifth the pay of his white counterpart. British sanctions diverted him into trade unionism, where he sharpened his political and managerial skills and made the crucial "modern" leap from tribal to national affairs. That he was a Luo in a country dominated by Kikuyu, and that he lacked the nationalist martyr's credentials of Jomo Kenyatta, had kept him from becoming Prime Minister. But upon Kenya's independence in 1963, he became Minister of Justice and he ended in the key modernizing post of Minister of Economic Planning and Development. Those who know Africa well regarded him as one of its ablest men.

His own people, of course, are the principal losers by his death, but he had a special meaning to whites outside Kenya. More than any man, he personified the possibilities of African progress. Handsome and articulate, he traveled often in Europe and the United States, as though to exhibit his own competence to skeptics along the way. His poised performance on *Meet the Press*, at age 29, was for many Americans the first occasion they began to take Africa seriously. It was only natural that he should run the ministry (Planning) set up to tap the West's money and technology and to fuse them with Kenya's own resources. Similarly, he could convey to the West an impression of faith in democracy and yet operate effectively in his country's own peculiar ways. Where many of his fellow Africans were hobbled by

rage or fear in dealing with the West, Mr. Mboya could treat directly and pragmatically. It cost him politically but it helped his country. Africa needed Tom Mboya and Africa's friends needed him too.

#### INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM— HOOVER'S REPORT

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover testified before a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee on April 17.

A portion of his testimony covered the Communist Party—U.S.A., Red diplomats, Cuba, and Russia.

I include that portion of Mr. Hoover's testimony relating to the international Communist movement, being pages 532 to 536 and 543 to 546 of part 1 of the hearings before the Appropriations Committee:

EXCERPTS FROM THE DEPARTMENTS OF STATE, JUSTICE, AND COMMERCE, THE JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS HEARINGS FOR 1970

#### 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 disturbance.

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

School	Speaker	Date
Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y.	Claude Mack Lightfoot	Sept. 27, 1967
University of Santa Clara, Santa Clara, Calif.	Herbert Aptheker	Oct. 17, 1967
Do.	do.	Oct. 18, 1967
Do.	do.	Oct. 19, 1967
Gonzaga University, Spokane, Wash.	Milford Sutherland	Nov. 2, 1967
John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio	Philip Bart	Nov. 9, 1967
Portland State College, Portland, Oreg.	Donald Lee Hamerquist	Nov. 15, 1967
Los Angeles Valley College, Van Nuys, Calif.	Dorothy Healey	Nov. 21, 1967
University of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.	Bettina Aptheker Kurzweil	Nov. 28, 1967
Raymond College of the University of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.	do.	Do.
Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y.	do.	Jan. 10, 1968
Queens College, Flushing, N.Y.	do.	Jan. 11, 1968
University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada	Herbert Aptheker	Do.
University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada	do.	Jan. 12, 1968
St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minn.	Arnold Johnson	Jan. 17, 1968
Carroll College, Waukesha, Wis.	do.	Jan. 22, 1968
University of Dayton, Dayton, Ohio	Herbert Aptheker	Jan. 24, 1968
Brown University, Providence, R.I.	do.	Feb. 5, 1968
Hofstra University, Hempstead, N.Y.	do.	Feb. 6, 1968
California State College at Hayward, Hayward, Calif.	Bettina Aptheker Kurzweil	Feb. 8, 1968
Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich.	Herbert Aptheker	Feb. 10, 1968
Assumption College, Worcester, Mass.	do.	Feb. 15, 1968
Denison University, Granville, Ohio	do.	Feb. 20, 1968
University of Oregon, Eugene, Oreg.	Bettina Aptheker Kurzweil	Feb. 21, 1968
Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio	Victor Perlo	Feb. 23, 1968
Indiana State University, Terre Haute, Ind.	Herbert Aptheker	Feb. 24, 1968
Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Ind.	do.	Mar. 19, 1968
University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.	do.	Mar. 27, 1968
Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis.	do.	Mar. 28, 1968
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.	do.	Mar. 29, 1968
University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S. Dak.	do.	Apr. 1, 1968
Stanislaus State College, Turlock, Calif.	Bettina Aptheker Kurzweil	Apr. 3, 1968
University of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.	Herbert Aptheker	Do.
College of the City of New York, New York, N.Y.	Gus Hall	Apr. 11, 1968
University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.	Herbert Aptheker	Apr. 22, 1968
Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, Mich.	do.	Apr. 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
Do.	do.	May 11, 1968
University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N. Dak.	Gus Hall	May 14, 1968
Purdue University, West Lafayette, Ind.	Herbert Aptheker	Do.
Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio	do.	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
Do.	do.	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.

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: Revolutionary 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 to the development of a law-

less 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 intelligence 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, material 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 China 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 crewmen, 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.

**CONSUMER INTERESTS AT STAKE  
IN MOUNTING CORRUPTION IN  
PIPELINE CONSTRUCTION**

**HON. RICHARD T. HANNA**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, the Wall Street Journal is providing the public with a glimpse into the murky undercurrent of the pipeline construction industry. Corruption, bribery, violence, and extortion involving respected corporate executives, union officials, and some who hold public office are causing the cost of laying pipeline to soar.

According to the Journal, \$443 million was spent last year in constructing some 12,829 miles of pipeline. This is twice the cost for laying the same amount of pipe 10 years ago. The 100-percent increase in price, however, cannot fully be written off to the traditional factors of manpower, material, and financing costs. The Journal reporters have uncovered "some observers who say some of the rise is due to the high cost of graft."

The consumer is affected adversely. Almost all of our country's natural gas is moved underground through pipes, and more than half of our petroleum is moved through underground pipelines. The Federal Power Commission allows transmission companies to figure in the cost of constructing pipeline in determining the rates they will charge local gas utility companies. And, of course, gasoline prices are directly affected by the cost of pipeline construction. In the end the consumer pays the bill, and his bill is disproportionately higher because somewhere down the line millions in graft and extortion changed hands.

The present circumstances impinging upon the construction of vital pipelines are intolerable. Public exposure, and the reported Justice Department crackdown, will be helpful. However, I believe that in justice to both the consumer and the industry, the appropriate committees of the Congress should investigate the sordid state of affairs in pipeline construction.

I commend to the attention of interested Members the series of three articles now appearing in the Wall Street Journal. The following is an excerpt from the lead article:

**INVISIBLE INDUSTRY: FIRMS ASSERT PAYOFFS  
ARE ACCEPTED PRACTICE IN PIPELINE  
CONSTRUCTION**

In Newark, N.J., earlier this year, Justice Department lawyer Herbert J. Stern described to a jury "naked corruption" the likes of which, he said, "rarely if ever" had been disclosed in Federal court.

The criminal case involved Colonial Pipeline Co., operator of a pipeline from Houston to Linden, N.J. The \$400 million line, which transports gasoline and other oil products, is the largest privately financed construction project in history. It is owned by nine major oil companies.

The jury found six defendants, including the former president of Colonial and the municipal council president of Woodbridge Township, N.J., guilty of offering or accepting

\$110,000 in bribes to expedite construction on the pipeline in New Jersey in 1963 and 1964. In a second trial just ended, also in the Federal District court for the district of New Jersey, Peter Weber; the powerful head of New Jersey's Local 825 of the Operating Engineers Union, was found guilty of forcing a contractor to award a subcontract to a favored company and of receiving a cash payoff of \$30,000 on the same pipeline job.

The case shocked pipeline executives—particularly because men who paid bribes were prosecuted along with the recipients. Many pipeline officials are inclined to view Colonial's actions as an unfortunate mishap in an otherwise ethical industry. "I don't know anything about shakedowns," typically says James B. Henderson, president of Transcontinental Gas Pipe Line Corp. of Houston. "We don't participate, and we won't. Contractors, to our knowledge, don't get shaken down either."

But a Wall Street Journal investigation suggests a contrary view. Talks with pipeline operators, contractors, Federal agents and labor union officials indicate widespread corruption that results in higher prices to users of natural gas and petroleum. These sources assert that:

In Louisiana, violence or the threat of violence against pipeline builders who refuse to pay off public officials or submit to unusual union demands has reached extreme proportions.

In the Philadelphia area, coercive union tactics have forced at least one pipeline contractor out of business and severely hurt others. A quiet but intensive Federal investigation is under way.

In Connecticut, New York and other states, evidence of intimidation of pipeline officials is mounting.

Throughout the pipeline industry, fear of reprisals makes pipeline executives afraid to testify about extortion. An attitude persists that bribes to unions and others are a necessary cost of doing business.

And across the nation, slowdowns and featherbedding practices of some pipeline unions have increased.

**SOARING COSTS**

No one can estimate the damage to the industry or the cost to the public from these conditions. But there are indications. Last year construction of large, cross-country pipelines totaled \$443 million for 12,829 miles of pipe. Ten years ago nearly as much pipe was laid for around half the cost. Some observers say some of the rise is due to the high cost of graft. Others say the increase is almost entirely due to more legitimate increases in manpower and material costs, including a near doubling of the labor bill.

More than half the nation's petroleum energy and nearly all its gas moves underground in a network of over one million miles of pipeline. The cost of oil pipelines affects the price of gasoline, and the cost of natural gas pipelines is the key factor in the price the Federal Power Commission allows transmission companies to charge local gas utilities. Thus, any extra costs in pipe construction can wind up in the price of gas to the public.

For various reasons, pipelines are prime targets for extortion. "It's an industry with a lot of money to begin with," says a Federal investigator, "Then there is a lot of pressure to get the job done quickly, so the tendency is to pay off and get on with the job." The haste is due to the seasonal nature of pipe-laying (rain and cold weather shut down most jobs), the high fixed cost of equipment on a pipe job and the frequent desire to finish a pipeline in time to capture winter heating markets.

The contractor who builds a pipeline is vulnerable because his bid is generally a fixed

price and his profit depends on how many feet of pipe he can lay per day. Thus, a \$10,000 bribe may look preferable to a labor slowdown or a delay in obtaining a municipal permit—problems that might cost the contractor five times that amount.

**REPRESENTATIVE PAUL W. CRONIN  
EARNS MASTER OF PUBLIC AD-  
MINISTRATION DEGREE**

**HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, a young State representative from Andover, Mass., who formerly served as my administrative assistant, was the first legislator to earn a master of public administration degree from the John W. Kennedy School of Government this June.

Paul W. Cronin is a vigorously active and dedicated public servant who felt he needed to take the time to think through some of the congeries of problems which both State and National legislators must find solutions to daily. From this experience, Representative Cronin brought a new proposal, which he devised and wrote about for his thesis, for revising county government in Massachusetts so that it might take account of the functional needs of modern counties.

So impressive was his proposal that the Committee on Counties of the Massachusetts Legislature asked for \$50,000 and a commission to study the plan.

I have been proud to be associated with Paul Cronin and I think my colleagues may be interested in two articles from the Lowell Sun and the Lawrence Eagle Tribune about this truly fine young man. Under unanimous consent I submit these articles for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, as follows:

**FROM JAPAN—FROM LIBYA—FROM ANDOVER  
STATE HOUSE**

The trade secretary of Japan, the minister of development in Libya, the vice president of a bank in Colombia, win degrees tomorrow from Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

So will Rep. Paul W. Cronin, 31, R-Andover, first legislator to graduate from the School.

Cronin crammed two years of courses into one to get his master's degree in public administration, attended on an administration fellowship.

"I enjoyed this year very much," he said yesterday in the House lobby. "You don't have time to think things out here many times—you are tied up doing things. But this year at the Kennedy School forced me to take time and think about problems as well as solutions."

One problem he thought about was county government. A paper he wrote on a School assignment was the core of a plan to re-align the state's 14 counties with the main thrust on regional services.

A professor graded the paper "B", but Cronin filed a bill based on his research and won the praise of the Committee on Counties, usually slow to embrace county reforms. The Committee liked the idea so much it is asking \$50,000 and a nine-man commission to study the plan.

The School, began in 1965, was dedicated as a memorial for the late President. The national prefers to it as "the government in exile for the future Kennedy administration."

But Republican Cronin calls the 99 graduates in the class of 1969 "the people who will be running the world in the next five years."

Graduates include ministers and business executives on leave from Asian and mid-east countries and Africa.

Wednesday luncheons for students Rep. Cronin calls "the most incredible part of this experience." Here, the 99 class members rubbed shoulders and compared experiences. "You got to know the other people in the School on a very close basis," he reports.

The Andover representative is in his second term in the House of Representatives, was the youngest selectman to serve in his home town and later was administrative assistant to Cong. F. Bradford Morse, R-Lowell.

He is married to the former Kathleen Sears, of Andover, and they are the parents of Kevin, 11, and Kim, 10.

#### ANDOVER SOLON-STUDENT WINS HIS MASTER'S DEGREE AT HARVARD

(By Loring Swalm, Jr.)

STATE HOUSE.—Henceforth, it will be: Rep. Paul W. Cronin, B.A., M.P.A.

This week, the young Andover Republican legislator was awarded a master's degree in public administration from the John Fitzgerald Kennedy graduate school of government at Harvard university.

Cronin, 31, completed the rigorous two-year course in one year—and was a state representative at the same time.

He was the only legislator—and one of the rare Republicans—in the newly formed government school founded in memory of the late President Kennedy.

"I certainly feel the experience made me a better legislator, he told the Sunday Sun. "It opened up associations with leaders who will be running their countries in the next five years. And it meshed the theoretical and practical side of public administration which is my chosen profession."

Among Cronin's 99 colleagues at the institute were cabinet-rank officers from governments around the world. There was the permanent secretary of The Nigerian Natural Resources department, the deputy secretary of the Indian cabinet at New Delhi, the Libyan minister of planning, the trade promotion chief of the Japanese foreign office.

Certainly the session at Kennedy institute will be no handicap if and when Cronin aspires for higher office in pursuit of his career. An eventuality which could not be far distant, in case Congressman F. Bradford Morse decided to move to other duties, as has been rumored.

Cronin is what could be termed an Irish Republican, no small asset in Democratic country. He was Morse's administrative assistant for several years and ran two of his successful reelection campaigns.

For the first semester at the Kennedy school, Cronin himself was engaged in an eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation with another state representative incumbent. The two fought for one seat and Cronin won.

Most classes at Kennedy were in the mornings, some being on Saturdays, which allowed Cronin to fulfill his obligations to constituents by voting in House actions from 1 p.m. onwards.

"For the last three weeks, as the end of the course was in sight," he says somewhat wistfully, "I went with two hours sleep every second night."

The thesis Cronin wrote for his M.P.A. degree—a proposal for revising county government in Massachusetts—was submitted as the basis for legislation before the General

Court. The normally skeptical and defensive committee on counties, which shot down in flames reform proposals offered by Gov. Francis Sargent, took kindly to Cronin's approach. The committee recommended a study, and a \$50,000 appropriation to finance it, no small achievement.

In essence, Cronin proposed the dedrawing of county lines to correspond to new functional needs of modern counties. He suggested a regrouping of the communities along the Merrimack Valley as a natural focus for one dedesigned county: a "Cosmos County" of 1.5 million inhabitants of Greater-Boston; a suburban county comprising towns between routes 128 and 495.

In addition, he redistributed the customary functions of counties, assigning some to the state, some to local communities, but most to a restructured county government.

"The attainment of a graduate degree from Harvard at a period when you have also been engaged in the faithful discharge of your legislative duties," runs a letter Cronin received Friday from his boss in the House, Minority Leader Rep. Sidney Curtiss, "deserves the highest of commendations."

"The work you have done to achieve the distinction of M.P.A. will enhance your political aims and objectives.

"Of even greater significance is the lifetime of gratification which this reward for your diligence has bestowed on you."

Cronin during his business on Beacon Hill has worked with four other liberal young Republicans in sponsoring practical legislation which achieved considerable success in passage. The group was called "The Monday Club," modelled after Cong. Morse's notable "Wednesday Club," the liberal congressional group which brought forth such leaders as Mayor John Lindsay of New York.

Cronin lives with his wife Kathleen and two children, Kimberly 11 and Kevin 10, at 8 Punchard Ave., Andover. He attended Merrimack College, then Boston University where he had a double major, in both government and economics.

"To be effective is my goal in public life," says Cronin.

#### MASTERS DEGREE FOR CRONIN

Representative Paul W. Cronin of Andover was one of 58 men who received a Masters degree in Public Administration from the John F. Kennedy Graduate School of Government at Harvard University. He is the first Legislator from Massachusetts to be so honored. Cronin received a fellowship for his studies and was able to accomplish what is normally a two year program in one academic year.

The school, a part of President Kennedy's legacy, annually chooses government leaders from around the world for training. Cronin's classmates included the Trade Secretary from Japan, the Minister of Development in Libya, the Vice-president of the Bank of Colombia, as well as ministers and leaders from Asia, Europe, Latin America, and Africa. Cronin commented that these are the people who will be running the world in the next five years.

Minority leader Sidney Q. Curtiss stated: "The attainment of a graduate degree from Harvard at a period when you have also been engaged in the faithful discharge of your legislative duties deserves the highest commendations. The work you have done to achieve the distinction of Master of Public Administration will enhance your political aims and objectives. Of even greater significance, is the lifetime of gratification this reward for your diligence has bestowed upon you.

The Andover Representative in his second term in the House of Representatives, was the youngest Selectman to serve in his hometown, and later was the Administrative Assistant to Cong. F. Bradford Morse.

#### YOUTH AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP

### HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to call to the attention of my colleagues the splendid essay which Mr. Nicholas A. Manzini of my district has written on "My Responsibility as a Citizen—in the Family, in the Community, and in the World."

This outstanding young man, a student at Miami Jackson Senior High School, came to Miami only 6 years ago as a refugee from the Communist tyranny which Fidel Castro has imposed upon the beautiful island of Cuba. His sentiments are an inspiration to all of us, and they have won for him the \$1,000 top award of the southern region of the Sroptimist Federation of the Americas, Inc. He will enter Princeton University this fall on a scholarship and will make there, I am sure, an outstanding record. This summer, he is spending his summer living his commitment to better citizenship by working as a volunteer for our Miami antipoverty program, our Economic Opportunity Program, Inc., in its continuing community action effort.

I am pleased, Mr. Speaker, to include this splendid essay, as follows:

#### YOUTH TODAY

(By Nicholas A. Manzini)

"And both that morning equally lay  
In leaves no step had trodden black.  
Oh, I kept the first for another day,  
Yet knowing how way leads on to way,  
I wonder if I should ever come back,

"I shall be telling this with a sigh  
Somewhere ages and ages hence:  
Two roads diverged in a wood, and I,  
I took the one less travelled by,  
And that has made all the difference."

The rather simple words of Robert Frost in *The Road Not Taken* depict this new pattern of contemporary thinking and the stage at which young people find themselves right now, a stage of making decisions, of questioning, of reaching awareness of life's values, and of accepting or rejecting such. Adolescence is a period of formation for one's character, and thus, holds an enduring influence in the development of our philosophies towards social structures. The period of chrysalis in the worm is analogous to a human being's adolescence . . . the worm turns into a butterfly; the human being, after unrestful youth, becomes a self-defined and mature person. It would be inexcusable to assume that upon reaching maturity, we're through with our search for self-knowledge. This often anguished inquiry never ends, for Man is a process of becoming, and that process is inevitably endless.

But since relevance and realism are major goals of my generation today, and since I'm not a misanthropic individual in a society, but instead, a concerned one, I have established a set of goals through which I feel I can effectively do my part as a member of this thing so often erroneously labeled "establishment" and thus, someday be able to estimate how important I as a productive person really am to an ever-changing world like the one we're living in. Therefore, I've given a great deal of consideration to this word "responsibility" which puzzles so many people today.

When seven years ago my family migrated to the United States from Cuba in search of political exile and refuge, we arrived at an environment which was completely alien to us and found a great number of difficulties in adapting, the most obvious and hardest to overcome being the language barrier with which we were faced. However, depressed as we were after a tormenting exodus from all we knew and loved, we started our new life with a strong desire to belong. My parents by being restrained from their normal job practices due to their inability to speak the English language fluently, found it hard to find employment, and yet, though they faced many disappointments, they remained inflexible, and demonstrated to my sister and me a great strength of spirit. Thus, we admired them immensely and learned to cooperate with them whenever necessary. Our family unit became closer knit, it became a one. Today, when most of the original obstacles have been conquered, our family remains close with a keen sense of understanding. We have never experienced or confronted a generation gap because we have never allowed one to exist. We're mutually receptive to all of our problems and the parent-child relationship has become more of a friendship. We're proud of this unmarred unity.

My consciousness and concern extend to the small community I live in where urban problems have emerged. Since today's world relies so greatly on social structures, how men can adapt to living in a society is going to determine our survival, and hopefully, our progress as a people. If communal brotherhood within a community could be accomplished, maybe then many of the problems with which such communities are faced could be overcome. I, as an individual, can develop a sense of pride and satisfaction when I can give to others and watch them benefit. When last summer the Neighborhood Youth Corps instituted a program for the enrichment of disadvantaged community youth, it established a sense of communication between people of different socio-economic levels. When as a counselor, advisor, and tutor, I exchanged ideas with other less fortunate people in the same community I live in, I realized that *sharing* could be beautiful.

But I feel reluctance in narrowing my experiences to my family and community. If my concern were not just for all the people on this mad planet, if national margins were so blinding as to keep me from loving all for being part of this race we call the homo sapiens, then I would feel as if I were slowly dehumanizing. Nationalism needs not restrict our ideas, our awareness of a universal law for Man. I, who consider myself a citizen of this far-stretching world, must keep an open mind and must stop and avoid generalizing in order to view other people, not as masses divided by sectional boundaries, but as people involved in basically the same struggles, and with perhaps a more beautiful common goal in mind, that of peace for all mankind.

#### I HAVE A DREAM

### HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, the national emphasis on strife and misunderstanding between races and generations disheartens many of us. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, it is with much pleasure that I rise to commend two young men from my congressional district—young men of

differing races, differing backgrounds, and youthful years—for their successful joint effort to interpret musically the inspiring speech of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., "I Have A Dream."

The music was composed last year by 17-year-old Arthur Lee McClanahan of 118 Brixton Road, Garden City, N.Y., when he was a high school senior. The merit of the score was perceived by 19-year-old Robert Jackson of Portsmouth, Va., a music major at Adelphi University in Garden City, who arranged and conducted the public premiere by the Adelphi Octet, a racially integrated group of musical excellence sponsored by the Students' Association of the university. This dynamic combination of youth and talent resulted in a performance of such outstanding caliber that requests for performance are being received by the composer and the conductor from many significant organizations.

I deplore the daily diet of dark predictions about the future of America and about the inability of races and generations to communicate with each other. Martin Luther King, Jr., was not of the same generation as these two young men, yet his meaningful message moved them to professional accomplishments. These two young men are not of the same race but, grasping the essence of Dr. King's message, they have jointly echoed in music his high hopes for the future of our land. This is the vital quality of America that will ultimately translate the dream into reality.

#### TIME PASSES, BUT MAGAZINE SALES PRACTICES LINGER ON

### HON. FRED B. ROONEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, 3 years ago Mr. Rice Odell wrote a series of articles for the Washington Daily News discussing the tactics being used by magazine subscription salesmen in the Washington, D.C., area.

Mr. Odell's articles were written during a time when the magazine subscription sales industry supposedly was operating under a voluntary "code of fair practices." Yet, despite the code, deceptive and fraudulent practices flourished then.

Today, in fact for the past 18 months, a more stringent code of fair sales practices, presumed to have substantially greater impact because of its endorsement by the Federal Trade Commission, governs the methods of selling magazine subscriptions. Nevertheless, the unscrupulous practices which mark magazine subscription sales under the FTC-ensured code of fair practices are the same unscrupulous practices which prevailed 3 years ago.

Mr. Speaker, as further evidence the magazine subscription sales industry's self-policing program is a failure, I should like to insert in the RECORD the series of articles written by Mr. Rice Odell 3 years ago. Nothing has changed

since his series appeared in print—only the victims, and occasionally the sales personnel, are new.

The articles follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, May 4, 1966]

#### NO CATCHES FOR A CHANGE

(By Rice Odell)

You probably know the pitch well: The phone rings and a cheerful voice brings you "good news" about a batch of magazines you can subscribe to for practically nothing.

These calls, and the follow-up visits, are not the result of some fly-by-night, door-to-door operation passing thru the area. They represent a well-entrenched and thriving business—and a big one.

Some of the practices used to solicit subscriptions—by some, not all of the roughly 15 companies in the field here—are questionable, however.

#### BEST WISHES

Consider this suggested telephone pitch printed for one of the area's largest periodical services (but which its head denies is used):

"I do have a surprise for you today with no catches for a change. You see we are asked to contact you by the National Editors Index and since you are a resident, with all our best wishes and entirely at our expense, you will receive the next 60 issues of . . ."

At this point the caller names five out of a list of magazines, chosen with a view to whether he's talking a man or a woman. Then:

"All of this with our compliments and entirely at our expense. That's quite a surprise to you, right? Well, let me assure you, Mrs. —, there is no catch involved. There is a sound business reason for the whole thing.

"Have you ever noticed the advertising on the back covers of Look? Well, they always have ads for cigarets or soft drinks and these advertisers have just renewed their contracts with us on a circulation basis for the next 60 issues, so we have been authorized by them to send the books I mentioned so they know their ads will be read. You will receive a written and bonded guarantee . . ."

Then, inevitably, comes the "catch": "Now," the suggested words continue, "the only thing we can't control are the postal regulations that prohibit free and unclassified mailing. Now, all that means, is it will take just 36 cents a week on your part to cover delivery cost. Now this is all you pay . . . Now isn't that wonderful? . . . Just to be sure I've explained everything properly you will receive all five magazines for the next 60 months and only 36 cents a week takes care of everything, okay?"

The use of such references to postage is flatly denied by the firm head, who said his firm has a code of ethics prohibiting it.

#### POSTAGE RATES

Thirty-six cents a week, referred to solely as delivery cost or postage, is appealing. It doesn't sound like much, at least not like the final total of \$93.60.

Divided by five magazines, the 36 cents is just over seven cents each per week. Often overlooked by the customer, however, is that most of the magazines sold are monthlies, and the most frequently sold by the company, Look Magazine, is published once every two weeks.

Magazines are sent at the Post Office's low bulk, second-class mailing rate—2.8 cents per pound for all zones on editorial content and from 4.2 cents to 14 cents a pound, depending on the zone, for advertising content.

Let's say a typical issue of Look weighs 12 ounces, a little more than half of it advertising. Even if mailed from the farthest zone, which would be a rarity, its postage charge would be less than 7 cents.

A little more arithmetic applied to the

monthlies as well clearly shows that subscribers are paying well above the cost of delivery.

This is true even tho, in many cases, the salesman adds a magazine or two to the list of five when he comes around a few days later to close the deal and get a contract signed. This company's men usually throw in a year or two of Look as a gift for someone of the subscriber's choice. Another frequent addition is several months of the Insider's Newsletter.

Several days ago, a man here subscribed to six magazines after he was told by another firm which operates in the area, that has payments were to cover postage only. The total amount to be paid is \$104.

#### VALUE

Aside from the claims about paying delivery costs or postage only, what kind of value does the subscriber get for his money?

The first company head points out, the subscribers are also getting the advantage of paying on a "budget" or time-payment plan. Thus they don't have to pay the full cost of all the five-year subscriptions at once.

His company contracts usually involve a \$3.60 down payment and additional payments of \$3.60 for each of the next 25 months. Thus the total is compressed into two years, with no payments due the last three years.

He said in addition a person can't get five-year subscription rates from most magazines if he approaches them directly.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, May 5, 1966]

A GOOD YEAR OF MAGAZINE SALES CAN BRING \$20,000

(By Rice Odell)

Some years ago, magazine subscription salesmen would sweep into town in droves, canvass neighborhoods intensively from door-to-door, rack up an amazing number of customers and then move on, to return another day.

By and large they were fast talkers, and they weren't always above such tricks as faking a limp and pretending to be an injured war veteran.

This cash business, finally tarnished by bad publicity, more or less faded away, and taking its place are about 15 selling operations which deal in time payments by check, and which maintain permanent offices in the area and are therefore more concerned about their image in the eyes of local authorities.

#### PERSUASIVE

Still a staple operational ingredient, however, is the highly persuasive sales pitch. In many cases here, this even includes assurances that all a subscriber need pay is the postage for the magazines—claims which appear to be correct but which are actually false.

One large firm has another profitable gimmick: On its standard \$91 contract (usually for five-year subscriptions to five or six magazines), it collects an additional \$2.60 in sales taxes. It does so in Virginia, where there is no sales tax. And in Maryland and D.C., where there are sales taxes, it hasn't been paying them.

Many of the firms here apparently don't resort to such practices, and consider claims of "postage only," or the talk of "special offers" or how people have "won something," to be deceptive.

#### WIDESPREAD

There's big money in subscription selling here, as well as thruout the country "There are millions of dollars involved," says one man in the field. "It's a big-time operation."

Estimates of the number of salesmen working the area range from 75 to 100. They can cover a lot of ground in a full day on the job, and a good man having a good year can make \$20,000.

#### FRANCHISE

Nearly every one of the agencies here is franchised by one of three major periodical publishing companies, which have large subscription selling subsidiaries to control a nationwide chain of these agencies.

Naturally the franchises are expected to include the name of their parent company's magazines on the list of those sold, as often as possible. This includes the offer of gift subscriptions to such magazines to fill out the subscriber's contract.

#### TWO SIDES

One man in the business here says that if a customer signs a contract but can't think of anyone he wants to send the proffered gift to, the salesman often goes back to his office and just puts down a name out of the phone book.

"This is a common practice all across the United States," he said.

This is one of several devices he said are used to build up a magazine's circulation, and thereby its advertising rates, a more important source of income.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, May 6, 1966]

I EVEN STARTED TO GIVE HIM A CIGAR

(By Rice Odell)

The age-old combination of an irresistible and sometimes deceptive, sales pitch, used on people who aren't careful enough about what they sign, is saddling hundreds of people here with magazine subscriptions that they belatedly decide they don't want or can't afford.

Nearly all the subscription selling agencies do their best to collect the money due them, short of actually going to court.

But the head of one firm, using a credit collection agency of which he is also president, has in the first four months of this year, filed suits in D.C.'s small claims court against more than 350 disillusioned subscribers.

#### SHOWED UP

This represents a very high percentage of all his customers. In addition, most of them have made only one or two of the 26 payments of \$3.60 called for under his agency's standard \$93.60 contract. Because of the quick onset of "buyer's remorse," they are thus sued for almost the full amount.

One main reason is that, when told what their wives have signed up for during the day, husbands forbid them to go thru with it. Others simply realize they're involved in paying more money than they thought.

One young woman says that a man came around last October and she got the impression the subscriptions were free. "After I got my name on the paper, he said I'd have to pay," she said. She had signed up for five-year subscriptions to Look, McCall's, Flower and Garden, True and American Home.

She said she didn't get beyond the down payment because she was in the hospital after a car accident and no longer had a job. The collection agency sued her for \$90.

Unlike most of those sued, she showed up in court. Judge Milton Dronheim Jr. and the agency's attorney gave her a chance to settle for a lesser amount, and she was finally persuaded to do so, for \$30, payable at \$5 a month.

"You can babysit for that much if you can't get a job," an employe of the agency urged her.

#### BAD POLICY

Another woman, who didn't show up to answer her summons and was therefore judged in default, didn't fare so well. She owes the full \$87.50, plus 6 per cent interest, plus court costs—and a writ was issued to garnishee her wages.

Another man sued in court that day had a canceled check to show he was up on his payments. The attorney, sensing that an error had been made, quickly agreed to dis-

miss the case. (He had been brought to court before after he stopped paying because, he said some of the magazines didn't arrive.)

The man said he was worried about his credit rating, and had to take off from his job to appear, and was therefore planning to sue the company.

He said when he was first called he was "elated at having all these magazines for \$3.60 a month." And when the salesman came, "He was shaking hands and congratulating me . . . I even started to give him a cigar."

Other selling agencies avoid courtroom collecting like the plague, however. "We've never taken anyone to court," says the head of one. "We think it's a bad policy."

On the same day, another type of magazine operation cropped up. Several defendants had been sued by a District retail firm in connection with the sale of a large portrait of Martin Luther King, with subscriptions to Jet, Tan and Ebony magazines allegedly included as a bonus.

They told Judge Kronheim they thought the deal was for \$19.95, not the \$69.95 they were being billed and sued for.

Judge Kronheim listened to a few of these and later called the same attorney, representing the firm, into his chambers. He asked him to find out what was going on.

#### LANDING ON THE MOON COMMEMORATIVE STAMP

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, in the next few days three brave Americans will begin one of the most incredible adventures ever attempted by man—a landing on the moon. The fact that this mission and event are within reach is a demonstration of the total commitment and dedication to achieving this feat on the part of the American taxpayer, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and the thousands of individuals connected with our Nation's space effort.

Upon successful completion of the flight of Apollo 11, many honors and ceremonies will be bestowed upon Astronauts Armstrong, Aldrin, and Collins. It is my belief that one more signal honor should be accorded this great event and the Post Office Department should be preparing for it now—the issuance of a "Landing on the Moon" commemorative stamp. The country, and indeed the world, will expect such a stamp and I am proud to report a ground swell of public support is much in evidence.

As you may know, the only "Apollo" post office facility in the United States is in my district, and it is located in Armstrong County. The significance of the upcoming event, combined with the juxtaposition of the names Apollo and Armstrong, have prompted me to suggest to the Postmaster General that the Apollo postal facility be designated the place of the stamp dedication and first-day sale.

I am pleased to report that a number of my colleagues have written to Postmaster General Blount suggesting that a "Landing on the Moon" commemorative stamp be issued and that Apollo, Armstrong County, Pa., be designated as the

first-day sale site. I hope other Members of Congress will join me in urging that this honor be accorded our astronauts.

A partial list of the supporters for my suggestion follows:

PARTIAL ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SUPPORTERS FOR "LANDING ON THE MOON" COMMEMORATIVE STAMP SUGGESTION OF REPRESENTATIVE JOHN P. SAYLOR

Representative Edward G. Blester, Jr., of Pennsylvania.

Representative Frank T. Bow, of Ohio.

Representative Garry Brown of Michigan.

Representative Laurence J. Burton of Utah.

Representative John N. (Happy) Camp of Oklahoma.

Representative Frank M. Clark of Pennsylvania.

Representative Robert J. Corbett of Pennsylvania.

Representative Lawrence Coughlin of Pennsylvania.

Representative John Dent of Pennsylvania.

Representative John D. Dingell of Michigan.

Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut.

Representative Edwin D. Eshleman of Pennsylvania.

Governor Frank L. Farrar of South Dakota.

Representative Dante B. Fascell of Florida.

Mr. Francis S. Filbey, President, United Federation of Postal Clerks.

Representative Edward A. Garmatz of Maryland.

Representative George A. Goodling of Pennsylvania.

Representative James M. Hanley of New York.

Governor Stanley K. Hathaway of Wyoming.

Representative Margaret M. Heckler of Massachusetts.

Mr. Henry M. Heyl, President, National League of Postmasters.

Representative Frank Horton of New York.

Representative Craig Hosmer of California.

Mr. Jerome Husak, Executive Secretary, American Topical Association.

Representative Albert W. Johnson of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Lonnie Johnson, President, National Association of Post Office Mail Handlers, Watchmen, Messengers & Group Leaders.

Governor Claude R. Kirk, Jr., of Florida.

Governor Paul Laxalt of Nevada.

Governor Harold LeVander of Minnesota.

Governor John A. Love of Colorado.

Representative Donald E. Lukens of Ohio.

Mrs. Carole McCoy, Astrophile Editor, Space Topics Study Group.

Representative Joseph M. McDade of Pennsylvania.

Senator Gale McGee of Wyoming.

Senator George McGovern of South Dakota.

Governor Keith H. Miller of Alaska.

Governor William G. Milliken of Michigan.

Governor Arch A. Moore, Jr., of West Virginia.

Representative William S. Moorhead of Pennsylvania.

Representative John T. Myers of Indiana.

Representative Robert N. C. Nix of Pennsylvania.

Governor Louie B. Nunn of Kentucky.

Mr. Fred J. O'Dwyer, President, National Association of Postal Supervisors.

Governor Richard B. Ogilvie of Illinois.

Governor Russell W. Peterson of Delaware.

Governor Walter Peterson of New Hampshire.

Representative Alexander Pirnie of New York.

Mr. James H. Rademacher, President, National Association of Letter Carriers.

Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke of California.

Representative John J. Rhodes of Arizona.

Representative Fred B. Rooney of Pennsylvania.

Representative Richard L. Roudebush of Indiana.

Representative Phillip E. Ruppe of Michigan.

Representative Herman T. Schneebell of Pennsylvania.

Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania.

Senator Richard S. Schweiker of Pennsylvania.

Senate of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (by Resolution).

Representative Lionel Van Deerlin of California.

Representative G. Robert Watkins of Pennsylvania.

Representative J. Irving Whalley of Pennsylvania.

Governor Edgar D. Whitcomb of Indiana.

Representative William G. Whitehurst of Virginia.

Governor Jack Williams of Arizona.

Representative Lawrence G. Williams of Pennsylvania.

Representative Gus Yatron of Pennsylvania.

Representative O. C. Fisher of Texas.

Representative Barry M. Goldwater, Jr., of California.

Representative Thomas E. Morgan of Pennsylvania.

Representative Arnold Olsen of Montana.

Representative John S. Wold of Wyoming.

## WHO WILL SPEAK OUT FOR THE AVERAGE TAXPAYER?

### HON. ED FOREMAN

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. FOREMAN. Mr. Speaker, recently, a New Mexico constituent of mine wrote to me expressing his concern over high taxes and excessive government spending programs. He summarized his anxious interest by asking the question, "Who will speak for the average taxpayer, like me?" Because many others may share this same feeling, I submit hereafter a copy of my reply:

DEAR SIR: Thank you for your thoughtful letter expressing your justifiable concern over the burdensome tax load carried by the American taxpayer, and further, your timely question, "Who will speak out for the average taxpayer, like me?"

Had you reviewed the news coverage, our regular reports and/or attended any one of my many public meetings throughout New Mexico, you would have been well aware of who is speaking out for the average taxpayer. As your Representative in Congress, I have continuously and diligently worked and voted to cut out unnecessary, wasteful spending and reduce the size, cost and control of government. I will continue my work to correct some of the foolish, incentive-killing welfare schemes of the past, and reestablish some of the basic free-enterprise, job-creating programs that build strong self-respect and individualism.

Specifically, speaking up for the overburdened American taxpayer, here is just a partial list of corrective legislation that I have proposed in the 91st Congress:

H.R. 50. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase from \$600 to \$1,200 the personal income tax exemptions of a taxpayer.

H.R. 8521. A bill to amend Title II of the Social Security Act to increase from \$1,680 to \$3,000 the amount of outside earnings permitted each year without deduction from benefits thereunder.

H.R. 8939. A bill to temporarily suspend the recent increases in fees for grazing of livestock on public lands.

H.R. 9283. A bill to rescind the pay increases for Members of Congress and other federal officials pursuant to Presidential recommendations to Congress in the budget for the 1970 fiscal year, to abolish the Quadrennial Commission on Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Salaries and for other purposes.

H.R. 9365. A bill to provide specific and additional penalties for the use or carrying of firearms in the commission of crimes.

H.R. 9679. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow teachers to deduct from gross income the expenses incurred in pursuing courses for academic credit and degrees at institutions of higher education and including certain travel.

H.R. 10244. A bill to repeal Chapter 44 of Title 18, United States Code (relating to firearms), to reenact the Federal Firearms Act, and to restore Chapter 53 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 as in effect before its amendment by the Gun Control Act of 1968.

H.R. 10292. A bill to prohibit the dissemination through interstate commerce, or the mails, pornographic materials harmful to persons under the age of 18 years, and to restrict the exhibition of movies or other presentations harmful to such persons.

H.R. 10496. A bill to amend Title 19 of the Social Security Act to permit states greater flexibility in establishing and modifying medicaid plans.

H.R. 10595. A bill providing for the extension of the Great Plains Conservation Program . . . authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to enter into contracts with land owners to conserve, develop, protect farm and ranch lands and to install soil and water conservation measures.

H.R. 10672. A bill to amend Title 18, United States Code, to make it unlawful for any person to carry a weapon on the property of any institution of higher education which receives or disburses federal funds while such person is acting in violation of a law, regulation, ordinance, or rule.

H.R. 10887. A bill to amend Title 13, United States Code, to limit the categories of questions required to be answered under penalty of law in the decennial censuses of population, unemployment, and housing, and for other purposes.

H. Con. Res. 90. A Concurrent Resolution calling for an immediate halt to all United States aid and trade with countries assisting our North Vietnam enemies.

You may rightly question the disposition of this corrective program of responsible legislation. Unfortunately, the U.S. Congress—both the House and Senate—is still controlled by the same free-spending, high-taxing majority that helped to create the deficient, near-bankrupt condition in which we find our country today. Hopefully, I believe the taxpayers of this great land are gradually awakening to the mismanagement and irresponsibility of the recent past and will work to elect only those representatives—Democrat and Republican—whose votes and actions match their campaign oratory—then, and only then, can the real, best interests, rights and responsibilities of the "average taxpayer" be properly protected and preserved.

In addition to my introduction of corrective legislation, I have worked and/or voted consistently in the Congress against unnecessary programs and unwise spending such as:

First. The International Development Association soft loan gift program to foreign countries.

Second. The congressional pay raise bill for Members of Congress, the Supreme Court Justices, and other high Government officials.

Third. Foreign aid programs, the irresponsible and uncontrolled giveaway of our tax dollars to thankless nations around the world.

Fourth. The extension of the surtax charge from July 1, 1969, through June 30, 1970. I have worked and/or voted for the neces-

sary programs which I believed served the best and necessary interests of my constituents such as:

First. Elementary and secondary education programs, the extension of Federal participation.

Second. Repeal of the freeze on funds for ADC, aid for families with dependent children.

Third. Milk program, H.R. 5554, making available a special milk program for children.

Fourth. Independent offices-HUD appropriations, making appropriations for necessary agencies and the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the fiscal year 1970.

Each measure, I have carefully considered, with the best interests of my New Mexico constituents in mind. I have supported those programs I believed were necessary, and I have opposed those that I believed we could do without. I do not intend to vote for any new tax increases, nor do I think it advisable to vote for the extension of any temporary taxes. If any Member of Congress has earned the right to justifiably oppose increased taxes, I believe I have . . . and I intend to continue to do so!

Certainly, I recognize that I cannot always vote to please all of the people, all of the time . . . but I do honestly and sincerely try to vote and work for the best interests of most of the folks, all of the time.

Thank you for your interest and consideration. I will always welcome your constructive suggestions, observations or criticism to assist and direct me in doing a better, more effective job for you as your Congressman . . . as I work, vote, and speak out for you and "the average taxpayer."

Sincerely,

ED FOREMAN.

#### COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL AND POPULATION ADVISORS

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an excellent article appearing in the National Parks magazine, June 1969 issue, by Anthony Wayne Smith, president and general counsel of the National Parks Association, urging the establishment of a Council of Environmental and Population Advisors.

Legislation to establish a Council on Environmental Quality has been reported unanimously by the Subcommittee on Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation to the full Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries of the House of Representatives as H.R. 12549. It is my hope and expectation that in the immediate future this legislation will be reported by the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee to the House of Representatives for consideration and passage.

The proposed Council will answer an urgent national need for an independent agency to analyze our environment and man's impact thereon and to report to the President, the Congress, and the people of the United States on environmental problems and solutions thereto.

For far too long we in the United

States have taken a haphazard approach to our environment. The dangers which this approach has posed for mankind can no longer be ignored for a healthy and well-balanced environment is obviously essential to the continued existence of man on this planet.

A Council on Environmental Quality, established by statute and directed at enabling man to live happily and harmoniously with his environment, will enable us to take rational and coordinated action to resolve the host of pollution and contamination problems which have become evident in recent years. The text of the article follows:

#### WASHINGTON NEEDS A COUNCIL OF ENVIRONMENTAL AND POPULATION ADVISORS

(By Anthony Wayne Smith)

The establishment of a Council of Environmental and Population Advisors, responsible directly to the President of the United States, would be one of the most important contributions Congress could possibly make to the welfare of the American people.

We have a great many agencies of the government which are involved in one way or another in management of natural resources or operation of programs affecting the life environment of the American people. Many of these agencies are working at cross-purposes. It is important that a top-level institution be established with power to bring operations into a semblance of harmony. It is also important that this kind of harmonization of programs proceed in the perspective of a set of goals formulated by policy-minded persons not involved in the pulling and tugging of the operating agencies and their clientele.

For example, practically all the organizations in the United States concerned with resources and the environment have banded together to protest to the Secretary of Transportation against construction of a huge jetport in the Everglades country in Florida. This jetport would probably destroy Everglades Park, to which Florida and the United States have committed large funds in the past and in which the American people have a great interest, and would result in serious environmental damage in terms of air and water pollution, pollution by insecticides and fertilizers, noise pollution, and comparable destruction. On one hand we have the Department of the Interior, National Park Service, and other agencies concerned with preservation of the life environment; and on the other hand, working against them, agencies like the Federal Aviation Administration and Federal Highway Administration pushing for construction.

This is just one example. In the Potomac River Basin we have the Army Engineers pressing for construction of a large number of big dams, ostensibly to dilute pollution and provide water; and hopefully on the other hand the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration working for prevention of pollution, which would make dilution unnecessary and would provide pure water without much storage. A great coalition of farm, labor, conservation, and citizens organizations arose some years ago to protect the Potomac from Army-type dams, and great efforts are being expended throughout the basin by American citizens, fighting their own government bureaus. We need to get the question settled as to what we really want to do with our river basins: build useless pyramids? Or protect a decent life environment for human habitation?

It has been suggested that some kind of presidential-level agency can be established by executive order which would serve the purpose of the coordination which everyone now agrees is necessary. I have endorsed this approach in past times as one possible solu-

tion, but now strongly urge that a Council of Environmental Advisors be established by statute, comparable to the Council of Economic Advisors, which has proved itself a valuable institution.

We have had a President's Council on Recreation and Natural Beauty in the executive offices of the President for several years. It has not worked well. It was established by executive order and consists of the secretaries of the various departments and agencies thought to be concerned with environment and natural resources. The difficulty is that the secretaries and heads of these agencies never attend meetings themselves; they send second- or third-string people without authority to act, and the council has normally been paralyzed. The chairmanship of the council has rotated and has most recently been vested in the Vice President; but staff procedures within the offices of the Vice President and Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, assigned by executive order to the work of the council, have prevented effective action. I see no difference between these institutions, as they presently exist, and the proposal to establish a new interdepartmental coordinating group by executive action, even though chaired by the President himself (he would probably deputize a subordinate), or by the Vice President, as has been the case in the past. The situation calls for something much stronger than this.

Until now the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation has attempted to function in a staff capacity to the President's Council on Recreation and Natural Beauty. The organic law of the BOR gives it the power to recommend coordinating policies to the various federal departments and bureaus. The executive order makes it the staff agency to the President's Council. In practice, the President's Council has agreed upon seven interagency policy statements on matters involving parks, recreation, etc. These statements have been implemented by signed interagency agreements. Supposedly they could be enforced by a mere word from the President or Vice President, but they have not been effectively enforced. I have urged for several years that this machinery was available and that it should be used; but it now seems clear that it will not be used and for that reason I think that statutory institutions are needed.

Several years ago Congress established a Water Resources Council consisting of the heads of the departments and agencies having one or another kind of responsibility for water and water-related resources management, with a separate staff and director. The council has engaged itself in coordinating preparation of water-related resources plans on a river-basin basis. A number of regional commissions have been created, and in some instances interstate compacts have been suggested. There is no indication that any adequate retarding operation has been developed to protect the people in our river basins against over-preentious programs which will do more harm than good.

We have also seen the recent establishment of a National Water Commission comprised of persons not presently associated with the resources and construction operating agencies. This is a relatively temporary group; its members, serving without security or indications of continuity, have inadequate staff facilities and authority. We may not hear very much from it; something much stronger is needed.

The new proposals to re-cast the interdepartmental administrative structure by executive order will be no more effective than the old arrangements. Needed, in my judgment, are:

A President's Council of Environmental and Population Advisors comparable to the President's Council of Economic Advisors, to be created by law. The council should consist of three or five persons nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate, who

should have tenure for a substantial period of years to make certain that they are not merely political appointees.

The law should specify that council members should be persons with policy minds, capable of formulating long-range goals for environmental management in the United States and having no connections, whether active or as retired persons, with any operating agency. The members of the council should be well paid and provided with all the fringe benefits, particularly security, necessary to attract top talent. The council should have it own paid staff, and the authorization should not be limited to any specific amount, but should be capable of providing appropriations in whatever measure may be deemed necessary from time to time.

The council should have authority to enter a stop order in the name of the President against any construction project or other program of the federal government which it deems may have an adverse effect on any aspect of the life environment of the American people, pending full review by the council.

This stop-order authority is of extreme importance. We have had coordinating agencies which served merely to expedite the environmentally destructive activities of the existing agencies, to move them ahead ever more rapidly, to eliminate conflict among them, and in the end to make destruction more efficient.

The technological capabilities of modern man have in many instances outrun his ability to plan for their use; not construction, but destruction has been the result. The need is not for acceleration, but for delay sufficient to inform us about both destinations and tendencies. We need to slow up before we destroy ourselves. Stop-order authority in the hands of the President on recommendation of the proposed council is an imperative necessity.

The problem of environmental protection has two facets: first, perhaps, good planning in terms of purposes, coupled with a braking operation to make sure that ecological and sociological complexes are not seriously disrupted by so-called progress; and secondly, the question of congestion, overcrowding, overpopulation. By almost any test—atmospheric pollution, water pollution, poisoning by pesticides and even fertilizers, noise disturbances, traffic congestion, and a multitude of others—this nation is already overpopulated. Unless we can reduce our rate of reproduction to an average of 2.2 children per woman in the future, our population will continue to grow and congestion will choke our standard of living. The problems of protecting the life environment which lie ahead will become overwhelming unless we can stabilize (and hopefully reduce) our population. No matter what efforts are made by private groups along educational and moral lines, vigorous action by government in terms of education will be needed if we are to cope with this problem in time. Protection of the environment cannot be separated from the problem of population; hence, the council must have express authority to make recommendations to the President on demographic issues. This necessity has not been considered, so far as I am aware, in any legislation thus far presented; but such legislation will be a massive futility unless this additional consideration is introduced. By whatever name, the agency under consideration should be a President's Council of Environmental and Population Advisors. There should be specific provision in the law that at least a minority of the members of the Council have professional qualifications in the demographic and population fields.

The conservation and population organizations in this country know very well that they are fighting with their backs to the wall at present. Governmental agencies are working at cross-purposes; but sometimes this is

good, because it blocks action in the wrong direction. Fundamentally the trouble is that the agencies are working without properly formulated social goals. Many of the results are destructive, and the private, educational and scientific institutions which are wrestling with these difficulties find themselves putting out one fire after another.

There could be no greater service to the American people, and indeed to the people of the world, who will follow America's example, than to establish by law, with adequate funds and staff, a Council of Environmental and Population Advisors, serving the President of the United States, at the earliest possible opportunity.

## IMPRISONMENT AND TORTURE IN SOUTH VIETNAM

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 8, 1969

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I recently returned from a field study project in South Vietnam with the U.S. Study Team on Religious and Political Freedom in Vietnam. A report of our findings was entered into the RECORD on June 17 by Senator ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF and Representative OGDEN R. REID of New York. This report cannot help but prompt serious thought among all those concerned with the goals and actualities of our involvement in Vietnam. The report relates gross neglect of fundamental human rights by the government in Saigon through actions that are completely contrary to the ideals of the 35,000 Americans that have died there.

Perhaps the most graphic example of the neglect of human rights by the government in Saigon occurs in the area of arrest and imprisonment. The accelerating number of political arrests occurring as an outgrowth of the pacification program and the U.S. financial assistance in the area of prison construction make these physical abuses all the more disturbing. As was pointed out in the U.S. study team report, the abuses range from lengthy imprisonment without trial to actual torture.

Another report of conditions in this area has been brought to my attention by Mr. Alfred Hassler, the executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The report is written by an exiled South Vietnamese journalist with whom we talked during the study group tour. I wish to commend this incisive and harrowing report on imprisonment and torture in South Vietnam to my colleagues:

### IMPRISONMENT AND TORTURE IN SOUTH VIETNAM

(By Pham Tam)

AN INTRODUCTORY WORD BY ALFRED HASSLER

This is the story of the scores of thousands of men and women, civilians, who clog the prisons of South Vietnam, charged with "political" offenses. It is a horror story, told in a low key, matter-of-fact style, and all the more horrifying for that reason. It is told by a Vietnamese journalist who spent four years as such a prisoner, shuttled back and forth between the crowded noisome holes that pass for prisons, but drawing also on others' intimate knowledge of the whole prison system.

No one knows how many political prisoners there are in the Republic of Vietnam. The lowest estimates, based on official figures, top 20,000; less biased observers tend to agree that the total is probably close to 200,000. They range from villagers charged with being accomplices of the Vietcong to some of the country's best-known political, religious and intellectual leaders.

Discussions of their "guilt" are fruitless: in South Vietnam one is guilty if he favors peace, or calls for negotiations, or says that the country should be neutralized, or expresses opposition to the ruling clique of generals headed by President Thieu and Vice-President Ky. Where there are trials they are hasty, before military courts, with none of the safeguards of a free judiciary and with no right of appeal; but thousands of the victims are held without trial for months and years.

Many of the prisoners have confessed to whatever offenses were laid against them by their jailers, and many of them have implicated others who in turn have been arrested and jailed. The confessions and the implications are the consequence of the torture to which most political prisoners are subjected, ranging from the primitive brutality of beatings with rifle butts or heavy sticks to such "sophisticated" devices as the application of electric wires to the testicles of male prisoners and the forcing of bottles or live eels into the vaginas of the women.

None of this is the consequence of the accidental rise to power of a few pathological sadists. Rather it is the deliberate expression of the desperate determination of the Thieu-Ky government to stay in power by suppressing all dissent. Open opponents of the government are immobilized by being imprisoned themselves or by being frightened into exile by the fear of being imprisoned and undergoing the torture themselves. Some of them have taken refuge abroad; others have fled to the National Liberation Front, submerging whatever qualms they have about it in the desperation of seeing no other choice.

Even so, the dissent continues, the demands increase for the replacement of Thieu and Ky by a genuinely representative government that will bring the war to an end. Students, academics, Buddhist monks and Catholic priests confront the terror and insist on calling for peace.

It is this insistent, indefatigable body of the country's ablest and most respected citizens, not allied with the NLF but demanding a "government of peace," that Thieu and Ky and the American establishment in Saigon fear most. It is they, in their non-violent but unremitting opposition, who disclose the instability of the government even more than do the military attacks of the NLF and North Vietnamese.

Some Americans, reading this account, will take refuge in that ancient canard that has it that Orientals have somehow a lower regard for human life and suffering than do we more sensitive Westerners. Leaving aside the consideration that we sensitive Americans have been engaged in indiscriminate slaughter in Vietnam in a fashion that has revolted people throughout the world, the assertion itself is a lie. War evokes the worst in men and allows the most brutal of men to come to power. Vietnamese torture other Vietnamese; still others carry on a struggle without violence and with a sense of compassion not often matched in the West.

What Americans need to face is that these horrors are being perpetrated with American assent, by a government kept in power solely by American military might, by men paid for by American dollars, and in a system permeated throughout by American advisors. This is part of the black and spreading stain of shame that the Vietnam war has cast on this country's reputation. To win a war, or to end it "with honor"—honor, no less—we con-

done and finance a totalitarian government in the total suppression of individual rights, and in a pattern of imprisonment and torture that should be turning our stomachs with revulsion.

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The case of five South Vietnamese peasants who found themselves entangled in a net lowered from an American helicopter and, thereafter, trapped in a web of arrest, examination and torture which, after a year, left them still liable to trial for "actions contrary to state security," is symbolic of the fate of millions of South Vietnamese people today. Almost everyone is subject to arrest at any time on an array of often vague and ill-formulated charges from draft evasion to "anti-patriotism," or simply and pragmatically for being unable to bribe the right official. Interrogation is all too often a euphemism for torture, and it may be carried on by one or several of the dozens of official and semi-official agencies and sub-agencies responsible for political security. Detention without trial is legal in South Vietnam for periods of six months to two years, after which prisoners may be re-examined and returned to detention. Trials are often summary. Imprisonment after trial generally means a continuation of the conditions of brutality under which the prisoner has been held during his interrogation. The fact that thousands of South Vietnamese citizens are being held as political prisoners by the Saigon Government has, during the last year or so, become common knowledge in the United States. Not until recently, however, have we begun to read reports in our press and periodicals of the officially instigated torture and other mistreatment which accompany political imprisonment. This account, written from personal experience and observation, by a journalist who spent four years in South Vietnamese jails, gives a more complete and authoritative account of the system of surveillance, torture and imprisonment in South Vietnam than any that has heretofore been available. "Pham Tam" is, of course, a pseudonym. For obvious reasons, the identity of the author must remain secret.)

#### I. THE WEB OF CONTROL: SAIGON AND THE CITIES

"Anyone with a gun can make arrests." This is not just a cynical Saigon remark. While such a law cannot be found in any body of legislation, it is part of an unwritten code that Vietnamese civil servants at all levels understand and apply.

The network arrest system in Saigon consists of six different agencies and their sub-agencies. In addition to the Official Police Headquarters of Saigon, there are five secretly functioning agencies, the Active Service Police or *Hoat Vu*, the Bureau of Military Security, the Central Intelligence Service, the American Special Forces, and the Secret Service.

1. The Official Saigon Police Headquarters (*Nha Giam Doc Canh Sat Do Thanh*) is centered in one large station, with a branch station in each of the nine districts of Saigon. Each station, besides a large number of uniformed police, has a section of plainclothesmen, who have unlimited powers of arrest and have also special rooms for the unofficial interrogation, torture and confinement of prisoners. The Official Saigon Police are said to make many arrests for purposes of personal revenge or blackmail, and to accept bribes to void the sentences of real criminals.

2. The Active Service Police, or *Hoat Vu*, judging from their activities, are, in fact, the secret police. Theirs is the most important agency in the network arrest system, and its aim is to repress all popular movements struggling for peace and neutrality, all organizations whose policy is opposed to that of the Government, and to wipe out secret NLF bases within the capital.

Currently the *Hoat Vu* center directs more than twenty stations situation in the big towns (Dalat, Can Tho, Nha Trang, Qui Nhon, Hue, Danang). In the Saigon-Gia Dinh re-

gion alone there are eight such stations. These are set up in large villas, surrounded by high walls topped with barbed wire and often electric fencing, and are patrolled by watch dogs and by guards in civilian clothes who carry carefully concealed pistols. Each of these eight Saigon-area stations has from 80 to 120 official employees, plus two or three hundred informers. There are two *Hoat Vu* stations in the Cholon area, one in Binh Dong, one in Thi Nghe, one in Khanh Hoi, one near the Tan Son Nhut Airport, one in Phu Lam, and another in Gia Dinh.

The *Hoat Vu* belongs to the Special Police Force (*Khoi Canh Sac Dac Biet*) within the National Police Force (*Tong Nha Canh Sat Quoc Gia*), and it receives orders directly from the Presidency, from the American Intelligence Service, from the Chiefs of Staff of the South Vietnamese Army, and in many cases, from the American Special Forces.

This Special Police Force operates the Central Bureau of Investigation (*Trung Tam Tham Van*) situated at the National Police Force headquarters. The Bureau is fully equipped with instruments of torture, and includes eight or ten smaller interrogation units, each one staffed by five persons. There are three detention centers, *Cau Luu Xa A, B, and C*, and a communal prison, *Lao Xa Tong Nha*. All political prisoners from Saigon, as well as many of the more important prisoners from the provinces, must go through the Central Bureau of Investigation, where files are completed, fuller inquiries undertaken, and decisions made as to whether the prisoners will be tried, sent to detention camps, or some other disposition made of their cases.

3. The Bureau of Military Security (*Cuc An Ninh Quan Doi*) is commonly called the "second bureau," a name that strikes terror into the hearts of the people of Saigon and has haunted them since the arrival of the French Army in Indo-China. Most of those arrested by the "second bureau" are beaten to death, maimed for life, or have to be hospitalized after their release. The Bureau is an agency of the Army Chiefs of Staff and is administered by a colonel. Secret agents of the Bureau are present and active within every army unit and have an organization parallel to that of the army. Their field of action, however, is not limited to the army; they have the power to arrest civilians and to search buildings in areas near army installations. There is close cooperation between the Bureau of Military Security and the other agencies in making arrests as well as for the exchange of documents and files. At the headquarters of the Bureau and in each sub-station there are detention centers and torture rooms.

In Saigon, apart from the Bureau of Military Security, there are also numbers of agents working in collaboration with the Military Police, among them men from all the army units in the Saigon-Cholon region. These "soldiers of safety" (*quan nhan cong an*) go around looting the cafes and the bars, the dance halls and the brothels. The bosses and prostitutes in these areas are exploited and subjected to blackmail. Many Military Police officers become pimps and owners of houses of prostitution. The regular police and even the *Hoat Vu* dare not penetrate the areas they control, and they settle many an account by exploding a grenade. Politically speaking, the Military Police have the right to arrest journalists, professors and students who have written or spoken against the army. Arrested soldiers, along with civilians suspected of being their accomplices, are sent directly to a military tribunal. Other prisoners are handed to the Special Police at the Central Bureau of Investigation.

In addition to the Bureau of Military Security, there is also an intelligence bureau at army headquarters. It is endowed with the right to arrest arbitrarily, but its activities are more secret and confined than those of many of the other agencies.

4. The Central Intelligence Service (*So Trung Uong Tinh Bao*) is also thought to be the American center for secret and double agents. The Central Intelligence Service makes arrests in great secrecy, gives orders and supplies information to both the *Hoat Vu* and to Bureau of Military Security, as well as to the Army Intelligence Bureau. Prisoners going to the Intelligence Center are sent blindfolded and are often made to travel at night. Since they can still hear, however, they have been able to testify that it is located on the Bach Dang Embankment near the *Nha Quan Phap* (military tribunal) and the naval headquarters.

5. The American Special Forces (*Luc Luong Dac Biet My*) is said to have a headquarters some place in Saigon. A great number of prisoners sent to the Central Investigation Bureau relate that they were arrested and interrogated by the American Special Forces. Their files bear this out, but so far no one can testify as to the exact location of the headquarters.

6. The Secret Service (*Mat Vu*) is composed of a large number of devoted officers who work under the direct orders of President Thieu. Their task consists essentially of kidnapping, assassinating, or otherwise eliminating officers and politicians who oppose Government policy. Their headquarters move constantly between three villas—from one on Cong Ly street (near Tan Son Nhut Airport) to another in the first district of Saigon, to a third in the third district. Each officer in the *Mat Vu* has under his direction from three to five young delinquents, whom he pays for each "job." These youths are provided with forged military papers, military identity cards, a quartermaster's card to give them valid reason for being loose on the town, and even a folder containing fake military records. The youths are quite likely to be suspected by the local police of avoiding the draft, and, as forged identity cards are common among civilians, many different documents have to be produced in order to allay suspicion. The special papers are valid for only two weeks, by which time the "job" must be completed.

#### II. THE WEB OF CONTROL: THE PROVINCES

Each province has a National Police station (*Ty Canh Sat Quoc Gia*) and a Special Police force (*Ty Can Sat Dac Biet*). In the large cities there is also an Active Service Police Station (*Hoat Vu*). These are the official agencies of control. Annexed to these are Military Security (*An Ninh Quan Doi*), and under the control of the American military forces are the Army Special Forces, the Provincial Reconnaissance Units of the CIA, the Coastguard, and several other special groups. None of the latter, except for the South Vietnamese Military Security, has permanent headquarters. They accomplish their arrests and tortures in one day, then pass their more fortunate prisoners over to the Special Police force. (The less fortunate prisoners are either beaten to death or drowned on suspicion of being NLF agents). Of these groups, the PRU is the most savage in its methods of torture.

The Special Police forces in the provinces make arrests in the chief towns of the districts, but seldom go into the surrounding countryside except during times of military operations. In the country, ordinary soldiers have the right to arrest, interrogate and imprison citizens. As these soldiers are far removed from central authority, laws are virtually meaningless, and they are more or less at liberty to act as they choose. People in the provinces may also be arrested by the Civil Guards (*Dan Ve*), the village administrative bodies, the cadres of the Provincial Government Rural Reconstruction Program, as well as by the local militia when there are military operations under way in the area.

The arbitrary nature of many political arrests and their consequences are illustrated by the following story:

Among the prisoners sent from the South Vietnamese Army Headquarters to the Central Bureau of Investigation, there was once a group of five men, all over fifty years old, peasants who had been rounded up in the hamlet of Tan Sinh. Having received permission to go outside the hamlet one day, they were scything grass in the fields, when they were suddenly trapped in a net dropped from an American helicopter and then arrested on suspicion of belonging to the NLF. After subjecting them to interrogation and torture and finding them not to be NLF members, the Americans sent them on to the South Vietnamese Army Headquarters to be released and returned to Tan Sinh. They had, however, already been designated as "political prisoners" by the American army administration, and their files were stamped accordingly. They could not, therefore, be released until some determination had been made of the reasons for their arrest, so for six months they were sent from one military camp to another for examination and re-examination. Arriving finally at the Central Bureau of Investigation, they were informed that it would be another five months before officials had time to draw up the papers that would send them before a military court.

The end of the story of the five old men is not known, but other prisoners in similar situations have been charged with actions contrary to state security—most frequently with paying taxes to the NLF. If found guilty, as they most often are, they are sentenced to three years' imprisonment, and the letters C.T.P. (*Chinh Tri Pham*: political prisoner) are stamped on their identification cards. Other peasants with as little evidence against them have been judged guilty of the graver crime of "anti-patriotism," which carries a minimum sentence of five years of forced labor on the prison island of Con Son.

All political cases brought officially to trial are handled by the military courts, of which there are two kinds, the Ordinary Military Court (*Toa An Quan Su Thuong*) and the Front Military Court (*Toa An Quan Su Mat Tran*), the latter established by Nguyen Van Thieu and Nguyen Cao Ky, to take the place of the infamous Special Military Tribunal, abolished after the *coup d'etat* of November, 1963. The Special Military Tribunal had been created by Ngo Dinh Diem in 1959 to suppress all political opposition to his Government, and it moved about the country, carrying with it the guillotine, functioning both as judge and executioner of its victims. Except that the guillotine is no longer used, the Front Military Court acts in the same way and fulfills the same functions as the Special Military Tribunal. There is no appeal from its decisions except—when a death sentence has been imposed—to the mercy of President Thieu.

The Ordinary Military Court holds trials in the Palace of Justice in Saigon and at a special court in Ben Bach Dang. It examines the cases of army law violations by military men and political crimes attributed to civilians. It has six offices for preliminary investigations and takes care of about eighty per cent of all political offenses, handing down indictments from twenty days to one week before trial. As it is extremely slow in its procedures, it cannot respond as rapidly as the Front Military Court to the political strategy of the Government, which aims at the immediate suppression of all anti-war movements, and political opposition.

Both courts belong to the Department of National Defense; their judges and most of their officials are military men, and they have no connection with the judiciary branch of the civil government. Though the preliminary investigation offices of neither court are equipped with sophisticated torture de-

vices, they are both supplied with clubs and other instruments for the administration of beatings.

### III. ACCUSATION AND TORTURE

When he makes an arrest in the forest or out in the rice fields during military operations, the soldier seeks answers to four main questions: Where has the prisoner hidden his weapons? To what unit of the NLF does he belong? Where is the unit located, and where does it store its arms and provisions?

The response to these questions is the same, whether true or not: "I am not a VC," and "I do not know." Then begins the torture. The methods used in such situations are direct and unsophisticated. Prisoners are beaten, slugged with gun butts, strangled with leather belts or barbed wire, their heads plunged under water and held there, the flesh of their bodies sliced or stabbed, while threats are made to cut open their stomachs. This torture may last for hours. If the peasant is a member of the NLF, he can end the torture by one of two alternatives: confession or death. If he is not an NLF member, he has no choice but death. (This explains why the peasants, whether or not they belong to the NLF, must either take flight or hide when the U.S. armies and their allies arrive.) If by chance, the prisoner emerges alive from the torture, he is classed as an NLF member. Weapons found any place in the area of his arrest will likely be identified as his, and the man will be considered part of the last NLF unit to have passed that way, perhaps even its leader.

At the Central Bureau of Investigation, I once met a peasant who had been sent there from the South Vietnamese Army Headquarters. Cao (not, of course, his real name) was a strong, healthy young man, but rather slow, and could hardly read. In his files, which had been compiled with scrupulous care by the Army to note the minutest details of his arrest and supposed mission, he was identified under another name as the leader of a certain NLF battalion. A year later, I met him again at the Chi Hoa prison. He was wearing an identity plate which bore the initials C.T.T.A. (convicted political prisoner), and was about to be exiled to the island of Con Son, where the prison of Polo Condor is located, under a sentence of twenty years of forced labor. Soon after his departure, three political prisoners were brought in from My Tho. All were members of the NLF and had been taken to My Tho for hospitalization after being wounded and captured by the U.S. Army at the battle of Kien Phong. Among them was a man said to be the chief of the very same NLF battalion my friend Cao had been accused of leading, and he bore the same name that Army Headquarters had assigned to Cao. After seeing the warmth and respect with which the other prisoners welcomed him, I was convinced that he was the real battalion leader. What, then, of young Cao? Who was he? Probably he was merely a peasant, victim of vicious torture, the unwitting subject of the maneuvering of South Vietnamese soldiers to gain commendation from their superiors and their American advisors.

Even more feared than the soldiers by the peasants are the *Dan Ve*, or Civil Guards. The true meaning of the words, *Dan Ve* is "organization of the people for self-protection," but its name cannot disguise the real character of the organization. Since the peasants feel very deeply that they have been displaced by the U.S.-created war machine, most of them refuse categorically to enlist in the *Dan Ve*, which is consequently composed of hoodlums who are attracted by the possibilities for exploitation that it offers. These Civil Guards receive half the salary of South Vietnamese soldiers, plus a supply of arms and grenades. During the day, they tour the villages searching for NLF members,

while stealing pigs and poultry, molesting women, etc. At night they return to their quarters to drink and gamble; when they feel bored, they fire guns blindly and indiscriminately. They know very well which house has just sold a pig or some poultry, or which family has just taken a sampan of rice to the city. They force their way into these houses, denouncing their occupants as NLF collaborators. If their victims are not able or quick enough to offer them money, the *Dan Ve* take them to their quarters to be tortured so that evidence of crime can be manufactured.<sup>1</sup> In most cases, peasants who fall to invite the *Dan Ve* to family feasts are denounced as NLF members. One has only to read the Saigon newspapers to know that every day there are stories of murder, rape and torture of innocent victims, as well as arbitrary imprisonment of peasants by the Civil Guards.

The *Dan Ve* operate under the direction of a Province Chief. At every level, they have prisons and torture chambers of their own. After arresting and torturing their prisoners, they send them to the National Police (*Ty Can Sat Quo Gia*) in the small towns or in the provincial capitals, so that their information may be further exploited.

The village administrators and the local police chiefs carry on the same kind of activities as the *Dan Ve*. People arrested by the National Police receive somewhat lighter tortures, since this is the most open and accessible of all government agencies. But every prisoner arrested by the National Police is sent on to the Security Police Bureau (*Cong An*) or to the *Hoat Vu* branch, so that all possible information may be drawn from him.

The typical prisoner who is taken in the cities or larger towns has to undergo three sessions of torture at the office of the police who have arrested him. During the first and worst session, the police attempt to discover the names of others who may have collaborated with him. Even if he is innocent, he may, under torture, find some names to say—perhaps those of friends or relatives. This is one of the reasons there are so many unjust arrests. The second session of torture is for the purpose of extracting information about activities of the enemy. The third session, for the purpose of recording the prisoner's confession, is less harsh than the other two, except when the prisoner tries to deny any parts of his earlier confessions. (If he does not deny what he has said, however, his eventual sentence is likely to be exceedingly severe.) No matter what he says, the record of the interview is really a creation of the interrogator, with all details arranged to illustrate the prisoner's crime. At the bottom of the record, there is always this notation: "After having listened to this recording, or these lines, three times, I acknowledge that everything in them is true, and I, therefore, sign my name together with [that of] the interrogator." The prisoner will be beaten every day until he agrees to sign.

Depending on whether the original arresting office was in the provinces or in Saigon, the prisoner's record and his "confession" are then turned over to the appropriate provincial or Saigon supervisory bureau. Officials of this bureau have the right to interrogate and torture him again. Sometimes his records are sent to several bureaus, and he is subject to re-examination by as many of these agencies as are interested in him. It may be six months or more before he knows where or by whom he is to be tried, or, even if he

<sup>1</sup> One of the Civil Guards' favorite methods of torture is to hammer nails into the bones and flesh of their prisoners, and, as a consequence of this, the peasants in their trading and bargaining, are often heard to say, "Isn't this too low a price to pay for the nails of the *Dan Ve*?"

is not tried, whether he will be released or detained<sup>2</sup> for a term in prison, or whether further exploration of his case has been recommended. If the latter is true, he will have to start with interrogation and torture all over again, from the beginning.

The methods of torture by which the Army Intelligence Bureau, the *Hoat Vu* and the Security Police Bureau extract confessions from their prisoners are generally similar to each other. The officials who apply the tortures have had long experience in their jobs.

#### IV. METHODS OF TORTURE

Briefly, these are some common torture methods:

The prisoner's hands are placed, palm up, on a table and beaten, fifty times each, with a heavy wooden truncheon. This turns the hands black; the fingers swell up so much that the prisoner cannot hold a bowl of food in his hands for a week or more. Usually, during this process, the table shatters, so that the hands are also full of splinters.

The prisoner is made to lie on his stomach with his knees bent so that his feet are in the air. The soles of the feet are then beaten with heavy truncheons, so that he feels pain in three places—the feet, the knees and the heart, as the blood is forced up in his body.

The prisoner is positioned with his hands tied behind his back in such a way that his chest is taut and protruding. Then his chest is beaten with rubber truncheons. This causes him to spit blood and excrete, and those who endure this torture are usually left with permanent lung damage.

The prisoner is hung by a thin metal wire tied to his big toes and beaten like a punching bag by four men. This is the best known and most common method of torture; it is generally called "the plane ride."

The prisoner is placed inside a barrel with water up to his neck. The barrel is then beaten full force with cloth-covered wooden cudgels, producing great pressure on the body of the prisoner: the heart is shocked severely, the liver and kidneys swell, and the bladder bursts. This torture is the specialty of the Army Intelligence Bureau. The peasants call it *chen ve*—a slang term meaning "beneath the water or mud."

The prisoner is forced to cup his hands, and pins are thrust into the quick of his nails. Some prisoners endure ten pins in their fingers and yet say nothing because they are innocent and have no information to give. A more elaborate development of this torture is for a pin with a feather attached to be thrust in half its length. Then an electric fan is switched on, the air from which makes the feathered pin rotate violently in the wound.

The prisoner has nails driven into his kneecaps or into the bones of his heels or ankles. These are often left there for several days.

The prisoner is laid on a bench, with his hands tied by the wrists and his head tilted back. Very salty or soapy water is then forced into his nose and mouth, until he loses consciousness. Sometimes, when the water enters the lungs, the prisoner may die. They call this kind of torture "taking the submarine."

The prisoner receives an electric shock of twelve volts from a hand-operated generator. Wires from the machine are tied to his

thumbs or to his toes and sometimes even to his sex organ if he is a male. If the prisoner is a woman, the wires are tied to the tips of her breasts. Those who have heart trouble may die at the first shock. All torture rooms are equipped with the same kind of generator, a machine that looks like a square pepper grinder.

The prisoner is made to stand naked on top of a small stool with light projectors with 200- to 500-watt bulbs all around him, or he may be forced to stand facing the wall with a 500-watt bulb placed about fifteen inches behind his head. He must stand in this same position for many days, except for brief moments when he is allowed to relieve himself or when he is fed. There are prisoners who stand this way for as long as a week before they collapse. Recovery from this ordeal may take several weeks, and a number of its victims break down completely and never recover.

The prisoner is tied firmly to a chair. Above his head is placed a can of ice water which drops upon his head slowly, drop by drop. The effect of this is that after about three hours, the prisoner begins to feel each drop falling upon him as the stroke of a hammer.

There are special forms of torture for female prisoners. For example, bottles or eels may be introduced into their vaginas, causing hemorrhages which may last for many weeks.

The forms of torture are limited only by the ingenuity of the torturer, but the foregoing are the most usual. They may even become an amusement for professional interrogators. There are those who become so attached to their instruments that they take care of them as knights used to care for their swords. Some interrogators have carpenters make them wooden clubs with strange images and with carved lettering that may say something like this: "If you confess, you may live, if you don't, you shall die." One end of such a club is called the "life end," the other, the "death end." The "life end" is small, round and smooth, while the "death end" is bigger and knobbed. One interrogator at the Central Bureau of Investigation owns a club carved in the form of a penis. The club is called "the penis of Heaven," and the owner has been nicknamed *Than Ong Cac Troi*—Mr. Heavenly Penis-Stick. Strangely enough, this man seems happy with his nickname. There is another interrogator who has had all his instruments of torture covered with zinc. Even his handcuffs are covered with zinc, though they originally bore the trademark "Made in U.S.A." and were already considered beautiful.

Many times prisoners are tortured, not so much for interrogation as for punishment, and often for capricious reasons. For example, a prisoner may be punished for having a name like *Cao* (tall) when he is short, or *Tuoi Sang* (bright) when he has dark skin, or a name like *Hung Dung* (hero) when he is small and slender. He may be punished for not being able to laugh or cry at the order of an interrogator. Once I saw a young man being beaten on his head until his scalp split open for not agreeing to drink a cup of tea with live cockroaches in it. He was finally made to eat them. When he was asked whether they were good or not, he responded that they were not, so he was beaten again for his answer. When at last he said that they were good, he was beaten still a third time for lying.

There was another young man who was beaten so severely simply because he had a mustache, that he had to crawl back to his cell, although his guards knew as well as the prisoner that it is impossible to get a razor in prison. The young man was made to stand in front of his tormentors and to pull out his mustache, hair by hair, with his fingers. If by chance he took out two hairs at once, he would have been beaten five strokes. During the period in which he removed half his mustache, he received 145 strokes. Next week,

he was forced to pull out the other half of the mustache. Altogether he received more than 3,000 strokes during the five months he was in prison—all because of his mustache. Finally, after his parents sold their house and used the money to bribe an official in the Special Police force, the young man was judged innocent and released.

#### V. PRISONS IN SOUTH VIETNAM

It is difficult to know how many prisons there are in South Vietnam, because—besides the official prisons—there are a multitude of secret prisons and semi-official prisons set up by the Army of the Republic of South Vietnam, by the local army, by the American army, by the intelligence services, secret services, security services, and by the different levels of administration of the local areas.

Official prisons: The Minister of the Interior, who has jurisdiction over the official prisons, has created an administrative agency called the Department of General Administration of Rehabilitation Centers (*Nha Tong Quan Doc Cac Trung Tam Cai Huan*) to supervise these prisons throughout South Vietnam. Colonel Tran Van Tu heads this agency; its headquarters are located near the Chi Hoa prison at the end of Hoa Hung Street in Saigon.

Under Colonel Tran Van Tu's administration, there are 58 official prisons in 58 provinces and cities, plus five big prisons: Chi Hoa, Tan Hiep, Thu Duc, Phu Quoc and Con Dao (The Con Dao Polo Condor Prison on Con Son Island). There is also another smaller prison located at the Cho Quan hospital to house sick prisoners taken from the five large prisons.

The province chiefs, who are usually lieutenant colonels, supervise the administration of the prisons in the provinces, but do not directly run them. The five big prisons are run by officers of the Army of the Republic of Vietnam.

Four types of personnel are employed to take care of the prisons:

Local army men (*dia phuong quan*): These look after the military aspects of the prison area. Their major responsibility is the security of the prison walls. They concern themselves with the prisoners only in the event of a revolt.

Professional supervisors (*glam thi chuyen nghiep*): Each is in charge of a certain number of prisoners and has the responsibility of seeing that the cell doors are secure. They carry out the orders of the courts with regard to transferrals of prisoners, their release or exile.

Cadres for rehabilitation (*can bo cai huan*): They look after the education of ordinary prisoners, the political indoctrination of political prisoners. They can also make recommendations with regard to extension of a prisoner's detention.

Public security agents (*cong an*): These are sent directly from the Special Police Force (*Khoi Canh Sat Dac Biet*). They specialize in beating and torturing prisoners who have violated prison regulations. Their job is to prevent political action in the prison, and they try to suppress any movements aimed toward improvement of prison conditions.

In these official prisons, there are usually three kinds of inmates: political prisoners, ordinary prisoners, and military prisoners. The majority, however—from sixty to eighty per cent—are political prisoners.

#### 1. The five big prisons

*Chi Hoa*: Thought of as the prison crossroads of South Vietnam, this institution houses from 6,000 to 8,000 prisoners and is located in Saigon. Prisoners are brought in from the Security Police Headquarters and from all the provinces. Many are in transition to Con Dao or Phu Quoc or they may have come from these prisons after having

<sup>2</sup>Detention (to be distinguished from a sentence served as the result of a trial) is legal in South Vietnam for periods of up to two years, but may be prolonged indefinitely by a re-examination (or a series of re-examinations) after which the detention period is extended. In 1968, it was found that some political prisoners had already served nearly ten years in Polo Condor prison, and they are still there.

served a term there. In Chi Hoa they wait either to be released or to be transferred to Tan Hiep or some other prison in the provinces.

The Chi Hoa prison is built in the form of an octagon four stories high with a court in the center. The interior of each of the eight sections is divided into four parts. Each of the eight sections is given the name of a letter in the alphabet from A to H. Attached to the side D, there is a square building which has been given the letter I, and which has four stories numbered from 0 to 3. Each story of the octagon itself can be divided into four parts by combining two adjoining sides, A and B to form AB, or A and H to form AH, etc. Each of these combinations has a special use. For example, section AB contains comfortable and spacious quarters and is used for officials imprisoned for corruption or on similar charges, or for rich merchants who have obtained these quarters through bribery. Section IE of ED is reserved for military officials; Section 3B of BC is especially for prisoners awaiting execution; Section 1H of AH is for lodging the *cong vu* (prisoners who are doing office work), officers and clerks and for medical personnel; Section FG is for political prisoners, except for 1G which is reserved for prisoners who work in the kitchen. Except for OD, which is used as an infirmary, O is reserved for political prisoners who have not been observing the political regulations of the prison; the three stories of section D are composed of very small dark cells reserved for political prisoners who are considered dangerous. On the outside of Section E, there has been built a large one-story building called the Hall of Photography and Pictures (*Phong Dien Anh*) but it is, in reality, the headquarters of the prison's security service.

There are many kinds of torture instruments. From the walls near the floor protrude iron bars to which prisoners are shackled. The room also contains a number of very small closed cells, the size of lockers. In the sections of the octagon that have not been mentioned are two categories of rooms: small, individual rooms for political prisoners, and larger rooms for military and regular prisoners.<sup>3</sup>

**Phu Quoc:** This prison on Phu Quoc Island near the Cambodian sea border, houses about 30,000 prisoners from fifteen to sixty years old, who have been captured by American or Vietnamese soldiers during military operations, and who have been suspected of being NLF members. They are guarded by a number of ordinary prisoners who have committed acts of piracy or murder, etc. This prison is administered by a lieutenant colonel and other military officers.

**Thu Duc:** This prison houses from 3,000 to 4,000 prisoners and is located in the Thu Doc district of the Gia Dinh province. It is reserved for female prisoners who were arrested in the Saigon, Cholon or surrounding areas; or for other female prisoners from other provinces who have heavier sentences, or for those who have not been tried. The prison is administered by a commanding officer of the army.

**Tan Hiep:** This prison also houses from 3,000 to 4,000 prisoners and is located near the Bien Hoa airstrip on the old highway between Bien Hoa and Vung Tau. This is a detention place for political prisoners who have not had a trial and for those prisoners who have already served a prison term but who have not been released. It is now being moved to Vung Tau.

**Con Dao Polo Condor (Con Son Island):** This prison houses more than 15,000 prisoners. Con Dao is an island with a governmental administration comparable to that of

a province. There is a town hall as well as a Provincial Security Service (*Ty Con An*) but there are no civilian residents—only soldiers, civil servants, supervisors and their families, and prisoners. Here there are two big prisons, "Prison House No. 1" and "Prison House No. 2," and another small prison at the Security Service headquarters. Also on the island are the dreaded "tiger cages" for important prisoners. Con Dao is administered by a lieutenant colonel, a security chief and a number of other military officers.

#### 2. Official provincial prisons

Each one of the 58 provincial prisons usually houses from 500 to 1,000 prisoners, though there are some that are much larger, like the one in Gia Dinh province, located near the Gia Dinh Town Hall. The Gia Dinh prison holds from 1,500 to 2,500 persons and is used for the temporary confinement of prisoners being sent by the National Police to Tan Hiep and Con Dao. Other important prisons are Ben Tre and My Tho, each with from 1,000 to 1,500 and sometimes 2,000 prisoners; the Nha Trang, which keeps political prisoners who are waiting to be brought before military courts in the southern provinces, and has a capacity of between 2,000 and 3,000; Qui Nhon, Da Nang, and Hoi An, with an average capacity of 1,500. In Hue, there are two large prisons, Thua Phu and Mank Ca Nho. The Thua Phu prison takes military prisoners, political prisoners and ordinary prisoners who have been tried. In the Mang Ca Nho prison (as is also true of the Tan Hiep prison in the south), there are only prisoners being held in detention. Thua Phu and Mang Ca Nho each houses about 2,500 prisoners.

#### Secret and Semi-Official Prisons: Saigon

The list that follows accounts for only a part of the secret and semi-official prisons in South Vietnam. No one really knows how many there are, as secret prisons are hidden away in private villas, in public buildings, in army barracks, etc. In general, these prisons are administered by the officials who have arrested the people incarcerated in them.

In the general headquarters of the National Police Force (*Tong Nha Canh Sac Quoc Gia*) in Saigon, there are two prisons, each with a capacity of from 2,000 to 3,000 prisoners. One is located within the limits of the Central Bureau of Investigation and is called *Cau Luu Xa* (detention center); it has three rows of cells for political prisoners who are being investigated. About two hundred meters from *Cau Luu Xa*, still within the grounds of the National Police Force Headquarters, there is a big L-shaped prison, two stories high, with six large rooms and more than ten cells. Among the prisoners here, only about ten percent are criminals; the rest are political prisoners who have been sent from other prisons for interrogation by the Central Bureau of Investigation, or who have fully served their sentences or detention terms, but are still held for indefinite terms in prison.

The *Hoat Vu* has eight secret prisons in villas scattered throughout the Saigon-Cholon-Gia Dinh area, with perhaps 100 to 200 prisoners held in each. (See reference in Part I.) The District Police Headquarters in Saigon operates nine prisons, each housing from 50 to 100 prisoners. There is one prison at Official Police Headquarters with a capacity from 50 to 100, and the Bureau of Military Security (*Cuc An Ninh Quan Doi*) operates a prison near the Saigon Zoo in District 1, that can accommodate between 300 and 600 prisoners. The Secret Service of the Army Headquarters own a prison housing 300 to 500, located near the Tan Son Nhut Airport, and the Central Intelligence Service also has a prison located at Ben Bach Dang that holds from 200 to 500. (This num-

ber was furnished by a political prisoner who stayed in the Central Intelligence Service prison for about six months. He said that the figures may not be accurate, since the activities of the Central Intelligence Service are kept very secret.)

#### Secret and Semi-Official Prisons: The Provinces

The National Police, the Special Police, the *Hoat Vu*, the Military Security Forces, and the Local Army Forces each have one prison in the provinces, and there is one in each military barracks of the American and Allied Forces. Every one of these prisons houses an average of thirty to fifty prisoners.

In each district of every province there is one prison that holds the combined prisoners of the Security District Branch of the Special Police, the *Dan Ve*, the Cadres of the Provincial Government Rural Reconstruction Program, and those arrested by the district chief. Here and there in every district, wherever there is a barracks, no matter how big or small it is, there is always a small room that serves as a prison for the captives of the *Dan Ve* and of the village councils.

Finally, in each barracks in the district, there are one or more rooms reserved for the "night prisoners." These are peasants who have not violated the law but who are considered potential violators. They are in prison only from 6:00 p.m. to 8:00 a.m. and are allowed to go home during the day.

The number of prisoners held in these provincial jails varies greatly, of course, depending on the political and military situation and on the mood of those who are in power.

#### VI. INSIDE THE PRISONS

Though conditions differ somewhat from one prison to another, they are bad enough in all to weaken or destroy the physical and mental health of most prisoners. Torture, filth, overcrowding, malnutrition—these are the common lot of the victims of South Vietnamese justice.

#### Chi Hoa

Chi Hoa in Saigon is considered the best of the prisons, and is, in fact, used as a showcase to obscure the horrors common to the rest of the prisons in South Vietnam, although visitors who are aware of its showcase status could scarcely feel sanguine about conditions elsewhere.

The quarters in Chi Hoa vary in quality from one section to another (See Part V), but the communal cells which house most of the political prisoners are occupied by sixty to eighty persons—thus providing a space of about fifty square decimeters (or approximately 5 square feet) for each prisoner. There is enough air to breathe in these rooms because one of the four walls in each is barred.

Prisoners in Chi Hoa receive two full meals each day, plus soup for breakfast. Each prisoner is allowed one and one-half kilos of cooked rice, 200 grams of vegetables, seventy grams of meat or fish, and twenty grams of sugar per day. These provisions are bought by a contractor who receives a commission and hands out the goods to regular prisoners (i.e., those convicted of crimes such as robbery) in charge of the prison kitchen. There are deals between the contractor and the prison administrators to take some of the food allowance for themselves, so that the prisoner rarely receive their just quota. The above amounts are the official quotas per prisoner, but not what they actually receive. Although rice is the staple diet of the prisoners, the quality of rice they are given is very low. It is of coarse grade and contains grit.

Saigon is extremely hot, especially in the summer, which lasts eight months of the year. The water supply in the prison is always low. At each corner of the octagon is a tank of water measuring about five cubic meters. This water must provide for all the needs of the 900 to 1000 prisoners in the

<sup>3</sup> The foregoing description of Chi Hoa can best be understood by visualizing a structure like the one diagrammed below, keeping in mind that the sections are combined differently on different floors.

<sup>4</sup> See Section VI for a description of "tiger cages."

sixteen communal cells. Each receives a maximum of about five liters (1.8 gals) of water a day which must serve for cooking, drinking, bathing, washing, etc.

All political prisoners are required to pledge allegiance to the flag and to practice shouting patriotic slogans. At least five times a week, they must receive prison administrators or visitors to the prison, greeting them with these slogans. They are forbidden to discuss politics or any news coming from the outside, and they may not refer to Chi Hoa as a prison. They must call it a rehabilitation center. After curfew at seven or eight o'clock in the evening, they are not allowed to sit or stand or talk to one another but must lie down and go to sleep. In the non-curfew hours, they are not allowed to lie down. Those who violate any of these rules are sent into the Hall of Photography and Pictures (*Phong Dien Anh*), where they are tied up and beaten. Sometimes they are placed in solitary confinement for days on end in a dark room filled with mosquitoes. A considerable number of political prisoners refuse from the beginning to obey any of the regulations. After a week of punishment in the Hall of Photography and Pictures, these prisoners are shut up in individual windowless cells in the OB and OC section of the octagon, and their diet is reduced to plain rice and salt. Every two weeks they are brought back to the Hall of Photography and pictures for more punishment.

Prisoners who have not been tried may receive visitors and supplies only with the permission of the military court, and those who have violated prison rules are allowed no visitors or supplies. Usually prisoners may see their families and receive gifts from them once a month and, after they are sentenced, the visits may be increased to twice a month with the permission of the prison administration, but prisoners and their visitors must always sit far apart. They may not touch each other, and the visits last for only five minutes.

Censorship of mail is very strict. Often prisoners receive letters with everything deleted but the salutation and signature. Neither incoming nor outgoing letters may mention any personal problems; incoming letters must not be written on colored stationery, and may not be typed. All papers, magazines and books, except for small dictionaries, are forbidden.

There is a hospital at Chi Hoa run by a doctor, but his priority patients are military officers and administrative personnel and their families. Part of his job is to perform quick autopsies on dead prisoners and to sign their death certificates. Invariably he finds that any deaths in the prison occur as the result of disease, whereas, in fact, many result from the treatment inflicted in the Hall of Photography and Pictures. The hospital is in the ED section of the octagon, but a number of prisoners who suffer from leprosy, tuberculosis or mental illnesses are sent to a special prison in the Cho Quan hospital in Saigon.

Often during the night, one may hear tragic and desperate voices crying for help. "Sir! Sir!" someone may cry. "There is a man vomiting blood in room 2F!" or "Sir! Sir! There is someone in room OB who is dying!" Generally no one comes to help, although sometimes a nurse appears with a little powdered quinine. (This is used as a treatment for every disease and ailment, from colds and stomach ache to hemorrhages.) As often as not the prisoner ends his cry with the desperate shout, "That's that! The man has just died in room OB. Do you hear, Sir?"

#### Con Dao, Polo Condor

Often referred to as the Island of Con Son, Con Dao is called "hell" by persons confined there. Here are to be found the notorious "tiger cages," and it is here that murder by starvation is most commonly used as a punishment.

Many prisoners who have been sentenced to hard labor are sent to Con Dao, and many of these are put to work at the centers of Lo Voi or So Cui. At Lo Voi prisoners work in quarries, breaking and carrying stones for the construction of prison units, road repair, etc., and some are made to wade deep into the sea to gather shells for the lime kiln.

At So Cui, the prisoners must climb long distances over high mountains to gather half a cubic meter of wood each day. The forests on the mountains have been exploited for years; trees are scarce, and it is forbidden to cut many of those that remain. At the end of the day, if it has not been possible to find the allotted amount of wood, the prisoners are beaten so severely that they must often crawl back to their cells. Yet the next day they are expected to go back to the mountains for more wood. What they gather is used to make furniture for the mainland homes of military officers and supervisors of the prison.

Three months after their arrival at Con Dao, prisoners who have a trade are selected to go to work at So Moc, the carpentry center, So Chan Nuoi, the livestock center, So Ray, the agricultural center, or So Luoi, the fishing center. The best produce from these centers is kept for the Province Chief, a lieutenant colonel, who is also the director of the rehabilitation center of the prison. Military officials are given the next best produce, and the rest is for supervisors and soldiers.

As in all other prisons, the prisoner's food in Con Dao is provided by a dealer and there is always an agreement between him and the administrators to keep some of the money that is supposed to be spent on food. Once a month, a supply ship comes from the mainland to the island, bringing rice of very low quality, dried fish, so poor and rotten that it would be used only as fertilizer outside prison, and some pigs and a number of cows. Military officials, supervisors, and soldiers are not anxious to share the rice or the fish, but are very willing to take the larger share of the pigs and the cows, leaving each prisoner with an average of about 10 grams of pork and beef per month.<sup>5</sup>

Because of the shortage of food, prisoners sent to work at So Ray and So Luoi, the agricultural and fishing centers, must steal whatever fish and vegetables they can, though if caught, they are sent to the "tiger cages." These tiger cages are housed in two long cement structures divided into thirty units each. The cages are too small for a man to lie full-length inside them. The barred top of each cage is so low that it can be reached with the hand. Over the bars is a catwalk for the guards, and over all is a roof or awning made of corrugated metal.

When a prisoner is consigned to a period of punishment in one of the tiger cages, his clothing is first removed and he is beaten into a state of unconsciousness. Then he is thrown into the cage. While he is there, he is not allowed to take a shower or even wash himself; his cage is his bathroom; his only food is bowls of rice lowered into the cage from above; the metal roof above the cage makes it very hot during the day and very cold at night; supervisors may suddenly pour down water from above or urinate onto the head of the prisoner. Sometimes they throw rocks or filthy excremental liquids. Their aim is to keep the prisoner in a state of constant fear, pain and despair.

Once or twice a week, guards and supervisors bring ordinary prisoners (those con-

<sup>5</sup> Prisoners do their own cooking and combine the small portions of meat that come to them infrequently with rice in a common stew. Only certain prisoners who were formerly high grade civil servants, military officers, businessmen, or rich politicians are granted higher living standards. They manage this by bribing the administration or by using family influence within the Government circle.

victed for criminal offenses), armed with sticks to administer beatings to those within the cages. After the beatings, more water is poured down upon their heads. When I was at Chi Hoa, a supervisor from Con Dao told me that after having seen the liquid swirling around the cages, a mixture of water, blood, excrement and white rice vomited by prisoners after a beating, he was unable to eat for three days.

Some prisoners are kept caged for several months; only about thirty percent of these survive.

Because there are not enough tiger cages for all the prisoners the administration wants to punish, hundreds of others are locked in dark cells with only a few air holes. They are not permitted to wash themselves, have no toilet facilities, and are fed only unsalted white rice, and their confinement may last for months. After the first twenty days, one out of every two hundred prisoners dies; after a month, two die, and so it goes on up to the point where from five to ten prisoners die every day. Their corpses are removed from the cells once every three days.

As times goes on, the prisoners' bodies darken gradually from the feet upward and there is no feeling in the parts of the body that have gone dark. Death is approaching slowly, minute by minute, and the prisoners are very well aware of this. When the death rate reaches fifty percent, the administrators open the cells and stop the punishment. Prisoners from Con Dao have told me that when the cell doors open, the survivors try desperately to crawl into the yard and eat the grass. These blades of grass are sufficient to postpone their deaths and to keep them alive for the next wave of punishment.

#### Tan Hiep

The number of political prisoners at Tan Hiep is increasing rapidly, the majority of them being sent there on suspicion. As the Government has not found enough evidence against them to bring them before a military court, they are being held in detention. Tan Hiep is the most crowded of the official prisons. In a large prison room, each prisoner may have a sleeping space of only 20 centimeters by 2 meters (about 8" x 80"). Prisoners are not allowed to lie facing each other because the administration fears any communication between political prisoners, even if it is only by movement of the lips or eyes. That is why one sees hundreds of prisoners all lying on the cement floor, facing the same direction. They can change the direction only with the permission of the night guard whom they elect themselves and who is approved by the prison administration.

During the night, if they wish to go to the lavatory, they must raise their hands. The prisoner may have to wait for hours before he is allowed to go, since there is only one WC for each prison room and that is occupied night and day.

The list of regulations in this prison is very long, and the prisoners must learn it by heart during the first five days after their arrival. Those who do not resign themselves to the iron regulations here are punished by regular beatings before being sent to the tiger cages or the confinement cells of Con Dao.

#### Cau Luu Xa (the detention center) and the prison of the general headquarters

In both prisons, men are packed like sardines into the cells. There are rooms in the detention center where prisoners have to be divided into three groups, so that everyone can have a chance to sleep for a few hours during the night; one group sleeps lying down, one group sleeps sitting down, and one group clings to the iron bars to make room for the other two groups.

At the detention center, each prisoner is allowed to wash once a day, but at the Prison of the General Headquarters, there is not so much water. Every three days, each prisoner is given two liters (about two

quarts) of water for washing clothes and bathing. Because of the lack of water, prisoners must use chemical toilets located inside the cell.

Many of the prisoners here have skin diseases and coughs. Every night there are prisoners who suffocate and lose consciousness, and there are a considerable number who contract tuberculosis.

#### The Prisons of the Hoat Vu

Because of the need for secrecy, the *Hoat Vu* cannot set up well-organized prisons, and must put prisoners into rooms wherever they can find them, often into servants' quarters in private villas. To prevent escape, they chain prisoners to iron bars, sometimes five or ten prisoners to each bar. Strong prisoners have their hands tied as well.

Most of those arrested and taken to the *Hoat Vu* jails consider suicide, for they know that they have no way to escape the tortures which await them. Even if they are innocent, even if they resist making confessions, even if they confess all or make false confessions—whatever they do, they will be submitted to torture and punishment.

A prisoner who attempts suicide or who is suspected of making a suicide attempt is punished by being bound hand and foot and by having a wooden cylinder placed between his jaws and tied with wires behind his head. He is fed on soup with the cylinder still in his mouth, and is sometimes left in this state for a week. Prisoners punished in this way cannot close their mouths for 24 hours after the torture is ended and cannot chew food for at least a week.

#### The Cho Quan Hospital Prison

Cho Quan is a hospital for the treatment of mental illnesses and dangerous contagious diseases. In the compound of this hospital is a prison housing about 600 very ill prisoners. Both ordinary criminal prisoners and political prisoners are sent here from the five big prisons and the *Hoat Vu* and the Police Services in the Saigon-Cholon-Gia Dinh area. All these diseases are common: leprosy, tuberculosis, venereal disease, mental illness. Cho Quan is considered to be the dirtiest prison in South Vietnam. At least two or three prisoners die daily, mostly from tuberculosis. Each year several prisoners die of injuries received after they have attempted to climb into a very slippery sanitary toilet. Insane prisoners sometimes go berserk and murder others.

The principal medicines in use here are quinine, sulfa, phenobarbital, and camphor oil. They are used for treating all diseases.

Who are the political prisoners? The easiest and best way to learn of the social position, political affiliation and religious tendencies of political prisoners in South Vietnam is to read the daily report made out by the administration of each prison. For example, the September 15, 1968, report<sup>o</sup> from the Chi Hoa Prison reads as follows:

Religious affiliation	Political prisoners	Ordinary prisoners	Military prisoners	Total
Catholic.....	163	29	24	216
Buddhist.....	1,315	42	51	1,408
Protestant.....	32	5	11	48
Cao Dai.....	31	1	4	36
Hoat Hao.....	42	3	7	52
No religion.....	72	10	28	110
Total.....	1,665	90	125	1,870

According to the report, if one examines only the case of political prisoners one will see:

Buddhists equal 1315 divided by 1655, or 79 percent.

<sup>o</sup> This report is chalked on the walls of the offices of six sections in the Chi Hoa prisons. The numbers are changed every day at 9 a.m.

Christians equal 163 plus 32 divided by 1655, or 12 percent.

Followers of other religion or non-religious prisoners equal 9 percent.

Apart from this report, there are 3 other kinds of reports: the number of prisoners per room (to calculate the food supply); the number of prisoners accused of being communists; the social position of political prisoners.

The last two reports are secret, and are sent to *Van Phong Kiem Tra*, the head office of the Hall of Pictures and Photographs. They are also incorporated in the general daily report that is sent by the Chi Hoa prison administration to the General Director of Rehabilitation Centers. The two items that are most important in the report are the numbers of communists and peasants. When I took note of the report on section FG at Chi Hoa prison, the number of communists were 50 out of 1655 political prisoners. That is about 3.3 percent of the prisoners. The number of peasants was listed at 1062 (about 64%). What will people think if they look at the percentages in the report? Twelve per cent of the prisoners are Catholic, 79% are Buddhist, 3.3% are communists and 64% are peasants?

#### VII. AFTER SERVING THE TERM

Some years ago, prison administrators used to attempt to persuade prisoners to obey regulations by promising them shortened terms. These promises were never kept and administrators have stopped making them. Now they promise that if the prisoner behaves himself, he will be released after he has fully served his term.

This promise is meaningful, because of late years, most prisoners are not released at the end of their terms, but detained in prison for another six months to a year. Those in unofficial prisons are often kept indefinitely. Political prisoners with families in Saigon are released after serving their sentences, only if they produce a written guarantee signed by three relatives certifying that they will take responsibility for the future political actions of the prisoner.

Upon his release, the prisoner receives only a temporary resident card issued by the Chief of the Special Police. He must present himself once a week or once a fortnight thereafter to the police headquarters of his district and also to the Central Bureau of Investigation. Each time he goes, he must relate in minutest detail all of his activities, what he has done, whom he has seen and so on, and each time, he must take with him some clothes, a towel and a toothbrush in case he is rearrested. Where he goes, he is followed by an Active Intelligence Service agent, who sometimes comes directly into his house and demands a monthly payment for "protection."

The former prisoner now lives in a permanent state of anxiety, feeling that he has no real freedom, not daring to visit intimate friends because, if he did, he would have to mention their names at the Bureau of Investigation. Eventually he is either rearrested or finds himself obliged to escape the city and seek refuge with the NLF, as he feels that he cannot return to the terror of the torture room and the prison.

#### LAGGING DRAFT REFORM

### HON. JACK H. McDONALD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. McDONALD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, it is with great interest that I call to the attention of my colleagues an editorial in today's Washington Post pertaining to draft reform. This sub-

ject has been of great importance to me for some time. I am a cosponsor of a resolution praising the President for his establishment of a Commission on a Volunteer Army. I have also devoted a considerable amount of time to the study of this concept. Furthermore, on July 3, I wrote the chairman of the Armed Services Committee requesting that hearings on draft reform proposals be scheduled at the earliest possible time. As one of the 22 House Members who visited our Nation's college and university campuses, I can personally attest that the inequitable operations of the present Selective Service System serve as a significant problem among students. I feel it is essential that draft reform be considered before 1971 when the existing Selective Service laws expire.

While I do not necessarily agree with all of its observations, I believe the editorial is certainly noteworthy and it is with pleasure that I submit it for the benefit of all Members. The text is as follows:

#### LAGGING DRAFT REFORM

The foot-dragging on Capitol Hill in regard to draft reform and the Administration's seemingly lax attitude toward it are disappointing. When the President sent his draft proposals to Congress a few weeks ago, they were described as interim changes designed to make the Selective Service less onerous while long-range plans to replace the draft are being worked out. Now the supposed interim relief measures are being treated as if they were long-range reforms to be considered only in connection with renewal of the Selective Service Act in 1971.

We can see no excuse for such delay. The weaknesses of the present system are a substantial cause of unrest among young men of draft age. Many complain about the potential disruption of their lives by unforeseeable draft calls that may come at any time from age 19 to 26. These men would have a much better opportunity to plan their schooling, their careers and their private lives if the period of their maximum liability could be shortened to one year, as both President Nixon's and Senator Kennedy's plans recommend. There is no good reason to ask them to wait two years for such an obviously desirable change.

We think that random selection of draftees would also diminish the feeling that the draft operates unfairly. Since the armed forces need fewer men than would be exposed to the draft at age 19 (plus deferred students who would have a year of maximum exposure to the draft at the end of their college studies) selections from this group by lottery would keep favoritism and special privilege at a minimum. Here again the improvement ought not to be something for legislators to ponder for two years but to put into effect at the earliest possible date.

The army too has an interest in prompt action on this bill because it would take younger men into the service at an age when they make better soldiers.

If any action is to be taken this year, however, the Administration will have to bestir far more than it has done to date. Some key legislators are complaining that they have not yet been supplied with information as to how the proposed lottery would work. The Administration's bill has not even been introduced in the Senate for want of a sponsor on the Armed Services Committee. This suggests a critical lack of follow-up work at the White House.

When these reforms were recommended a few weeks ago this newspaper said that they "ought to be regarded as urgent business in both houses of Congress." We still

think so. But something more than wishful thinking at the White House and apparent disinterest on Capitol Hill will be necessary if anything is to be done before the present legislation expires.

**NEW ASSOCIATION OF BLACK CONSULTANTS CHARGES FEDERAL AGENCIES SUPPORT RACIAL BIAS IN CONTRACT AWARDS—NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BLACK CONSULTANTS AND URBANOLOGISTS**

**HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 9, 1969

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, the National Association of Black Consultants, a newly formed group of black-owned private consultant firms, announced today that—

A petrified pattern of black discrimination, collusion, and white favoritism controls the awarding of contracts by Federal agencies to private white consulting firms.

The association charged:

There is a prima facie case of blatant favoritism in the awarding of Federal contracts to pre-selected white firms and a callous contempt for black consulting firms.

An amount of \$500,000,000 in Federal funds for consulting services will be expended during FY 1970. Of the approximately 400 firms in the consulting industry, a mere 20 firms or 5 percent will receive 60 percent of the expenditures. On the other hand, the 80 black-owned firms which comprise 20 percent of the total number of firms, will receive less than 1 percent of these same Federal expenditures.

Member firms of the NABCU have over \$10 million worth of pending proposals with various Federal agencies. They indicated:

During the next few weeks the Association will examine very closely the actions of those agencies in the awarding of these contracts.

If there is to be any implementation of this Administration's commitment to the black community to generate more community-controlled programs and more black self-help in developing a viable economic base for the black community's growth, one way to begin is with the maximum utilization of black professionals.

NABCU does not claim any kind of a priori expertise on the black experience. But by the same token, it vigorously opposes the prevailing plantation psychosis in the Federal government that only white experts, white consultants and white urbanologists are able to program the economic, educational and social growth of the black community.

Unless white tokenism ceases in the awarding of Federal contracts to all black companies, corporations and firms, an irreversible alienation between black and white will become endemic.

NABCU suggested that the Federal Government could take affirmative action in three areas to implement a policy of equal achievement in the consulting industry:

1. Enforcement of the equal opportunity programs of Federal agencies by reviewing all contracts awarded and determining whether a pattern of favoritism exists for certain pre-selected white firms.

2. Maximization of small business participation in Government procurements through section 8(A) of the Small Business Act.

3. An investigation by the Department of Justice to determine violations of antitrust regulations in the awarding of consulting contracts and to determine the extent of col-

lusion of certain segments of industry with officials in the Federal Government.

NABCU said it was currently in the process of securing meetings with administration leaders and agency heads to present documentation of their charges and to demand an immediate end to this pattern of discrimination and bias in the awarding of Government contracts.

The National Association of Black Consultants and Urbanologists is a Washington-based organization of black-owned consulting firms and urban planning companies. It was formed as the result of a meeting in Atlanta, Ga., in December 1968.

A partial listing of member firms include:

1. Association Control Research Analysis, James Gee, President.
2. B.L.K. Group, Inc., Kenneth Vallis, President.
3. Burrell Associates, Berkeley G. Burrell, President.
4. Curber Associates, Dr. Bert Phillips, President.
5. Impact Studies, Inc., Phillip A. Chase, President.
6. Sam Harris Associates, Ltd., Samuel E. Harris, President.
7. Koba Enterprises, Inc., Ford T. Johnson, Jr., President.
8. Roy Littlejohn Associates, Roy Littlejohn, President.
9. The Match Institution, Timothy L. Jenkins, Chairman.
10. Nellum Associates, Al Nellum, President.
11. Opportunity Systems, Inc., George H. Walker, President.
12. SACAPS, Napoleon Rhodes, President.
13. Supportive Services, Inc., Edward Scraggs, President.
14. J. Cameron Wade & Associates, Inc., Jay C. Wade, President.
15. 2MJQ Environmental Research and Development, Development Corporation, Casey Mann II.

**SENATE—Thursday, July 10, 1969**

The Senate met at 11 o'clock a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, from whom proceeds all power and dominion in heaven and on earth, we beseech Thee to look with favor upon Thy servants, the President of the United States, the Members of the Congress, the diplomats in distant places, the leaders of our military forces, and all others whom we have set in authority. Imbue them with the spirit of wisdom, goodness, and truth; and so rule their hearts and bless their endeavors that they may lead us in high achievement and steadfast righteousness. May these days of crisis be times of spiritual renewal and moral resurgence when the nations of the earth find their way to true brotherhood and lasting peace. Amen.

**THE JOURNAL**

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of

Wednesday, July 9, 1969, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT**

Messages in writing from the President of the United States submitting nominations were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Geisler, one of his secretaries.

**EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED**

As in executive session, the President pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

**ORDER OF BUSINESS**

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the order previously entered, the Chair recognizes the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. HOLLINGS) for not to exceed 40 minutes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield, without losing his right to the floor?

Mr. HOLLINGS. I yield.

**ORDER FOR RECOGNITION OF SENATOR HOLLAND**

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, at the conclusion of the remarks of the distinguished Senator from South Carolina (Mr. HOLLINGS), the distinguished senior Senator from Florida (Mr. HOLLAND) be recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HOLLINGS. I yield.

Mr. STENNIS. Just for an inquiry. Under a previous order, the Senator from Nevada (Mr. CANNON) is to speak after the morning hour. Is that correct?

Mr. MANSFIELD. That is correct.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair is advised that the Senator from Nevada is to be recognized at the conclusion of the morning business, under the order heretofore entered.

Mr. STENNIS. I thank the Chair.