B. American Institute of Merchant Shipping, 1120 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Maynard H. Smith, 184 Washington Avenue, Albany, N.Y.
B. National Committee for the Protection of Patriotic Americans, 184 Washington Avenue, Albany, N.Y.

A. Wallace M. Smith, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Unsubsidized Lines, 1824 R Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Wallace M. Smith, 425 13th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. National Association of Mutual Insurance Cos., 2611 E. 46th Street, Indianapolis, Ind.

A. J. Taylor Soop, 400 First Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, 330 S. Wells Street, Chicago, Ill.

A. Lynn Stalbaum, 1026 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Associated Dairymen, Inc., 1026 17th Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Steptoe & Johnson, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Claims in Cuba Committee, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. John H. Studebaker, 3636 16th Street Washington, D.C.

A. Norman A. Sugarman, 1956 Union Commerce Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
B. Battelle Memorial Institute, 505 King Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.

A. Norman A. Sugarman, 1956 Union Commerce Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
B. Federal Cartridge Corp., 2700 Foshay Tower, Minneapolis, Minn.

A. Norman A. Sugarman, 1956 Union Commerce Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
B. Olin Foundation, Inc., 1 East 44th Street, New York, N.Y.

A. James F. Sullivan, 1225 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. American Association of Retired Persons and National Retired Teachers Association.

A. Surrey, Karasik, Gould & Greene 1156 15th Street NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Prudential Lines, 1 Whitehall Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan, 1200 Farragut Building, Washington, D.C.
B. Carnegie Corp. of New York, 589 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A. James R. Turnbull.
B. National Forest Products Association, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Valicenti, Leighton, Reid & Pine and Richard L. Goldman, 70 Pine Street, New York, N.Y.
B. Association of Mutual Fund Plan Sponsors, Inc., 50 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.

A. Vinson, Elkins, Searls & Connally, 2100 First City National Bank Building, Houston, Tex.
B. Texas Eastern Transmission Corp., Post Office Box 2521, Houston, Tex.; Transwestern Pipeline Co., Post Office Box 2521, Houston Tex.; Gulf Central Pipeline Co., 811 Dallas Avenue, Houston, Tex.

A. Charles S. Walsh.
B. National Cable Television Association, Inc., 1634 I Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. The Wayne Smith Co., 201 Massachusetts Avenue NE., Washington, D.C.
B. Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization, 1725 K Street NW., Washington, D.C.

A. Peter A. Wilson, 1555 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
B. The Committee To Maintain a Prudent Defense Policy.

A. Robert C. Zimmer, 1250 Connecticut Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.
B. Washington International School.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

NAUGATUCK—HOME OF CHAMPIONS

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to tell you and my colleagues that the championship of the American Legion New England baseball competition was won by a team of youngsters representing Naugatuck, Conn., Post No. 17, American Legion.

The Naugatuck team went on to the finals at Hastings, Nebr., and while not winning the national championship made an excellent showing, not only in performance of field but also in sportsmanship. One point I would call significant in the achievement of the Naugatuck team is that it was drawn from a community of some 19,000 residents and competed with teams drawn from cities of more than a quarter of a million. I can tell you, Mr. Speaker, that the achievements of the team representing Naugatuck, Conn., Post No. 17 in the Legion competition are the pride of Naugatuck, the Fifth Congressional District, the State of Connecticut, and of all New England. I salute them for their splendid achievements and I include here an editorial which appeared in the August 29, 1969, Naugatuck Daily News and one which appeared in the August 27, 1969, Waterbury Republican, and a copy of a telegram which I had addressed to the team prior to the start of the finals in Hastings, Nebr.:

[From the Naugatuck (Conn.) Daily News, Aug. 29, 1969]

COMMUNITY PRIDE

Community pride is a wonderful thing.

And if the residents of Naugatuck are just a bit puffed up these days, it is a legitimate matter of community pride.

For it isn't every day in the week that a community the size of Naugatuck can command national attention, whether it be in the world of sports or elsewhere.

Our Post 17 Legion baseball team has made Naugatuck a name with which to be reckoned in New England sports circles.

And, as of this writing, we hope that the team is going to make the name Naugatuck something to be reckoned with in national sports circles.

But, win or lose, the Post 17 team has stirred up a degree of community pride that is not to be underestimated.

In a broad sense, what the Post 17 Legion team has done is a matter of concern for every loyal Naugatuck resident.

There are those who were faithful until the last inning of the New England tournament by making the trip to Keene, N.H. day after day to root for the local squad.

There are those who sat with ears glued to radio sets during the New England tourney, even as they wished that they might have been present in person.

There are those who made the determined and expensive effort to get out to Hastings for the national tournament.

All of these have one thing in common—pride in Naugatuck.

That's why we are suggesting that many of our fellow citizens can avail themselves of an opporunity to contribute in a substantial way to the final success of this endeavor.

They can do it by buying "booster tickets" for the Legion Post, or by sending a check to The NEWS office, c/o Frederick E. Hennick, Treas. to help pay off the additional and unexpected costs which have arisen in the course of this championship adventure.

It's a matter of community pride.

[From the Waterbury (Conn.) Republican, Aug. 27, 1969]

NAUGATUCK'S PRIDE

Not only Naugatuck, but the entire state can take special pride in the New England victory by the American Legion Post baseball team. Only one other city has ever had a team reach the national finals. West Hartford won in both 1959 and 1961.

The Naugatuck nine swept through the regionals for New England at Keene, N.H., with but a single loss. Coach Steve Mastrianna and everyone on the team deserve the gratitude of all in the borough. Incidentally Mastrianna, a Waterburian, volunteered as coach last year when an appeal was issued for help.

Unfortunately, the time span between the regionals and the nationals in Hastings, Neb., was such that the borough could not really give the team a proper reception. They arrived at 2:30 in the morning and had to leave at 10:30 to catch their first plane to Nebraska.

Win or lose in the national finals, on their return the borough would do well to have a "day" for the youths. They are off to do the "battle of Hastings" with the best wishes of the entire state. These wishes may not be "ringing in their ears" but they are sincere.

Coach STEVE MASTRIANNA,
Naugatuck, Conn. Post 17 American Legion Champions, National Legion Baseball Tournament Headquarters, Hastings, Nebr.:

Congratulations on your inspiring and sensational performance at Keene, New Hampshire leading to Region I American Legion Baseball Championship. I can assure you that all of the 5th Congressional District especially Naugatuck, and the State of Connecticut and New England, are joining with you in cheering you on to the attainment of your objective—the National Championship.

I send my best wishes and congratulations to the team, the coaching staff, the Post 17

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sponsors and all of those wonderful Naugatuck and area fans who have, in the tradition of Borough sports competition, followed and cheered the great Post 17 team to victory.

Good luck.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN S. MONAGAN,
Member of Congress.

PRAYER IN THE SCHOOLS

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Supreme Court in recent years has struck ruthlessly at the hearts of many of the customs and traditions most Americans hold dear; but in my opinion, the Court could have done no greater disservice to our people than to interfere with their natural interest in a balanced education for their children. I am referring, Mr. President, to an education which would develop their souls and spirits, as well as their minds.

Concerned parents in this country want their children to realize that recognition of and respect for a Supreme Being are matters of such transcending importance that they are not to be relegated to only 1 day of the week. They want their children to see that people pause to consider their faith as they go about their work during the week, not just on Sunday at church.

Mr. President, this is what the Court has denied us and our children. The injury is compounded by the fact that the Constitution was stretched to new lengths to reach a decision which was highly unnecessary. I can only hope that the popular outrage evidenced by my mail from all over the country is also reaching others of us who are in a position to do something to correct this terrible mistake on the part of the Court.

Mr. President, the August 11, 1969, issue of U.S. News & World Report contains an excellent editorial by one of our finest political writers. It expresses well my feelings on this issue, as well as those of millions of other Americans.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial entitled "Let Us Pray," written by David Lawrence, be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

LET US PRAY

(By David Lawrence)

(The controversy continues as to whether nonsectarian and nondenominational prayers may be said in public schools just as they are during other activities of federal, State and local governments.)

The President of the United States on July 24 stood on the deck of the U.S.S. *Hornet* in mid-Pacific to greet the three astronauts who had just returned from a successful mission to the moon. Mr. Nixon spoke words of welcome and praise, and then made this request:

"And now, I think, incidentally, that all of us—the millions that are seeing us on television now and seeing you—would feel as I do that, in a sense our prayers have been answered, and I think it would be very appropriate if Chaplain Piirto, the Chaplain of this ship, were to offer a prayer of thanksgiving, and if he would step up now, Chaplain. Thank you."

The Chaplain, Lt. Comdr. John A. Piirto, said:

"Let us pray: Lord God, our Heavenly Father, our minds are staggered and our spirits exultant with the magnitude and precision of this entire Apollo 11 mission. We have spent the past week in communal anxiety and hope as our astronauts sped through the glories and dangers of the heavens. As we tried to understand and analyze the scope of this achievement for human life, our reason is overwhelmed with abounding gratitude and joy, even as we realize the increasing challenges of the future.

"This magnificent event illustrates anew what man can accomplish when purpose is firm and intent corporate. A man on the moon was promised in this decade and, though some were unconvinced, the reality is with us this morning in the persons of astronauts Armstrong, Aldrin and Collins. We applaud their splendid exploits, and we pour out our thanksgiving for their safe return to us, to their families, to all mankind.

"From our inmost beings we sing humble yet exuberant praise. May the great effort and commitment seen in this Project Apollo inspire our lives to move similarly in other areas of need. May we, the people, by our enthusiasm and devotion and insight move to new landings in brotherhood, human concern and mutual respect. May our country, afire with inventive leadership and backed by a committed followership, blaze new trails into all areas of human cares.

"See our enthusiasm and bless our joy with dedicated purpose for the many needs at hand. Link us in friendship with peoples throughout the world as we strive together to better the human condition.

"Grant us peace, beginning in our own hearts, and a mind attuned with good will towards our neighbors.

"All this we pray as our thanksgiving rings out to Thee in the name of our Lord. Amen."

Why, it will be asked, can such manifestations of belief in God be uttered at certain governmental functions and be denied at others? How much different, for instance, is the foregoing from the prayer—prescribed by the State of New York for the public schools—which the Supreme Court held in 1962 to be unconstitutional? It read as follows:

"Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee and we beg Thy blessing upon us, our parents, our teachers and our Country."

Congress, moreover, has by law specified the oath of office to be taken by federal judges, and, when Judge Warren E. Burger was sworn in recently as Chief Justice of the United States, he read the prescribed words of the oath, which ends: "So help me God."

The Senate and the House each has a Chaplain who opens the day's session with prayer. These are not just "ceremonial occasions" but routine procedures.

The High Court in 1963 acquiesced in the right of the Government to arrange for the holding of periods of prayer at military stations, and said:

"We are not of course presented with and therefore do not pass upon a situation such as military services, where the Government regulates the temporal and geographic environment of individuals to a point that, unless it permits voluntary religious services to be conducted with the use of government facilities, military personnel would be unable to engage in the practice of their faiths."

There is no rule or regulation which requires a military man to attend a service, and likewise those children whose parents did not wish them to participate could be allowed to leave the classroom during the few minutes devoted to prayers.

The time has come to clear the air. The millions of children in the public schools should have an opportunity to pray if they wish.

School officials could make provision for periods of voluntary prayer. As for what should be said in the prayers, it could be stipulated that they be nonsectarian and nondenominational.

Certainly the educators of the country should be able to come forth with plans to meet the objections raised by the Supreme Court and permit school children to pray to God, just as did the Chaplain on board the U.S.S. *Hornet*.

THE PRICE OF IGNORING POLLUTION

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the landing of Apollo 11 on the moon and the successful return of astronauts Armstrong, Aldrin, and Collins to earth have been hailed throughout the world as evidence of the vitality and advanced state of American technology. There can be little doubt that this Nation's technological prowess has contributed greatly to the material well-being of the American population. However, lest we forget the other side of technology, we should remind ourselves of the growing social and economic costs imposed on our society by the failure to control those aspects of American technology that are polluting our air and water resources.

Medical costs to individual citizens and State and local governments are but the most obvious element of the cost of pollution. The despoliation of national recreational and ecological resources, while more subtle, is also proving to be expensive and difficult to reverse. Increasing waste and sewage problems in such major cities as New York pose yet another source of medical and environmental cost.

While the advance of pollution in the past few years is truly alarming, most environmental experts believe it is not too late to halt the destruction of our environment—if the Federal Government takes immediate steps to check pollution by industry and intiates comprehensive programs for reclaiming national resources already spoiled by pollution.

As Congress evaluates national priorities during the remainder of this session, it should be aware of the urgency of checking pollution. New weapons systems and military hardware, and adventurous plans to initiate a manned space flight to Mars cannot be allowed to take precedence over our problems on Earth. For what will it profit us to explore Mars if the result is the continued ignoring of the pollution of our own planet?

I am inserting in the RECORD two recent articles which explore the costs of escalating pollution and which outline the urgency of Federal action. One article, entitled "Museum Exhibit Shows Pollution Ruining World," is by Marquis Childs. The second, entitled "The Real Price of Pollution Hazards," by Elmer Roessner, explores the effects of unchecked pollution on public health.

As Marquis Childs says:

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 steps are being taken to reverse this trend. But as an answer to "Can Man Survive?" they are only the most tentative footprints in the wasteland.

I urge my colleagues to heed the urgency of checking pollution as Congress considers where to direct Federal spending during the current fiscal year.

The articles follow:

[From the New York Daily Column, July 2, 1969]

MUSEUM EXHIBIT SHOWS POLLUTION RUINING WORLD

(By Marquis Childs)

One of the city's great museums is the American Museum of Natural History. For its hundredth anniversary the museum has an exhibit that would have startled the daylights out of the supremely confident establishment figures who provided the millions for 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.

BEYOND FOOD SUPPLY

The consequences of the population explosion are shown in the dire 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. Teeming millions move before the camera looking like lemmings swayed by herd instinct.

In the latter part of the exhibit the sound track blares out the defiant words of the individualist challenging any restraints on the right to exploit air, earth or water falling under their domain.

"Why can't I do what I want to with my own land?" "Who's going to tell me how to run my plant?" "Why shouldn't we try to get ahead of the Russians?"

The overwhelming impact is of the destruction of the vital oxygen in the air and the fresh water essential to all animal and plant life.

UNDERMINING ELEMENTS

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 waste land.

The bureaucracies have been created in Washington to clean up the rivers and restore the balance in the polluted air of our cities. The Federal Water Pollution Control Adminstration is housed in the Department of Interior.

DRIVE FOR CLEANUP

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—Sen. 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 $124 million a year, which is the budgetary request, you can see how far we'll get in four years, as one of the workers in the vineyard put it.

Here in New York State the federal estimate is $1 billion. The state's own estimate is more than twice that amount.

THE REAL PRICE OF POLLUTION HAZARDS

(By Elmer Roessner)

You pay the price of environmental problems one way or another. If we do not act as a society to solve such environmental problems as air and water pollution, occupational and product hazards, contaminated food, etc., we will continue to pay a large bill in the form of medical costs, hospitals and other treatment facilities, warns Charles C. Johnson, Jr., administrator of the federal Consumer Protection and Environmental Health Service.

Businessmen, in fact, may pay doubly—both as employers and as individuals. For one reason, Johnson points out that the average worker currently loses seven work days yearly because of illness, some of which can be attributable to modern environmental hazards. Moreover, many thousands of productive people die prematurely or become disabled every year because of accidents, emphysema (a lung illness), cancer and other environmental increased causes of death.

The nation's medical bill is becoming enormous, not only because of environmental hazards, of course, but these are playing their part in pushing up health expenditures. We now spend about $53 billion a year to treat illness, and this expense has been rising by over 8 per cent a year since 1960, Johnson reports.

BUSINESS SUFFERS

Thus, businessmen suffer another loss there too. When medical costs take 7 to 8 percent of a moderate-income family's budget instead of the 5 to 6 percent that was typical a decade ago, there is less money available for other needs. A clothing or furniture store owner may not be more conscious of environmental hazards than other citizens, but he probably is even more affected.

Much of this spiraling expenditure and much of this sickness and loss of life is preventable, Johnson argues. The contributory relationships to specific diseases by various environmental hazards have been identified, he says.

The current health costs of air pollution alone are estimated at $4 billion per year. Absence from work because of illness and injury costs the nation $60 billion annually. Non-occupationally related accidents cause 104,000 deaths and 42.5 million injuries each year.

RESPIRATORY TROUBLES

Chronic respiratory disease, which in large measure can be associated with occupational conditions and air pollution, is the nation's second leading cause of disability," Johnson warns. Social Security disability payments to victims of this disease and their families total $90 million annually. Emphysema alone causes nearly 50,000 deaths per year.

Heart disease, attributable at least in part to the stresses of the modern environment, causes about 700,000 deaths annually. It is the leading cause of Social Security compensated disability, and costs the nation more than $25 billion each year.

Is much of this correctable? Johnson believes so. He feels that by applying nationally what is already known about controlling environmental hazards, much of the health damage he cites need not occur. The only question is, whether we spend the money to reduce some of these hazards or to treat people afterwards.

TEXAS HOUSEWIFE HONORED BY U.S. WEATHER BUREAU

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the Weather Bureau announced today that one of my constituents, Mrs. Veda C. Daugherty of Seymour, Tex., is to be given the John Campanius Holm Award.

This award will be given in recognition of Mrs. Daugherty's outstanding work as a volunteer weather observer. She is one of 25 people across the country to be so honored.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the U.S. Weather Bureau announcement of Mrs. Daugherty's award be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE,
Washington, D.C., September 4, 1969.

WASHINGTON.—In all extremes of weather, Mrs. Veda C. Daugherty, a Texas housewife, has conscientiously recorded and reported the weather observations in Seymour. Today the Department of Commerce's Environmental Science Services Administration (ESSA) announced that Mrs. Daugherty is one of 25 volunteer weather observers selected nationwide to receive the Weather Bureau's John Campanius Holm Award.

John Campanius Holm Awards, created in 1959 by ESSA's Weather Bureau, are made annually to honor volunteer observers for outstanding accomplishments in the field of meteorological observations. The award is named for a Lutheran minister who is the first person known to have taken systematic weather observations in the American colonies. In 1644 and 1645, the Reverend Holm made records of the climate, without the use of instruments, near the present site of Wilmington, Del.

During more than 43 years of loyal service in her role as volunteer observer in the Baylor County community. Mrs. Daugherty furnished daily information to the local newspaper, electric company, radio station, and the general public in a friendly and cooperative manner.

The Weather Bureau has more than 12,000 volunteer observers throughout the United States who make and record daily weather

observations. The information they gather is then processed and published by the Environmental Data Service, another ESSA component, and is invaluable in recording the Nation's climate.

AMERICAN TAXATION

HON. HENRY C. SCHADEBERG

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Speaker, during debate on the Tax Reform Act of 1969, I stated that my support of the bill was based on the understanding that Congress would go farther in an attempt to reach a new and equitable tax basis.

In view of my statement, I was pleased to receive during the August recess a statement on American taxation from my good friend, Dr. Miller Upton, president of Beloit College, Beloit, Wis., which outlines a tax overhaul program that should be given, in my opinion, serious congressional consideration.

Dr. Upton, a noted authority in the field of economics, has a deep background in the field of tax reform. He was one of the few individuals who testified before the Ways and Means Committee in opposition to the so-called Kennedy tax reduction in 1963 on the grounds that serious inflation would be the result. During 1959–60, he was the chairman of Governor Nelson's blue ribbon tax committee in Wisconsin.

The position which he presents in his statement is one of radical proportions. However, the end result is ultimate in its simplicity and is what we need if we are to be faithful to the twin tax objectives of equity and efficiency.

Mr. Speaker, Dr. Upton's position is based on three principles: First, all taxes must ultimately be paid out of individual wealth; second, for a given society there should be only one taxing authority; and third, equity can be assured only if the tax system is used strictly for revenue-producing purposes and not perverted to other political and economic ends. By adhering to these principles, we would eliminate the situation which today places the American taxpayer in jeopardy: where taxation is based upon benefit received rather than ability to pay, where any reduction in taxes paid the Federal Government will be negated by the municipal governments simply increasing its taxes and where the present tax system is a crazy quilt pattern with built-in contradictions, discrminatory provisions, and arbitrary allowances.

It is with great pleasure that I place this statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a means by which full and complete equity could be brought to the American people:

AMERICAN TAXATION—THE NEED FOR COMPLETE OVERHAUL, NOT ISOLATED REFORM

(By Miller Upton)

In my presentation to the House Ways and Means Committee on March 14, 1963, in opposition to the so-called Kennedy tax reduction on the grounds that it would inevitably lead to inflation rather than secular growth, I concluded with the following statement:

"As for our tax situation, we have reached the place where we must dispense with the use of patent medicines in the form of rate reductions and isolated amendments and resort to surgery in the form of a complete overhaul. Anything less than this will merely be temporizing and no worthwhile effect will be had on long-range economic development. Everyone who has given any serious consideration to the matter has had to admit that the present tax structure is a monstrous concoction without any governing rationale—a burdensome and ugly mass of unrelated accretions that have accumulated over time as an outgrowth of different political and emergency pressures. It can readily be shown to be inequitable, overly cumbersome, overly expensive to administer and a severe deterrent to economic vitality and growth and development.

"Although taxation is as old as human society, general reliance on the income tax is relatively new. Certainly it is new in this country. We have learned much from our experience over the past fifty years which we should draw upon in developing an entirely new tax structure. The present tax law should not be considered sacrosanct simply because it is the prevailing law. We should not allow ourselves to become enslaved by a monstrous creature which has been fashioned by the combining of separate and disparate acts designed to deal with immediate needs which vary with the passage of time.

"In the final analysis, tax reform is fundamentally simple if it originates from a real desire to deal with fiscal and economic realities and does not confuse the issue with political pressure. If the government would proceed in such reform on the known fact that all taxes, however called or however collected, must be paid out of individual income, a new structure could readily be developed which would be simple, direct, equitable, and efficient.

"Such fundamental reform should also reckon with the fact that in any society there should be only one taxing authority. The situation that prevails now with communities, states, and the Federal government vying with one another for the citizen's tax dollar is one of utter confusion and leaves the individual taxpayer a pawn that is pushed around rather callously by the separate governmental authorities, each passing the buck to the other. Either the Federal government should raise its revenue by an assessment on the individual states on the basis of each state's contribution to the national income, or it should become the central taxing authority and take care of the separate needs of the states. In keeping with the Federal character of our national governmental structure the assessment approach would be by all odds the better, but we seem to be drifting rather indifferently and dangerously toward the other.

"Certainly there would result from such a major overhaul a substantial amount of temporary disruption within the economy. Some businesses and business practices have come to be tied directly to the ramifications of the existing tax law. But to preserve a bad law to protect its economic spawn would be the height of irrationality. The economic disruption resulting from a complete tax overhaul would not last long, and the great benefits that would result to our society at large would be worth far more than the price of temporary inconvenience that would have to be paid."

I submit that this strong but not exaggerated statement is even more true today than it was six years ago and will become increasingly more accurate and demanding with the passing of each year. In view of the widespread and serious consideration being given to the tax structure at the present time it would seem that there has never been a more propitious time for facing realistically the need for complete overhaul and doing something about it. The need is too critical to lose the opportunity that exists now.

The point to be reckoned with is not that there is no need for the kinds of reform being given serious considerations by the Congress at the present time. To the contrary, the need for such reform for the sake of equity and efficiency is so intense and pervasive that isolated adjustments have the effect of mere tinkering rather than fundamental reform. True equity and efficiency can be achieved under existing circumstances only by a complete overhaul that starts from scratch. In the meantime we should stay with what we have, including the existing surtax, for the whole structure is so intertwined and confused it is impossible to determine or predict what the net effect of isolated tinkering will have upon the economy and the society in terms of tax incidence, tax incentives and revenue generation.

Any such complete overhaul should proceed with full adherence to three principles in particular. These are: (1) All taxes, however named or however imposed, must ultimately be paid out of individual wealth. (2) For a given society there should only be one taxing authority. And (3) equity can be assured only if the tax system is used strictly for revenue-producing purposes and not perverted to other political and economic ends.

In addition to these basic tax principles, any substantial overhaul must reckon with the basic equity value judgment to which our society seems to be increasingly committed that taxation should be based upon ability to pay rather than benefit received. What this means in particular is that the tax burden should be related to individual current income rather than accumulated wealth in any form. If accumulated personal wealth is to be tagged for social purposes. it should be done by inheritance taxation and not by by the current revenue producing system.

Both equity and efficiency, in other words, calls for a single, simple progressive tax on individual income. Only in this way can the incidence of the tax be readily determined and the revenue generation be readily and reasonably anticipated.

No tax system can be defended as either efficient or equitable if its incidence is unknown. That is why even the corporation income tax should be dispensed with in favor of the single progressive individual income tax. Reason supports the proposition that most corporation taxes are passed on to the individual by way of inclusion in its product price, but precise identification is impossible. And under those conditions of elastic demand for the product which may inhibit full recovery by way of the price, the tax becomes a tax on production and not income and therefore self-defeating.

Corporation income should be taxed the same as partnership income is now taxed, that is, identified with the individual owner and taxed as his personal income. Each corporation would certify to its per-share earnings for a given year and the individual stockholder would declare this as ordinary income. Although the point is disputed, such an approach could have by-product advantages for the economy in general in that it would provide a check on an individual management's decision to retain earnings for corporate purposes, and it would free the corporate form of business organization (one of man's greatest inventions) from irrational discriminatory treatment.

On the surface, excise taxes and use taxes of various sorts would seem to be the one justifiable exception to the single tax on

individual income. The incidence is clear and equity seems to be respected. But closer scrutiny brings to light the illusory nature of such thinking. Certainly the user of the toll road is not the sole beneficiary of such. Immoderation in general is a greater social evil than a particular item of consumption per se. And one man's luxury may well be another man's necessity. In fact, we are well acquainted with historical validation of the dictum that today's luxury *is* tomorrow's necessity. Excise taxes rely upon a morass of value judgments that make equity indeterminate and therefore should be no part of a straightforward revenue-producing system.

In support of the principle that for a given society there should be only one taxing authority, it would seem only proper in our country for this to be the individual state, since it is legally the sovereign power. But aside from the fact that the Federal constitution specifically grants the Federal government the right to tax directly and not rely solely on an assessment of the individual states, the dominant trend in our society over recent decades, particularly as regards taxation, has been toward centralization of governmental authority in general to the point that reliance upon a system of state assessment by the Federal government would be anachronistic. Furthermore, centralizing the taxing authority with the Federal government avoids the danger of duplicate taxation of a given individual's income by separate states and the possible development of "border taxes," such as sales taxes imposed by a state to raise revenue from the "foreign" tourist. Such reasoning constitutes a shift from the position I used to hold.

Clearly the Federal government is without authority to require the sovereign states to give up their taxing authority, but a system that would enable states and municipalities to raise their revenue needs by latching on to the Federal tax would have great appeal to these governmental units on the basis of economy, certainty and equity. Instead of participating in some inescapably involved sharing formula, each state and municipality would be authorized to establish a tax rate of its own to be added to the Federal rate and collected by the Federal government. For example, an individual citizen living in New York City might have his income subject to a Federal rate, or a New York State rate and a New York City rate, all applicable to the one income figure and all collected by the U.S. Internal Revenue Service. Funds thus collected by the Federal government on behalf of the State governments would be turned over to them, and they in turn would be responsible for making the distributions to their respective local governments. Each governmental authority would receive a copy of each of its citizen's tax reports for checking and control.

Under such a system there would be no need for local property taxes. Renters and property owners would be treated equally on the basis of ability to pay. But absentee property owners would be subject to local tax rates wherever they own property as well as where they reside.

Where our taxing authorities have been most negligent in the past is in violation of the principle that the tax system should be used strictly for revenue-producing purposes and not perverted to other political and economic ends. These ends should be sought directly and not via special tax allowances. Failure to be faithful to this principle is what has produced so much of our crazy quilt pattern with built-in contradictions, discriminatory provisions and arbitrary allowances. The raising or lowering of the tax burden in general for purposes of fiscal policy is not a case in point. It does not modify the internal aspects of the law.

The goal of equity as represented by ability to pay can only be approached by a progressive rate schedule applied to a uniform definition of income. Clearly it is impossible to promote general equity on an individualized basis, and the governmental authority should not be placed in the compromising position of trying to do so. It is enough that the tax be equitable; to expect it to compensate for all the existing inequities in life is totally unrealistic. A Christian Scientist can make a strong case for an educational allowance in place of a medical allowance. And the excessive medical payments of a hypochondriac clearly should not be subsidized by other citizens. Nor should profligate use of credit be rewarded by the interest thereon being allowed as an income deduction.

The size of one's family, furthermore, should be looked upon as one of life's personal decisions for which one accepts responsibility, and it should not be a tax consideration. Those who choose in favor of a small family on the grounds of economic responsibility should not be penalized in favor of those who prefer large families. If family welfare is involved it should be handled directly by a special private or governmental program designed to deal with the problem on the basis of its individual nature. The very allowance for dependents in income calculation requires a definition of the term that in the final analysis must be arbitrary. And the amount to allow for dependents so defined is bound to be arbitrary in the ultimate.

Each governmental authority should determine its level of service and then raise the needed revenues in the most direct, efficient and equitable fashion possible. It can only do this if it keeps its revenue system free of contamination from diverse political economic and social objectives. (Again, fiscal policy excepted.)

Once having provided for the calculation of an individual's tax liability in this straightforward fashion there should be opportunity for a tax credit based upon the individual having voluntarily taxed himself. Two principles are involved here. One is that private initiative and philanthropy is the cornerstone of a free society. The other is that government in a free society should only undertake those services which its individual citizens are either unable or unwilling to do on their own initiative. Contributions by private citizens to finance needed social services, therefore, constitute a form of voluntary tax and should be allowed as a credit against their individual tax liabilities up to a fixed limit.

One final matter remaining for consideration is the implication of this approach to the capital gains tax. Since total individual income each year will be subject to tax whether realized in cash or not, separate taxation of appreciation could constitute double taxation and therefore an inequity. To the extent that appreciation in an individual case is in excess of the accumulated earnings retained plus any factor of monetary inflation, taxation of this additional income can be justified. The most defensible approach would be to reckon it as a discounted value of future earnings and prorate it to current income over an arbitrary period of time into the future, such as ten years.

The aim of this paper, however, is not to submit in definitive form a total tax revenue structure. Such is beyond the capability of any one individual. Rather, the purpose is to try to establish in broad outline form the basic approach that must be taken to achieve the kind of complete overhaul that is called for at the present time. As long as we continue to temporize and tinker with what is obviously an inefficient, inequitable, overly cumbersome and outmoded tax structure we will merely be compounding our difficulties, aggravating our dissensions and prolonging our self-made suffering. Simple logic insists that our society will have to come eventually to some straightforward revenue system as described herein. Why not now?

THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, an editorial concerning the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was published in the Orlando Sentinel during the August congressional adjournment.

This objective review of the law by the editorial is one which everyone could benefit from reading, for it plucks the heart of the matter from the midst of the political pandemonium that presently abounds the issue. The editor calls the opponents of the new voting act to task by expressing his failure to comprehend how the "northern liberals" can resist the program promoted by the Nixon administration, unless their purpose is not what they maintain it to be, but rather is purely a vindictive effort to politically punish a geographic region of this country.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial entitled "Voting Rights Not Regional Matter But One of Concern to Entire Nation" be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

VOTING RIGHTS NOT REGIONAL MATTER BUT ONE OF CONCERN TO ENTIRE NATION

The 1965 Voting Rights Act expires this year. Whether to extend the present act another five years or write a new one is one of the many chores before Congress.

New legislation recommended by President Nixon is the best and fairest answer, for the present act was designed by the Johnson Administration for the sole purpose of giving the federal government control over the election machinery of the Southern states for political manipulation.

We have to agree with Sen. Strom Thurmond when he says the 1965 act "was an example of punitive, special interest politics designed to impose federal controls only upon seven Southern states."

Under the 1965 act, state election laws were suspended, federal registrars were sent to register voters including illiterates, and new state laws or regulations were forbidden without the prior assent of the U.S. attorney general.

Under this act, a state is presumed guilty of discrimination if less than 50 per cent of the total voting age population was registered to vote, or voted, in the November 1964 election. This law makes the presumption that there is a reasonable relationship between the number of registered voters and the number who actually vote. It further presumes that the exclusion of illiterates from voting is also proof of discrimination.

Congress should allow this act to expire and write a new one such as the administration bill, S. 2507, designed to put the whole country on the same footing. In testimony before the Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights, Atty. Gen. John Mitchell said, "We have come to the firm conclusion that voting rights is no longer a regional issue. It is a national concern for every American which must be treated on a nationwide basis."

We can see no quarrel with this and we

don't understand how Northern liberals can continue to oppose broadening of the voting rights bill to include their own states as well as the South.

If their concern is with voting rights and not with punishing the South, then they should not object to federal observers and examiners in their own districts or the Nixon provision that provides for the investigation of voting frauds without regard to geographic location. Neither should they object to the new bill's plan to return to the states the power to pass election laws without first getting the permission of the attorney general.

After all, this is a power guaranteed by their state constitutions as well as the U.S. Constitution.

CLINTON RIVER CLEANUP

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, sometimes we seem to believe that the gradual deterioration of our environment is inevitable.

We see the air getting murkier, our water dirtier, and urban sprawl devouring our precious open space.

But the people of Macomb County have refused to accept this premise.

Early this month, several thousand persons gathered on a drizzly Saturday morning to clear out a river nearly strangled by debris.

The waterway is the Clinton, which flows through Macomb County on the northern suburban fringe of Metropolitan Detroit.

Three decades ago the Clinton was a peaceful, lovely stream meandering through rural countryside, but development and man's carelessness, had turned it into a polluted, debris-jammed watercourse.

That was before Saturday, August 16, when the Sterling Heights Clinton River cleanup went into operation.

By the time darkness fell the next day, some 12,000 tons of debris was cleared from an 11-mile stretch of the Clinton where it flows through Sterling Heights.

Sterling Heights Councilman Al Martin, who headed the committee which meticulously planned the operation, estimated that the task was 80 percent completed that first weekend. Then he asked for volunteers to finish the job the following weekend. Several hundred returned that Saturday, and again the following day.

When they stopped work at sunset, Sunday, August 24, the Clinton was cleared in Sterling Heights, with a wide path almost the whole length of the stream within the city.

The Sterling Heights effort followed a similar operation earlier this year in the lower stretches of the river near where it flows into Lake St. Clair.

I think the project stands as a fine example of what determined citizens can do when they refuse to accept the inevitability of a river's death, and devote time and muscle to saving it.

Mr. Speaker, the story has been well told by the area news media, and I insert articles and editorials from the Macomb Daily, the Utica Sentinel, and the Detroit News in the RECORD:

[From the Daily Sentinel]

FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW

The initial effort in behalf of cleaning the Clinton River in Sterling Heights has been completed and although all the results are not in it must be deemed a success in most respects.

The job was a big one indeed. An estimated 12,000 tons of debris was cleared from the shoreline and the river bottom. If you stop for a moment and put a little mathematical (old math) science to the figure you come up with 24,000,000 pounds which is a big mess in anybody's book.

It was a little disheartening early Saturday morning as the rains persisted and for a while it appeared work would be severely limited. Those who were there and worked despite the rain deserve special credit for their efforts.

Two facts stand out vividly from last weekend's work.

Community pride is not a forgotten item.

The Clinton River was pretty clogged.

Observers from around the state and outside of Michigan couldn't help but be impressed with the attitude and work ability of those who headed the cleanup and those who toiled throughout the hours. The story of how a city helped itself will no doubt be told across the land.

In today's age we are drawn by many magnets. The fast pace, especially in suburban areas, leaves little time. The impotrance of one's job, recreational pursuits that take us to distant points and other such magnets draw heavily upon our time. With these in mind it is gratifying to know that so many people did care about their city.

There could have been more local representation. No doubt the weather played a major role in this respect. However, those who did respond gave Sterling Heights a highly rated reputation.

Those who came to our city from elsewhere also deserve a special recognition. Many of them will never use the river they helped to clean. It was a gesture of neighborliness which is too often forgotten.

The businesses and firms that lent time and equipment can never be praised enough. Their efforts, rounded off, would amount to about $100,000 if the work was done on a contract basis.

The Sterling Heights Rotary club, which initiated the project, is also due for a vote of thanks. Through the club and its members who headed the project, we are well on the way to enjoying a recreational facility that just a short time ago was a subject for derision.

But all in all, the real credit goes to those who came out to help. The willingness, desire and ability cannot be measured.

The residents of Sterling Heights and the surrounding area owe a debt of gratitude for this effort. We join with the area citizenry in commending the cleanup project.

There still remains some work to be done and if you missed last weekend's cleanup then we hope you'll be able to participate in the final stages which could not be accomplished last Saturday and Sunday.

We have seen what community effort can do. We have also seen that others care . . . now let's finish the job and we can do it with your help.

[From the Detroit News, Aug. 22, 1969]

A NEW DAY FOR THE CLINTON?

Not many of us can remember when the Clinton River was a thing of beauty, meandering peacefully across Oakland and Macomb counties to Lake St. Clair.

For too long the Clinton has been an open sewer and dumping ground for abandoned cars and other junk. No one cared; it was just a ditch, a malodorous one, one people did not even want to think about.

But an aroused group of citizens, first in the Mt. Clemens area and now upstream in Sterling Township, have taken matters in their own hands, starting the badly needed cleanup.

Tons and tons of junk and debris have been pulled out of the river and hauled away. The shoreline is being spruced up in these sections much to the envy of neighboring communities.

The shoreline and the river look so good that people are even beginning to talk about it in terms of camping, canoeing and picnicking! Hopefully the cleanup movement will spread along the full length of this God-given waterway so that it may be returned to its original beauty.

[From the Daily Sentinel, Aug. 18, 1969]

CLEANUP

(By Joe Cisneros)

The Clinton River in Sterling Heights has a new look today.

It was attacked over the weekend. And the results are impressive.

An estimated 12,000 tons of debris, mostly huge logs, were hauled from the 10-mile section of the Clinton which winds through the year-old city.

The swift waters of the Clinton may never be pure enough again to swim in, but a giant stride in that direction was taken as man and machine combined to achieve a majority of the goals of the Clinton River cleanup effort.

Hundreds of volunteers chipped in Saturday and Sunday to insure a successful project, even though periods of heavy rain fell Saturday.

Despite the dangers involved in the project, only minor injuries were reported. City police and trained first aid personnel stood by at headquarters to assist with injuries, which mostly were scrapes and bruises.

For the most part, heavy equipment was operated by persons in the construction field. This factor added to the safe operation of the huge cranes and other equipment, project planners believe.

"Under the circumstances, I think it was extremely successful," Al Martin said as the volunteers were preparing to stop work Sunday evening after 12 hours of work for the second consecutive day in less than ideal conditions.

Martin, a city councilman, headed the planning for the cleanup, which started as a project of the Sterling Heights Rotary Club, but later became the pet of the Clinton River Cleanup Committee.

"I'm awfully proud of the people. I can't say enough for everyone's effort," Martin continued. "I particularly admire the youngsters, the boys and girls from various youth organizations; and the women who worked up to their necks in water."

About three months in the planning, the ambitious project won national attention.

Crews from the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and Look Magazine were among the news teams which converged on the scene over the weekend.

Both NBC and Look were interested in the project from the aspect of the community's determination to help rid the river of pollution, it was understood.

The river was divided into 12 sections for planning purposes, and the cleanup was completed at all but two of the sections when work was halted at 7 p.m. Sunday, according to Martin.

Work on these two sections was delayed because of the hard downpour on Saturday, which made it impossible for heavy equipment to move about in one area, and because of time lost due to difficulty in obtaining diesel fuel for the heavy equipment after the supply was used up Sunday afternoon, Martin said.

Left largely untouched because of the

sloppy conditions following Saturday's rain was section 12, near the easterly limits of the city.

Martin said it was his intention to suggest that the cleanup efforts be continued next weekend, to complete the estimated 20 per cent of the project left undone.

"We came so close to completing everything," he said.

It was a united effort.

An estimated 1,000 volunteers turned out Saturday before the rains hit. Some thought was given to cancelling the project then, but it wasn't to be that way.

"We came very close to cancelling after the rains came," Martin said. "I left it up to the section leaders, and wherever they could, they kept going. They felt the cause was so worthwhile that nothing could stop them."

The ranks of volunteers swelled to 1,000 or more on Sunday, too, after a slow start. In some instances, entire families turned out.

Volunteers signed up were from at least 25 different communities, many not even in Macomb County.

While individual efforts were tremendous, planners of the cleanup stressed that the results could never have been achieved without the heavy equipment that was pressed into service.

An estimated 200 pieces of heavy equipment, like cranes capable of lifting more than 25 tons, and bulldozers were made available by contractors, according to Richard Mancini, a cochairman of the heavy equipment committee.

"It was fantastic and beyond our fondest expectations," Mancini said of the cooperation extended by contractors in voluntary supplying equipment and manpower for the two day effort.

"The cooperation of area contractors was really great," added Mancini.

Mancini, himself, a contractor and a supplier of equipment, estimated it would have cost in the neighborhood of $100,000 to rent the equipment that was made available for the close to 24 hours of actual work on the river.

The amount of debris pulled from the river and from adjacent floodplains was estimated at 12,000 tons by Mancini.

One huge tree pulled from a completely submerged position on the bottom of the river was estimated to be 60 feet long and about 20 feet in width at the bottom where the roots hung like huge, ugly tentacles.

Some trees were so huge that a long flatbed trailer could haul only one away at a time. Men worked neck-deep in the water with gasoline-powered chainsaws to cut off sections of fallen trees so that they could be reduced to a size that could be managed by the cranes and other equipment.

Both men and machines groaned to accomplish the task.

Any volunteers who received a cut, scratch, or other injury which would require receiving a tetanus shot while working on the Clinton River cleanup over the weekend should contact their personal physician, Al Martin, who headed the project, urged today.

Persons requiring such treatment may be reimbursed for the costs involved by contacting the Clinton River Cleanup committee, if they wish, Martin said.

Feeding hungry workers was in itself a sizeable task. Women volunteers used a reported 500 pounds of ham and 700 loaves of bread to make some 5,000 sandwiches, a majority of which were consumed.

Women in private vehicles braved roads, hacked from thick underbrush in some cases, to get the food and drink to workers along the river. Their efforts were lauded by cleanup planners.

One of the score of women who delivered food and drinks like milk and orange juice was Mrs. Joseph Steinmetz of Sterling Heights.

"They were very glad to see us and very thirsty," Mrs. Steinmetz described the reaction of the workers when the food arrived. "The thirst, I think that was the biggest problem."

The tab for a sizeable portion of the food and beverages was picked up by the UAW. However, individual firms also donated. Like Sanders Restaurant in the Sterling Shopping Center, which dispatched its mobile canteen to dispense an estimated 4,000-5,000 cups of free coffee to volunteers at Dodge Park, No. 8, which served as campaign headquarters.

It was from the park complex that the several facets of the cleanup were coordinated.

With workers strung out along a 10-mile section, communications were an important part of the project.

The communications system was supplied and operated by the Radio Emergency Associates Citizens Team (REACT) of Sterling, Shelby and Utica. Along with a handful of citizen band operators, the REACT members supplied 30 mobile units, and 25 walkie-talkie units in addition to coordinating communications from the base station housed in a mobile home at the park.

"We are just a group of citizens who live in this area. We are here when people need us," said Mrs. Bill Young, the wife of the president of the REACT team, and one of the two women who maintained the base station for 12 hours each day. The other cheerful voice going out regularly from the base station belonged to Mrs. Robert Hicks, the wife of the vice-president of the REACT club.

"There was a job to be done and anyone who had a radio was put to work," said Young of the group's effort.

"It was our intention to involve the community on an overall basis, and this I think we've done," Martin said after the work was secured late Sunday.

A picnic will be held Aug. 30 at Dodge Park for the purpose of recognizing individual and group efforts during the planning for the cleanup and during the two days, Martin said. Certificates of appreciation will be issued, he said.

While the cleanup was successful in many ways, it was not a complete success financially, despite the fact that more than $6,000 in donations has rolled in.

"I would say that we are in debt a couple of thousand dollars, maybe more," Martin said.

Cannisters left in city business places will be collected at the end of the month, and some additional funds are expected from this source.

One of the goals of the committee was to turn over funds to the city for the maintenance of a canoe rental facility, now that the Clinton is navigable again.

This project apparently will not become a reality in the immediate future.

However, committee members expressed satisfaction with the overall efforts.

[From the Macomb Daily, Aug. 16, 1969]

MEN, MACHINERY ATTACK CLINTON RIVER

(By Cathie Misch)

STERLING HEIGHTS.—A mammoth work force of men and machinery tackled an 11-mile section of the debris-strewn, polluted Clinton River as the Sterling Heights' Clinton River Clean-Up plowed into its first day of action.

"So far it looks good," said Al Martin, Clean-Up Committee chairman, shortly after the work crews started their arduous task at 7 a.m. today. "We have deployed our section leaders and communications people from the Sterling Heights-Utica-Shelby REACT group. We definitely think we'll have 2,000 people out here today and are hoping for more."

Martin said persons wanting to help in this civic project should come to staging area at Dodge Park No. 8 located on Utica Road near 17 Mile Road.

The clean-up got a big boost in the final days of preparations as General Motors donated a check for $1,000; Standard Oil donated all gas and the Chateau Estates Mobile Home Park kicked in another $455.

The Chateau Estates donation came as matching funds. About half was donated by residents; the other half from the owners of the park.

With food donated by the UAW and most of the equipment rounded up by the Associated Underground Contractors, the committee saw itself in good shape at a final meeting Thursday night.

In addition, Ford Motor Car Co. donated $1,100 and the committee leased a Marsh screw amphibious vehicle from the Navy.

The experimental vehicle, developed by Chrysler, was used as the command vehicle for the operation.

Heavy equipment, recruitment tents, first aid stations and the like began moving into the ten-mile-long area Friday afternoon.

Representatives of State and national press—including NBC and Look Magazine—were on hand as the work got underway.

Work will continue tomorrow again beginning at 7 a.m. Workers assigned to specific sections will report to them without going to the staging area at Dodge Park No. 8.

Among the people who donated their time were four nuns who worked as baby-sitters at Stevenson High School. The gym there was obtained for that purpose through the cooperation of Utica Community Schools Supt. Phillip Runkel.

Again, the committee and the police urge everyone to follow safety rules and not to work at something with which they are unfamiliar.

Though the actual clean-up started shortly after daybreak today members of the forestry crew of the Huron Clinton Metropolitan Authority completed clearing of river frontage along the river Friday. The HCMA crew had been working along the river for two weeks.

Friday's effort by the Authority forestry crew found them working about 1¼ miles from the junction of the Clinton River along Riverland Drive between Van Dyke Highway and Clinton River Road.

James Smith, field landscape architect for the authority, has been in charge of the HCMA crews which used all kinds of heavy equipment to help cut and haul out logs from the Clinton River and drag them ½ mile or more to be piled up.

The area in which they have been working looked like one vast wilderness with only a narrow road scarred by brush and roots leading to the key spots for river clean-up.

Smith noted that this effort has been most worthwhile and hopes that sometime soon the Clinton River will become a new source of recreation for many Macomb County area residents.

No official figures on the exact number of participants will be available until early next week. However, prior to this morning, some 450 people had signed up and been assigned to the various clean-up sections. Another 150 employes of construction firms came to operate the heavy equipment.

[From the Macomb Daily, Aug. 15, 1969]

STERLING CLINTON CLEANUP FORCE BRACES FOR ACTION

(By Cathie Misch)

STERLING HEIGHTS.—Tomorrow we find out.

Tomorrow we find out if all the speeches, the rhetoric, the tsk-tsking, hand-wringing and head shaking are all just gestures or we find out if people really do care.

Tomorrow is Sat. Aug. 16, 1969. At 7 a.m. the two-day clean-up of the Clinton River in Sterling Heights get underway.

Three months of planning will be for nothing if the people of Macomb County turn their backs on their filthy, unsightly backyard—the Clinton River.

Everybody has read about and seen pictures of America the polluted. They've seen their government creak along in its rusty

fashion, too slow to move; often too late when it does.

And that is part of the reason for this week-end's effort. To show the far-off bureaucrats that people do care and if they won't move the people will.

Clean-up chairman Al Martin has aimed for nation-wide publicity on this local effort. He and the members of the clean-up committee hope that communities throughout the nation will take encouragement from this effort and initiate their own local clean-ups.

All kinds of people have been involved so far, from top executives in business to their usually arch foes—top union leaders.

Factory workers, city officials, policemen, housewives and teenagers have put in hours and hours on their own time, at their own expense.

One of the biggest helping hands has come from the Boy Scouts. Typical is 15 year-old Russ Arrand of 43270 O'Hara Circle. He has helped out at the clean-up headquarters and elsewhere as he also works for his Eagle Badge.

Two Shelby Township sisters Annette, 15, and Laurie Rivaud, 17, have been working long hours at the headquarters typing and mailing and so forth.

The only paid employe of the committee Lois Tyson, a secretary, has worked many hours of overtime without compensation.

Chairman Al Martin himself has been working full-time taking time from his regular job as a salesman.

Each volunteer has fitted himself into the niche where his talents could best serve the real purpose of all this cleaning up the Clinton.

This weekend the same theme will be followed. You don't have to know anything about a river to help clean it. Just by helping pass out food, or taking names, or carrying a water bucket will be helping.

If you have a skill like knowing how to operate heavy equipment you are needed. If you like children you could help out by babysitting and you are needed.

The section of the river to be cleaned is in Sterling Heights but the river affects each and everyone in Macomb County whether directly or indirectly.

Someday if the hopes of many are fulfilled its banks will be suitable for hiking, picnicking and camping; it's waters for fishing and canoeing.

That the people of the county could have such a bonus so close at hand is entirely possible. But it means that we must start now.

It means that we must continue today and tomorrow here, throughout the county and throughout the nation.

[From the Daily Sentinel]

FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW

Only a few hours remain between now and the start of the Clinton River Cleanup in Sterling Heights. Presently the huge machine, made up of people, plans and equipment, is swinging into force as last minute details, assignments and coordinations are being completed.

There is, however, still time for you to join this huge effort. A number of area residents have already come forth to volunteer their services but there is a need for more.

Recently the nation was prodded to a sense of pride with the achievements of the astronauts in their lunar expedition. In a more localized way, we can also enjoy this sense of pride. In comparison, the Clinton Cleanup is as important to our vicinity as the space trip was to the nation as a whole.

Although we are the one's who will benefit in the future from this project it is receiving national and statewide acclaim. At least two national magazines will be covering the project as well as Detroit television and radio and several newspapers from outside the area. Officials from government and conservation will also be on hand this weekend. In addition, countless others will be watching the outcome.

The river cleanup earlier this year and this weekend's efforts will no doubt set a trend that other communities will follow. It offers a personal pride to know that our community is a pacesetter.

The feelings of some fellow residents is best expressed in the below "Letter to the Editor" which we received Thursday:

"To the EDITOR:

"For the first time in more years than I care to say we went for a much needed and deserved vacation. A week was all we felt we could take.

"We went up north to canoe on the Au Sable River and to walk over the nature trails, all of it unspoiled and clean. Coming back it struck me we could have the same thing here in Sterling Heights.

"Do you know, if all the good people of Sterling Heights come forward next Saturday and Sunday, Aug. 16 and 17, to help in the Clinton River Cleanup, we will have our own 'Au Sable River' and nature trails and picnic grounds.

"Our senior citizens and junior citizens and the smaller frys need and should have a 'close-to-home' spot to enjoy.

"Mrs. U.P."

This is the response of a Sterling Heights family that is interested in the community, its future and its citizens.

We'd like to feel that you think the same way and we hope that you'll have some part in the Clinton Cleanup this weekend.

[From the Macomb Daily]

HELP FOR THE CLINTON—POURING RAIN OR NO

Some 900 persons demonstrated over the weekend that they care about their environs.

They cared enough to brave a steady downpour which hampered work but not enthusiasm Saturday in cleaning up that portion of the Clinton River as it wends through Sterling Heights. Under more favorable conditions, they returned to the job Sunday.

During the two days, some 400 truckloads (about 12,000 tons) of debris were carted away.

Next Saturday, these interested citizens—ranging from oldsters to teens, officials and "just plain Joes"—will return to the scene to complete the job.

Commenting on the project, Ray Filipchuk, director of public services for Sterling Heights and one of the work coordinators, said:

"It was amazing, the cooperation of the people who had the equipment and volunteered . . . the people who came out, some of the things they did . . . it was amazing."

In this age of self-indulgence and lack of concern for the other guy, it is indeed "amazing" as well as heartwarming and encouraging that so many will turn out on a miserable day to participate voluntarily in a community project.

TEXAN HONORED BY U.S. WEATHER BUREAU

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, the Weather Bureau announced today that one of my constituents, Mr. Edwin Ramey of Dimmitt, Tex., is to be given the John Campanius Holm Award.

This award will be given in recognition of Mr. Ramey's outstanding work as a volunteer weather observer. He is one of the 25 people across the country to be so honored.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the U.S. Weather Bureau announcement of Mr. Ramey's award be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Washington, D.C., September 4, 1969.

WASHINGTON.—Edwin Ramey of Dimmitt, Texas, a volunteer weather observer for the Weather Bureau since 1923, has been selected to receive the John Campanius Holm Award, according to the Environmental Science Services Administration (ESSA) of the Department of Commerce.

John Campanius Holm Awards, created in 1959 by ESSA's Weather Bureau, are made annually to honor volunteer observers for outstanding accomplishments in the field of meteorological observations. The award is named for a Lutheran minister who is the first person known to have taken systematic weather observations in the American colonies. In 1644 and 1645, the Reverend Holm made records of the climate, without the use of instruments, near the present site of Wilmington, Del.

Ramey, a retired farmer and rancher, was cited for over 46 years of dedicated public service. His official record of weather observations is complete since the establishment of the station in April 1923. Even before that date, he was taking unofficial rainfall measurements as far back as 1911.

The Weather Bureau has more than 12,000 volunteer observers throughout the United States who make and record daily weather observations. The information they gather is processed and published by the Environmental Data Service, another ESSA component, and is invaluable in recording the climate of the Nation. Like many of these observers, Ramey serves without pay.

EDITORS URGE ATLANTIC UNION

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Packet and Times of Orillia, Ontario, and the Christian Science Monitor have recently carried editorials urging action on the Atlantic Union Resolution, House Concurrent Resolution 283, now pending before the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Here are the texts of these excellent statements:

[From the Orilla (Ontario), Packet and Times, Aug. 14, 1969]

CAN CONGRESS VISUALIZE ATLANTIC UNION POTENTIAL

A resolution now pending in the United States Congress may have more bearing on prospects for war or peace, and indeed on the ultimate destiny of mankind than any other single piece of legislation of modern times. A resolution, supported by more than 70 members of both parties in the U.S. House of Representatives, asks that a commission be appointed to explore with other Atlantic nations, the long-range possibilities of federation. Simply this, and nothing more; yet this apparently routine piece of legislation contains the seeds which could grow into a federation of the great free nations, giving

freedom a single, supra-national entity which could ensure freedom's survival against any odds, and making large-scale international war virtually impossible.

For more than 30 years the great foreign correspondent and crusader Clarence Streit has campaigned for union of the great free nations of the Atlantic—the United States, Canada, Great Britain and Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, France and perhaps others—as the one sure means of ensuring the survival of those free institutions which they all share. Today, at long last, the idea of federal union of the Atlantic nations may now be approaching its time.

The idea has gained growing support in influential political circles on both sides of the Atlantic, in recent years. President Nixon has endorsed the resolution, just as did his opponents, Hubert Humphrey and Senator Eugene McCarthy. Robert Kennedy was an enthusiastic supporter, and so were President Eisenhower, Barry Goldwater, Nelson Rockefeller, and such European leaders as Maurice Schumann, French foreign minister, and the heads of government in every Atlantic capital.

The potential benefits of such a federal union of all the Atlantic free states would be profound indeed; world peace and a mighty voice for freedom, and the sharing and preservation of laws ensuring individual freedom, guaranteed by overwhelming force.

Yet despite the impressive bipartisan support for the current resolution before Congress, and its breath-catching potential benefits, its passage is by no means certain. Fiercely-held and ingrained suspicions of any yielding of U.S. national sovereignty still govern the attitudes of a great number of Congressmen, and to even explore a proposal which might make the U.S. merely a part of a huge Atlantic state made up of many federated nation-states would be too daring a venture for many parochial minds.

We in the free world beyond the borders of the U.S. can only hold our breath and hope that the tremendous prospects the resolution holds for all mankind may kindle the imaginations of every congressman, and so secure the endorsation of the mightiest democracy on earth.

[From the Christian Science Monitor]

EXPLORING ATLANTIC UNION—BIPARTISAN HOUSE RESOLUTION LIVENS IDEA OF GREATER INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

(By Erwin D. Canham)

"An idea whose time has come" is the powerful thought, paraphrased from Victor Hugo, often used by politicians to justify supporting something that has long lain dormant.

There is some evidence to believe that the idea of federal union of the Atlantic nations may be now approaching its time.

That is to say, nobody expects that federal union is an early likelihood. But what is more seriously considered than ever before is the resolution supported by a bipartisan group of 70 members of the United States House of Representatives to appoint a commission to explore with other Atlantic nations the long-range possibilities of federation.

The idea of federal union as an ultimate basis of international action and peace-keeping has been actively promoted for the last 30 years by one of the most dedicated crusaders alive, Clarence Streit. He published the book "Union Now" in 1939, after almost two decades as a distinguished foreign correspondent for the New York Times.

He has been supported by some of the most eminent public figures in the Western world. The resolution now pending in Congress was endorsed eloquently in 1968 by Richard Nixon. His 1968 opponent, Hubert Humphrey, and Senator Eugene McCarthy were long supporters of the idea.

The present chairmen of the Republican and Democratic National Committees are advocates of the exploration of Atlantic union. So was Robert F. Kennedy. So was President Eisenhower. So were Barry Goldwater and Nelson Rockefeller. So have been many outstanding European leaders, notably including Maurice Schumann, now French Foreign Minister. . . .

Actually, all that is proposed is to examine carefully whether the present allies of the Atlantic could co-operate any more closely to work out terms of economic and political peace. The proposed federation would correlate with the European Common Market, but not replace it.

Richard Nixon in 1966 had this to say: "It is fitting that the United States, the world's first truly federal government, should be a main force behind the effort to find a basis for a broad federation of free Atlantic nations. Although the accomplishment of the ultimate goal of the resolution may well be impossible to attain for many years, recent events of history and numerous scientific and technological advances of the past 20 years point the way in this direction."

The resolution itself commits the nation only to explore. As the sponsors point out, during the years since World War II, the U.S. Government has spent nearly a trillion dollars seeking national military solutions to problems which are scarcely military. Little time and energy has been spent in projecting other roads to peace.

When will responsible governments lift their gaze from armaments and static conceptions and consider new-old paths to peace?

RICHES FOUND IN POOR NATIONS

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, as I have pointed out on a number of occasions, the work of the United Nations development program, headed by the able Paul Hoffman, has been attempting to accelerate the development of economically emerging nations. The process is slow and arduous, yet at times there are signs of visible progress. A recent article in the Washington Post describes how the survey function of the United Nations development program has led to discoveries of natural resources, hitherto unknown, that will contribute to the development of some foreign nations.

I recommend this article to the reader of the RECORD and include it at this point:

RICHES FOUND IN POOR NATIONS

(By Robert H. Estabrook)

UNITED NATIONS.—Dramatic new natural resource discoveries hold the promise of creating viable economies in some of the world's hitherto poorest countries, according to officials working with international development programs here.

The conspicuous example is Somalia, where revenues from uranium and other rare earths may bring wealth similar to that in oil-rich Libya.

A few years ago the 2.5 million people of Somalia, many of them nomads, had a per capita income of only $62. The principal known resources of this new country larger than France, on the northeast horn of Africa, were mediocre iron and gypsum deposits and meerschaum use for pipes.

But early in 1968 Prime Minister Mohamed Egal announced that a survey by the U.N. Development Program had found one of the world's largest known stores of uranium. It also found yttrium, a scarce metal used, among other purposes, for color television—and selling for $92 a pound.

Now the government has granted uranium extraction concessions to groups from the United States, West Germany and Italy, on terms that promise a handsome income. Paradoxically, the U.N. team had a Soviet director and was largely made up of Soviet geologists. The uranium will be used to fuel nuclear reactors and reportedly will meet the needs of Japan.

Along with Libya, which two decades ago was a seemingly hopelessly impoverished North African kingdom, oil has fabulously enriched such improbable countries as Abu Dhabi. On a per capita basis, the 46,000 inhabitants of this sheikhdom on the Trucial Coast of the Arabian Peninsula are among the wealthiest in the world.

But completely apart from the riches bestowed on a fortunate few by the oil companies, broader-based surveys conducted under the U.N. Development Program have brought new hope to many marginal economies.

Discoveries of managenese, phosphates and iron ore open practical sources of revenue for Upper Volta, which had a per capita income of only $44 in 1966.

High-quality iron ore found in Guinea (per capita income $93 in 1966) and Liberia ($154 in 1966) is said to test better than that in Sweden. In Togo (per capita income $72 in 1966), supplies of dolomite make possible building-stone exports.

El Salvador's (per capita income $245 in 1967) geothermal power potential based on new discoveries is said to rival that of New Zealand. Some persons compare the possibility of cheap electric power for Central America to that introduced by the Tennessee Valley Authority in the United States.

Similarly, a find of copper and molybdenum in Panama (1967 per capita income $477) is said to be extremely rich and hold vast promise as a new source of revenue. Important copper finds also have been made in Argentina (per capital income $699 in 1966), Iran ($243 in 1967), Botswana ($86 in 1966), Malaysia ($255 in 1967) and Ecuador ($199 in 1967).

In Tunisia (per capita income $172 in 1967) and Nicaragua ($316 in 1967) significant discoveries of lead and zinc have been made, and in Iran a new process has been perfected for using ores previously discovered. In Lesotho ($80 in 1966) a mechanized process has been devised for extracting diamonds. Nickel has been found in Botswana.

Some of the most important discoveries have been sources of underground water for irrigation and industry in previously dry areas.

Significant new water supplies have been located in Jordan (1967 per capita income $235), Lebanon ($294 in 1966), Syria ($204 in 1967), Cyprus ($664 in 1967) and Jamaica ($431 in 1967). Irrigation and hydroelectric power from dams also promises to stimulate food production and industry in Ceylon ($132 in 1967).

Turkey (per capita income $299 in 1967) is now believed to have twice the forestry resources previously estimated, and important new tree resources also have been found in Greece ($621 in 1966). On Taiwan ($221 in 1967), tidal land is being reclaimed for crops.

New fishery resources also promise to contribute to development.

Important stocks of food fish have been found in waters surrounding the Philippines (per capita income $233 in 1967), where locally-caught fish previously supplied only 15 per cent of the need.

Experts selected by the United Nations

conduct the surveys at the request of individual governments, which pay part of the expense of such "pre-investment" activities. The governments themselves determine how to exploit any new resources that may be discovered.

Some criticism has been leveled at the United States for pushing too hard on behalf of private enterprise in any concessions that may be granted. Others have pointed out that, in any event, the choice of public or private means or a combination of the two is up to the government concerned.

BAR AND CONTROL USE, TRANSPORT AND MANUFACTURE OF LETHAL, CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL AGENTS IN MILITARY OPERATIONS

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a very interesting letter from Brig. Gen. James A. Hebbeler, the Director of Chemical and Biological Research and Nuclear Operations, which came in response to my request urging greater safeguards on toxic gas disposal by the Department of Defense.

The presence of toxic, dangerous explosives and explosive materials in the country and the world has understandably been of greatest concern to many people.

Some time ago the National Academy of Sciences made its recommendations on toxic gas disposal, which has been under study by the Department of Defense. The Army requested that an independent study be performed by the Academy, and the recommendation of the Academy is that wherever possible the gasses be detoxified, and that concerned Government agencies collaborate in developing detailed disposal plans.

It is interesting and reassuring to know that the hazards of the materials under study do not differ greatly from those of some commercial chemicals currently being shipped by rail across the country. Obviously, most urgent efforts should and must be made to establish safety precautions for all shipments and handling of this kind, similar to those which the Department of Defense has established for shipments of chemical material.

It is to be noted that under these plans fully trained, technical, escort units will accompany each train, fully equipped with protective gear to provide for any incident, and to alert the general public, if and when necessary, and accompanied by highly qualified doctors and medical aid men.

In addition, the progress of these trains will be monitored continuously, and contingency plans are available to deal with any situation. Further, the proposed travel routes have been selected after careful consultation with transportation experts which represent the safest routes available. These rules should be applied to all relevant transportation media.

It is to be noted that the method of disposal involved, include demilitarization of munitions, and burning or chemically neutralizing the agents, land burial, and sea burial.

It was determined after careful study that sea burial was the best method in terms of safety, contamination of environment, time and cost, and constitutes no significant hazard to the food chain of man or fish, and no hazard to man through sea or land contamination. These findings must be confirmed by all qualified sources.

Chemical neutralization was one of the disposal methods under consideration, and this involves treating the agents in a reactor with a series of decontaminants, designed to decompose the toxic agent into a nontoxic material. The procedure necessary to accomplish this is hazardous and takes a long time.

It is to make sure that the safest method of disposal is implemented that the Department of Defense has requested the National Academy of Sciences to make an independent review of movement and disposal plans. These must be vigorously pressed and followed up.

It seems, therefore, that we are on our way to ridding our Department of Defense and the Nation of hazardous materials. But we must not stop there. We must continue until we effectively outlaw and forbid the manufacture, storage or use by any nation of toxic, disease-bearing, or inhumane, lethal agents in any form or shape to be used for purposes of destruction, or to be manufactured, or kept available, for the purpose of intimidation, or the promotion of horror and fear among nations and peoples. It is to be hoped that the Soviet Union will agree to these international controls under appropriate inspection provisions thus assuring the whole world that these horrible agents will not be used to destroy life.

It should be observed that it is the policy of the United States not to utilize these lethal, chemical and biological agents, unless they are utilized in the first instance against this country.

Meanwhile, it is of urgent importance that this Government press for effective international restrictions and controls of these agents, predicated basically upon the abolishment of their use and suitable international inspection to make certain that they are not being manufactured, stored, or used in any way contrary to the agreements banning them from use.

Hon. PHILIP J. PHILBIN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PHILBIN: A safety review of toxic materiel in depots and storage areas indicated that disposal of certain munitions and bulk agents would purge our stockpile of obsolete materiel.

The toxicity of this materiel has been highly exaggerated and the hazard does not differ greatly from that of some commercial chemicals currently being shipped by rail across country. The safety precautions established by the Department of Defense for shipments of chemical materiel are more stringent that those required for shipments of commercial chemicals.

The Department of Defense safety precautions exceed Department of Transportation requirements in terms of actions listed in this paragraph. When this plan is implemented, fully trained technical escort units will accompany each train and carry with them more than sufficient material, protective gear and equipment to cope with any incident. Armed guards will be interspersed along each train to provide physical protection to the cargo and keep the general public away in case of an incident. A highly qualified medical doctor and three medical aidmen will accompany each train. The progress of each train will be monitored continuously and contingency plans are available for any situation. The proposed railroad routes were selected after careful consultation with transportation experts and represent the safest routes available. Every effort has been made to avoid having the trains go through major metropolitan areas.

Three methods of disposal were considered. These included demilitarization of munitions and burning or chemically neutralizing the agents, land burial and sea burial. After careful study, it was determined that sea burial was the preferred method in terms of safety, contamination of environment, time and cost. It has been concluded that the sea burial constitutes no significant hazard to the food chain of man or fish and no hazard to man through sea or land surface contamination.

Chemical neutralization was one of the disposal methods under consideration. This is accomplished by treating the agents in a reactor with a series of decontaminants so that the toxic agent is decomposed into a nontoxic materiel; however, in the process large volumes of liquid waste are generated. Before this could be done demilitarization of the weapons involved must be accomplished. This procedure is hazardous and takes a long time.

There are only two facilities where this neutralization might be conducted. One facility is small and would require months or even years to accomplish the job. The other facility is in lay-away status and would require reactivation and construction of a furnace to burn the contaminated hardware. Estimates are this would take at least 59 months and cost about 17 million dollars.

To provide even further assurance that the safest method of disposal is implemented, the Department of Defense has asked the National Academy of Sciences to make an independent review of movement and disposal plans.

I trust this information will be helpful to you.

Sincerely,

JAMES A. HEBBELER,
Brigadier General, Director of CBW and Nuclear Operations OACSFOR.

THE LATE DREW PEARSON

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, as the recent recess of the Congress neared its conclusion, the Nation received the news of the passing of Drew Pearson, the famed crusader-columnist.

Drew Pearson had great intellectual capacity and great courage and while all of us did not always agree with him, he was admired, feared, and respected. Drew Pearson was one of the most colorful and versatile journalists of all time.

His column ranged from fierce attacks on corruption to chatty letters to his grandchildren. Pearson journalism had a great impact on Washington and our Federal Government.

He courageously challenged the President, the Senate, the House, the Federal Establishment throughout Government at various times and repeatedly—he was a journalistic watchdog.

Washington will not be the same without Drew Pearson—his column was widely read in Washington and throughout the Nation for the inside story. Drew Pearson's columns were in the tradition of the muckraking journalism—and Drew Pearson considered the descriptive label of muckraker as a high compliment.

I want to take this means to extend this expression of deepest sympathy to Mrs. Pearson and other members of the family in their loss and bereavement.

KOREAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, natives of Korea commonly refer to their country as Choson, meaning "land of the morning calm." But in view of Korea's turbulent past, Choson might be a misnomer. Because of the strategic location of the country and the tradition of competition between empires in the history of that part of Asia, the country has a unique heritage of strife. During the period of the three kingdoms of Korea, the peoples of these areas, the Mahan, Chinham, and Pyonhan, fought one another for 700 years. For the next 1,200 years Korea was overcome by the rival imperial powers China, Mongolia, and Japan. In spite of invasion and colonial status, Korean culture managed to survive in letters, Buddhist poetry, and native art. Under the great Yi dynasty Korea flourished intellectually as well as culturally. Fifty years before Gutenberg, in 1403 Koreans had Chinese characters printed in moveable type.

The nationalism of oppressed peoples that followed World War I had a strong impact on Koreans. A proclamation of independence from Japan was issued in March 1919. This was followed by demonstrations, which the Japanese suppressed with violence. Outside the country in Siberia, Manchuria, China, and the United States, emigre Korean patriots agitated for independence for their native land. A group of nationalists organized a provisional government in Shanghai. One of these was Syngman Rhee, formerly a student at Princeton when Woodrow Wilson was its president. An assassination was attempted in 1932 on the Japanese emperor. The Korean independence movement flourished until World War II ended Japanese imperialism in Korea.

The sovereignty of Korea was a vital issue during the war. In the Cairo declaraton of December 1943, China, Great Britain, and the United States promised Korea independence in "due course." The U.S.S.R. committed itself to this goal when it entered the war against Japan August 8, 1945. Korea was divided at the 38th parallel into United States and Soviet jurisdictions for the purposes of military operations in the surrender of Japan.

In the absence of the Japanese, however, Korea was a partial vacuum. Once again foreign and domestic forces competed for control of the First Korean Republic. Very rapidly, a Korea divided between the two superpowers of the postwar world became a battleground for the cold war. Elections in South Korea were held May 31, 1948, when Syngman Rhee became chairman. The Republic of Korea was inaugurated August 15, 1948, a date which is formally designated as Independence Day.

Two years later, forces of North Korea crossed the 38th parallel, marking the start of the Korean war. During the 3 years of war, more than 1 million were killed; 2,500,000 were left homeless; and cities, industrial installations, communication, and transportation facilities were devastated. Even after the end of hostilities in July 1953, domestic political turmoil continued. The position of Korea's head of state has changed hands often, and each occasion has been accompanied by violence and civil strife.

Conditions under the current president, Chung Hee Park, elected in 1963, have improved in many ways. Aggregate production has risen an average of 9 percent from 1956 to 1966. More and more Korean manufactures have become competitive on world markets. The standard of living has improved considerably. Relations with Japan have improved. Now that stability has been restored to domestic politics, Korea is pursuing an ambitious program of economic progress.

August 15 is a day of celebration in Korea for many reasons. Independence Day marks both the anniversary of the Japanese surrender in 1945 and the establishment of the Korean Republic in 1948. On this day are featured special nationwide events such as athletic games, fireworks, military parades, and so forth. According to the lunar calendar, Koreans are also celebrating the Moon Festival, a time of thanksgiving, feasts, and harvest celebration. During the day Koreans visit their ancestors' graves, offering food and wine from newly harvested rice. We rejoice with Koreans on this day of multiple celebration in the "land of the morning calm."

THE EVERGLADES JETPORT—THE NEXT CONSERVATION FIGHT

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, the proposed jetport in the Florida Everglades has excited much interest in recent months. Conservationists have been disturbed over this monstrous example of nonplanning for some time; now alarm is spreading among other concerned citizens as well.

The jetport proposed by the Dade County Port Authority would be located in close proximity to the Everglades National Park. Indeed, much of its value from their narrow point of view rests in this fact—most of the undesirable consequences associated with airports will be suffered, not by articulate and concerned citizens—with access to the ballot box—but by an uninhabited and defenseless natural area. That the area affected happens to be a national park is irrelevant to the port authority—that it will cause considerable damage to the park and inconvenience to its inhabitants and visitors is, a trifling and certainly tolerable inconvenience, not to be considered in the same context as the undoubted financial benefits which it will generate for the exploiters and developers that the authority so effectively represents.

Who pays this bill? Who assumes the hidden costs that cannot be disassociated from this unfortunate exercise in single-purpose development? The answer is the usual one: the public. I am not satisfied with that answer, and I do not think that very many of my colleagues will be either.

In the past few years, conservationists in this country have become increasingly militant and effective as a means of forcing public servants to consider factors other than short-range goals and immediate gratification of limited economic objectives. In my own State of New York, the fight of the Scenic Hudson Preservation Conference to preserve Storm King Mountain has received national prominence as a landmark case in this growing movement. The recent decision of Judge Murphy in the Hudson River Expressway case has reinforced this important trend, and has demonstrated to the exploiters that their guiding philosophy "movement in any direction must be progress," is as out of date as "manifest destiny."

My guess is that, unless the Port Authority or the Department of Transportation sees the light, the jetport controversy will become the next national fight for environmental protection. And I think that the citizenry has become sufficiently aware of the importance of environmental quality so that opponents of the jetport stand in very good position to win the battle. The handwriting is on the wall, for those who have the insight to see it.

The Wilderness Society has produced an excellent summary of the jetport controversy in the spring issue of its quarterly publication The Living Wilderness. The article should be read by every Member of this Congress: it points up the interdependent nature of the pollution and environmental degradation associated with the proposed jetport, and stresses that the Department of Transportation has clearly not followed its statutory responsibilities to determine whether in fact feasible alternatives may exist.

So that this article may receive wider distribution and serve to provide better information on this important controversy, I include it in the RECORD at this point:

JETPORT AND THE EVERGLADES—LIFE OR RUNWAY?

The Florida Dade County Port Authority's search for an airport site, as it first came to the attention of Miami newspaper readers in 1967, seemed to contemplate one of modest proportions—or so it would seem in the light of subsequent developments. The airport was said to be needed by commercial airlines for training jet pilots. However, the plan burgeoned in subsequent months. It grew into a project for a mammoth airport, intended to relieve congestion at Miami International Airport, to accommodate commercial operations, including supersonic transport.

One of the sites considered was Conservation Area 3A, just north of the Tamiami Trail (U.S. Route 41)—the northern boundary of the Everglades National Park. The Conservation Area site was eventually dropped from consideration when the Central and Southern Florida Flood Control District (FCD) objected that situating an airport here was incompatible with the water conservation purpose of the area.

The site for the jetport eventually settled upon an area 6 miles north of the Everglades National Park's 40-mile Bend Ranger Station. The eastern boundary would be nearly common with the west boundary of Conservation Area 3A, and would lie almost midway between the two coasts, approximately 50 miles from Miami via the Tamiami Trail.

Not only has construction for a 39-square mile airport actually started, but a 10,000-foot airstrip approaches completion as this is written. It is scheduled to begin use in September 1969 as a jet training strip.

Reactions against the entire proposal have begun to take on force. The Superintendent of Everglades National Park had warned the Port Authority in March 1967 that intrusion and noise from overflights and close-by operation of jet aircraft could cause wildlife dislocations, abandonment of habitat, and consequent alteration of the Park for visitor use; intrusion and noise would be inimical to the wilderness of the Park that Congress specifically sought to perpetuate in the Act of 1934 which authorized the Park. The Park was established in 1947.

Continued efforts by the Park Superintendent, in communications with both the Dade County Port Authority and the Federal Aviation Agency, brought no satisfactory results.

Access to the airport brings up additional problems. Initially the Tamiami Trial was considered as an access route. Enlarging the Trail to four lanes had already been contemplated. However, a new access route appeared on a sketch map early in 1968. This new route, currently referred to as a transportation corridor, was expanded in the plans into a 1,000-foot right-of-way which would include extension of Interstate 75 from its present terminus in Tampa. Included in the plans were a high speed ground transportation system, power lines, pipe lines, and possibly water transportation facilities. The alignment of the transportation corridor would run one mile north of the Tamiami Trail, parallel with it, but converging with the Trail at 50-Mile Bend.

There have been other variations of the planned access corridor, including one which would have bisected the jetport, after traversing the lower end of Conservation Area 3A, subdividing it with an additional pool. This plan was reconsidered—at least for the present—after strong objections, led by FCD's Chairman, Robert W. Padrick.

THE PROBLEMS

Apart from concern for the Everglades National Park, which is crucial, the jetport is controversial as a threat to the quality of the environment and natural beauty, and for its anticipated impact upon the ecology of the area. No apparent regional planning has been undertaken; no apparent effort to study the impact of the jetport and resulting urbanization on the environment, and on the present and resulting socio-economic structure, has been made.

The problem is complicated because of the lack of quantitative data with regard to certain specific questions. Nearly every aspect involves certain and undoubted environmental disturbance, whose consequences are generally predictable, but whose magnitude is not known. It is not possible to translate qualitative data, often speculative, into quantitative data with the precision required by the planners of highways and airports. Thus it is not possible to evaluate accommodations which may be made or considered for resolution of the problems.

Noise will affect the quality of the visitor's experience in the Conservation Areas, and even more so in the Park, which is expected to come in large part under the 1964 Wilderness Law. An ambient level of 20–40 decibels (db) may be tolerable; normal street levels of 50–90 db are incompatible with a wilderness experience. Noise from overflights (estimated at 250,000 training operations annually in late 1970, even before conventional flights begin), and noise emanating from the jetport, would obviously be even more unacceptable. A jet takeoff rates 150 db at close range, and about 117 db on the apron. By 1980, it is projected, there will be 900,000 operations; between one and two planes will land or take off every minute of every day of the year.

Few studies of the reactions of wildlife to noise have been made in the Park. Thus, it is not known to what extent jet noise will affect or disrupt animal habitats or reproduction processes. In 1968, public protests forced Miami International Airport to prohibit local training flights between 10 p.m. and 7 a.m. Of the new site, Federal Aviation Agency's Miami area manager said, "Nobody will be close enough to complain—except, possibly alligators." However one might interpret the reaction of alligators, it is certain that Park visitors will be vividly aware of the noise pollution, and the negation of a wilderness experience.

Water encompasses a large number of concerns: flow, quantity, and quality, among others.

Lower peninsular Florida is drained primarily by two drainageways. The Big Cypress Swamp and The Everglades. Big Cypress drains almost as a sheet with hardly any clearly defined watercourses, whereas The Everglades has its primary water course in the Shark River. The Everglades, above Tamiami Trail, is essentialy fully controlled and managed within the conservation areas of the Central and Southern Florida Flood Control Project. These conservation areas, which lie directly under the take-off paths for aircraft using the proposed jetport, are shallow water storage basins from which Everglades National Park receives a vital part of its water needs.

Under agreement with the Corps of Engineers, management of the conservation areas rests with the State's Central and Southern Florida Flood Control District (FCD), and includes recreational uses. The Florida State Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission, by agreement with the FCD, manages fish, game, and related wildlife in Conservation Areas 2 and 3. Everglades National Park requires an annual minimum flow of 315,000 acre-feet from the project, of which 260,000 acre-feet is to be released at varying rates approximating natural flows and natural flow-time through the lower end of the FCD-managed Conservation Area 3A for flow into the Shark River.

West of Conservation Area 3A, directly under the landing paths of aircraft that will use the jetport, is the Big Cypress Swamp, a sparsely developed area which covers most of Collier County. The Big Cypress is the Park's second major overland flow source of water. Developers with national sales campaigns have subdivisions under construction in some of the swamp's westerly area. Drainage is generally south, and flow enters the Gulf of Mexico, roughly from Naples on the north to Lostmans River in Everglades National Park on the south. Minimum annual water requirements for the Park from Big Cypress Swamp have been estimated at 157,000 acre-feet. Thus, more than one-third of the Park's surface water supply comes from Big Cypress Swamp.

Natural drainage patterns and flow-volume-time relationships can be altered by colossal construction projects, such as the jetport and the interstate highway, and the resulting urbanization and industrial section of the surrounding lands. Because of the physical character of the land, which is covered by water most of the year, the total volume of water is not likely to be changed appreciably, if at all, by construction. As the surface area is not increased, evaporation would not increase, except that in dry periods, when the water table has dropped below land surface, borrow pits and canals (necessary for construction in this swampy area) will expose the water table and evaporation could be extensive. The estimated evapotranspiration losses in parts of the Central and Southern Flood Control project area is as high as 80 per cent of the rainfall. Drainage canals increase the velocity of runoff without necessarily altering the volume of water. The essential factor in the maintenance of swamp and everglades is the exceedingly low velocity of the runoff. Moving the water faster enables the land to be drained more quickly, altering immediately the environment of the Big Cypress. Also, by moving this water faster, water arrives at the Park and at the estuaries earlier in time and in relatively greater volume, but the duration of water cover is shorter. This results in longer dry periods between the shorter wet periods. The consequence is also to alter environments.

With a projected population of as much as 1,500,000 people who will live and work in the satellite communities that will follow jetport and transportation developments, an additional 150 square miles are likely to be drained for urban and industrial uses. Culverts at regular intervals in the highways and under the runways, and a network of collecting canals designed to redistribute the water by overbanks spilling, can simulate the natural flow except for the factor of time.

Designs that collect all the water at one or two places are not likely to meet natural conditions. Nearly all the water collected would have to be discharged across Park boundaries. The National Park Service would undoubtedly resist the pressure to issue permits for construction of ditches, canals, or other works in the Federally-owned area of the Park or the area over which it has unquestioned jurisdiction, but it may be another matter in those areas over which the United States jurisdiction is imperfect; further, the United States does not own sufficient land here to prevent entry. Peculiarities of the laws affecting Everglades National Park split the Park's jurisdiction in the most threatened area, and further provisions make it possible to put pressure on the Service to grant easements for canals draining the land adjacent to the Park.

Drainage works, by lowering the water table, drain the organic soils so that they dry, oxidize, burn, or are otherwise raised into the air as dust. Dust is a climatological influence; dust particles are nuclei around which suspended water droplets collect as fog and may on occasion affect airport use. Smoke from peat soil fires could have similar effects. To control dust and prevent fire, it may be necessary to plant and irrigate cover grasses or crops. Water for this purpose would most likely come from the Central and Southern Florida Flood Project, or directly from the

ground water. In either case, both airport and subdivisions then become competitors with the Park for project water, and even for the ground water, because the shallow surface water and shallow aquifer are fractions of the same water body. Transpiration may be altered by the choice of cover crops. If a dust palliative is laid, crop water may be saved, but runoff will be greatly accelerated.

Pollution is most frequently associated with water; there is a tendency to overlook other media which carry pollution, such as air. Particulate matter, vapors, and odors are obnoxious pollutants whose sources would include exhaust and other wastes from aircraft landing or taking off, from automobiles and trucks on the new highways, from industrial and commercial processes developed in connection with the airport, and from services to the new residential/industrial communities. Air pollution may change the vegetation and restrict the range of wildlife. Noise pollution has already been discussed.

Water pollution poses a critical threat to the Park's survival. Aircraft, when landing, taxiing, and taking off, are relatively inefficient in their combustion of fuels, and the exhausts will carry great amounts of unburned hydrocarbons, oxides of nitrogen, carbon monoxide, aldehydes, and so on. As the landings and takeoffs will be over the Big Cypress Swamp area west of the airport, and over the conservation area east of it, unburned jet fuel and other wastes will fall from the air and be deposited on the waters. As subdivisions develop, they will produce sewage which, even after treatment in plants of advanced designs, may still yield effluents greatly enriches in nitrates and phenols. These effluents will be added to the waters of the region. The airport and the industrial plants will also produce sewage and other wastes which will require sophisticated treatment to render the water relatively safe. As land surfaces are drained for subdivisions, substantial portions of this land will become lawns. Some land may become farms. Fertilizers are needed to nourish the thin peat-marl soils, and rapid water removal caused by the area's development will carry the highly enriched runoff into the Park. The developed areas and their environs will be subjected to massive insect control programs, adding insecticides to the air and ultimately to the water. Water control programs frequently require noxious weed controls and this will introduce herbicides into this water.

Assuming that the water meets minimum water quality standards for Type 1 waters in the State of Florida, it may nevertheless be unsatisfactory in the Park because it will be different from water in which the Park biota exist. For example, levels of dissolved oxygen, nitrogen, phenols, and other constituents which separately are deemed to be satisfactory for fish, may nevertheless be lethal to fish because of their damaging effects on the more delicate food web on which the fish depend.

While the water in the conservation areas is less likely to be contaminated with industrial wastes, it is likely to carry a large amount of jet exhaust wastes, as well as fertilizers, pesticides, and herbicides from the adjacent agricultural areas, which drain to the conservation areas.

If the water is found to be unacceptable for Park purposes, one may say it should be collected and discharged, wasted, directly to the Gulf of Mexico. Discharge to the conservation areas would be unacceptable since the water from these areas ultimately flows into the Park. In any event, water will be contaminated and the biological environment receiving this water will be altered.

If the contaminated water is rejected, the Park will not receive its vitally needed supply. The alternatives, therefore, may be either accept the polluted waters and the consequent alteration of the ecosystems, or deny the Park water and, through dehydration, create another form of ecological alteration. If one presumes that the bypassed water will be collected and discharged to the Gulf of Mexico, a deficiency in the Park's water will result which would require that an additional 157,000 acre-feet per year be withdrawn from the flood control project to maintain the present ecosystem unaltered.

It is difficult to state in quantitative terms the magnitude of pollution that will be experienced or the level which can be tolerated. It is apparent that changes will occur. It has already been observed that biological changes occur with the replacement of one type of algae for another as a response to enriched waters. The resulting exchange is at variance with resident ecosystems.

Pesticide levels found in tissue of certain small fish examined from the Park are already alarmingly high. As pesticides are now being found in the Southern Florida air, one can expect the jet fuel fallout will effect an increase in DDT precipitation from the air, resulting in increased water pollution to the Park.

PLANNING REQUIREMENTS

Section 4(f) of the Transportation Act, as amended in 1968, prohibits the Secretary of Transportation from approving any transportation project, such as the proposed Miami Jetport, which requires the use of publicly owned land from parks, recreation areas, or wildlife and waterfowl refuges of National or State significance unless:

(1) there is no feasible alternative, *and*

(2) the project includes all possible planning to minimize harm to the park, recreation area, or wildlife and waterfowl area.

The proposed Miami Jetport necessarily requires navigation easements over Conservation Area No. 3A (which is a State recreation area and refuge), and over Everglades National Park. It is, therefore, subject to the promotions of Section 4(f) of the Transportation Act, easements being—by legal definition—a use in, or over, the lands of another.

Although the jetport sponsors have carried on consultations with park, recreation, and wildlife agencies and interests, the feasibility of alternatives *has never been determined*, and the project *definitely has not included* all possible planning to minimize harm to the Park.

The Department of Transportation, in what is apparently a violation of the Transportation Act, has already approved the construction of the training runway, and has provided a large grant for a study of high-speed ground transportation to operate principally between Miami and the jetport.

The applicability of Section 4(f) to the jetport project has been brought to the attention of the Department of Transportation by the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, the Department of the Interior's coordinating agency for Section 4(f) matters. To date, however, no satisfactory resolution of the problem has been achieved.

Interior agencies have been working closely on this problem. In addition to the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation and the National Park Service, whose interests are apparent, the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife is concerned with the bird and game fish populations. Over 21 rare and endangered species of wildlife use this area as habitat for at least part of the year. The Bureau of Commercial Fisheries has an interest in the shrimp and commercial fisheries whose habitat includes estuaries dependent upon the quality and timely arrival of fresh water inflow from Big Cypress Swamp and Shark River.

In addition to these, agencies within the U.S. Public Health Service have expressed interest. The Central and Southern Florida Flood Control Project is being constructed by the Corps of Engineers and managed by the Central and Southern Florida Flood Control District, a State agency. The Department of Housing and Urban Development, although not immediately involved, could well have an interest if the rapid and massive development, as predicted, occurs.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has an interest in the welfare of the Miccosukee Tribe, which occupies a strip of land along the Tamiami Trail in the Everglades National Park. The plight of the Miccosukee, as a consequence of the jetport and the access corridor, is especially tragic. They have, for the most part, been living in isolation on their native hammocks, although a number live along the Tamiami Trail in Everglades National Park, and have only recently organized under a Tribal Constitution. They will suffer displacement and drastic attrition of their pursuits. The airport is overrunning their Green Corn Hammock, where the traditional Green Corn ritual has been held for the purification of body and soul. Morally or legally, the rights of the Miccosukee to peaceful tenure are being trampled. The transportation corridor will eliminate the little bit of income they have derived from tourists on the Tamiami Trail. In general, the major developments in the area will disrupt their socio-economic life and may very well obliterate the group as an entity.

Emphatically, we must recognize that, for all the efforts at amelioration or accommodation that might be made, the proposed jetport may very well be incompatible with the preservation of the Everglades National Park or with the preservation of the regional ecological environment which affects the survival of the Park. Feasible alternative sites for the jetport do exist. It follows that developing a jetport at an alternate site may well be the only acceptable solution.

HOW NOT TO PROTECT AMERICA

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, history is proof of the senselessness of relying on treaties with Communist nations. The road that led to war in Korea and Vietnam is littered with broken Communist commitments.

Those who urge that a treaty on the subject of nuclear nonproliferation should take the place of U.S. military power in reserve, are like those who would patch the hull of a battleship with paper and sealing wax. Whether the necessity be MIRV or Safeguard, or whatever tomorrow may present, we must stay on top.

A chain is only as strong as its weakest link. America's defense is as weak as its most vulnerable aspect which for those shortsighted few who would substitute reliance on a nuclear defense treaty with the Soviet Union for the deterrence of retaliatory power, would mortgage the security and even the survival of our people.

Mr. Speaker, we should have treaties, of course, but let us not take them too seriously when they are with Communist nations. Let us always firmly resolve that we will back them up with the necessary military hardware just in case. In this connection, I commend the reading of the following remarks by the distinguished columnist, Henry J. Taylor, appearing in the Manchester, N.H., Union Leader on September 2, 1969:

FOOLISHNESS OF "TREATY-SECURITY"

(By Henry J. Taylor)

Color-blind Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. William Fullbright, consistently downplaying any Red threats, ties his campaign against the nuclear defense proposal to the need for a treaty with the Soviet Union.

If Senator Fullbright, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, Sen. George McGovern, et al, were negotiating with the Soviet Union, we'd be lucky to be left with the Statute of Liberty. Moreover, the highly publicized treaty prospect is no more a substitute for our national defense than a tin can is a substitute for the U.S. Air Force.

The nuclear defense problem has three phases: short range, intermediate, and final. The game the Soviet is playing it is playing for keeps.

The Soviet antiballistic missile system, which the Soviet General Staff calls "Galosh," already has 90 known sites that are operative. We are told that the Soviet defense "is not workable," "is no good," etc. Yet, indisputably, the Soviet is far advanced in building 30 more sites. No good? The Kremlin thinks its system is good, and is striving day and night to complete it.

This means 120 Russian nuclear defense sites versus the two now, and 10 later, in the U.S. Plan.

In June, 1965, former Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara junked 14 missile complexes with 113 Atlas and Titan launching sites in 12 states, declaring obsolete the missiles these were built to accommodate at a building cost of $856.9 million—because of surprising Soviet missile advances. Again, it was another of the surprises the Red world always seems to have in store for us.

Moreover, when the Soviet violated the atomic test-ban understanding so solemnly agreed to with us, Russia became the only nation to have successfully test-fired a nuclear-armed missile at an incoming missile.

Thus the U.S.S.R. leaped demonstratively (not merely on paper) far ahead of us in nuclear defense and may have already cancelled out the U.S. Minuteman missile which is our chief weapon of retaliation in defense of the United States and our most credible deterrent protecting the free world.

Yet, confronted by these realities, we're told to think in terms of a treaty! The Fulbright-Kennedy-McGovern, etc., fallibility opportunism, mindlessness, or worse, on this thesis is as appalling as it is dangerous.

Every dependent nation in the world that has relied on treaties instead of keeping its powder dry has come to disaster.

Treaties could not conceivably mean less than they do to the Soviet Union. If the Fulbright-Kennedy-McGovern cabal does not know that, it knows nothing. But, in any case, the nearly ageless record of treaties are honored more in the breaking than in the observance. Treaties cannot substitute for wisdom or for military power in pursuing national objectives and maintaining the peace.

Our treaty-adherence record is the best of any major power. But every major nation, including the United States, has broken its pledged word when its leaders felt the current national interest required it.

At Yalta, at Russia's behest, both the United States and Great Britain shattered previous treaties like clay pigeons built to be shot down. The Bay of Pigs debacle and backdown shattered our ancient Monroe Doctrine forever—an edict far more formidable than any treaty. Our Vietnam involvement shattered treaties left and right.

While our country may be hoping for a nuclear defense treaty with the U.S.S.R., the antiballistic missile proposal means we are not relying on it. The Fulbright-Kennedy-McGovern cabal could easily learn at least three reasons why:

(1) For years on end the greatest weakness in our foreign policy has been an overreliance on treaties. We should give little or no weight to the expectation of performance under a decisive treaty.

(2) The leaders of the countries will have changed by the time the treaty-reliance may be critical, and all such probabilities increase the longer the treaty remains in effect.

(3) We should never bet our lives and our whole country—the destiny of the United States and all 200 million people who live here—on brains that talk treaty-security to us. Opportunistic politicians who say they believe in things like that end up in the dregs of history—and their country down with them.

JOHN CARDINAL WRIGHT RECEIVES PITTSBURGH ANNUAL LABOR DAY AWARD

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, each year in the city of Pittsburgh the labor unions and the friends of labor gather for a Labor Day Mass to honor the accomplishments of our working people during the past year, as well as the previous years of U.S. history.

This year the Labor Day Mass was celebrated at St. Paul's Cathedral, Pittsburgh, on Monday, September 1, 1969. His Eminence John Cardinal Wright was honored with the St. Joseph's Award as the Man of the Year in western Pennsylvania giving outstanding service and leadership in the cause of labor and the working people.

This award was a unanimous decision and one of the most popular choices that have been made for this significant honor. John Cardinal Wright returned from Rome, where he is serving as prefect of the congregation for the clergy, to receive the silver statue of St. Joseph, the worker, which symbolizes this award.

In attendance, to join in this mass and to honor John Cardinal Wright were the representatives of churches of various faiths in Pittsburgh, the officials and members of the union organizations, and the many local public officials representing the government in the city, county, State, and Nation.

It has been an honor for me to be present as Pittsburgh U.S. Congressman each of the 10 years that the mass has been held to honor our unions, their officers and members, as well as the working men and women of our great Pittsburgh industrial center.

During his service as the bishop of Pittsburgh, John Cardinal Wright was an outstanding churchman and leader for all progressive programs and ecumenical causes. Cardinal Wright worked with our religious and civic communities, and public officials so that there now exists cooperation and joint leadership for united purposes and common civil goals.

I am submitting the excellent sermon delivered by John Cardinal Wright for the RECORD, so that his fine thinking can be made available to the Congress and the American people, in these serious days.

John Cardinal Wright chose as his theme the Biblical quotation:

Justice exalteth a nation; but sin maketh nations miserable. (Proverbs 14:34)

The sermon follows:

SERMON BY JOHN CARDINAL WRIGHT

"Justice exalteth a nation; but sin maketh nations miserable."—Proverbs, 14, 34.

Two thoughts are uppermost in my mind as I return this morning to this beloved pulpit.

The first is one of great gratitude that an award which I instituted ten years ago has this day been presented to me. Those who have preceded me among the recipients of the Saint Joseph the Worker trophy were always quick to point out that they were members of groups, co-workers with others, and that they very properly saw themselves as at most the representatives of these others in accepting the recognition that comes with this honor.

I must do the same, I above all. I could not possibly accept from Bishop Leonard the trophy I have placed on the altar except as the representative of the American bishops and priests in general, and some of them in particular, who during the last century and this have most especially espoused the cause of the working man and identified themselves with the cause of social justice.

The American bishops and priests whom I represent are many. Most of them are unknown, certainly unsung by the present generation. Some of them were buried in publicity, some were buried in obscure assignments. They took their stands in various periods of crisis within the Church on occasion, within the national community more often, within local communities most often of all. There were perhaps never as many as there should have been, but there were certanly more than we priests and bishops of the Hierarchy are usually given credit for. They were, as they still are, in overwhelming majority themselves the sons of working men and of working men's wives, but they were not chaplains, as men like them must never be chaplains, in class warfare or in intergroup hatreds of any kind.

Those of them who persevered in the struggle, whose work, in fact, bore fruit, who held apparent frustration and useless praise or lack of it in equal realistic regard, were primarily the sons of the Church, seeking to apply her teaching and therefore to follow their consciences. They were Americans, by birth or by naturalization, and so America was the immediate field of their efforts at reform or progress. But they were Catholics, with the letter "C" in both lower and upper case, and so their concern was with the human family everywhere, as is that of the Universal Church. The human family, the only race of which they admitted the existence, was not for them an abstraction; it meant every person, any person, each person, all persons, the person, wherever he may be, whatever be his background, whichever his color, his condition, his creed, his calling.

I would be unprepared to label these men of God who have served the cause of social justice, and therefore of working people. I have no idea whether they were liberals or conservatives, pragmatics or classicists. Some of them were pastoral-types; some of them were scholars. I only know for certain that they were Catholic, with a capital "C" and a lower case "c", and that like their counterparts in the tremendous social movements of world Protestantism and age-old Judaism people with truly catholic minds and hearts (I am using here the small "c" on the word catholic) they would reject imprisonment and defy classification within any of these largely meaningless and usually vituperative classifications so beloved by our contem-

porary shorthand journalism or hit and run reporting.

Most of them were men like Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland, like Bishop Haas and the Spaldings, like Monsignor John Ryan and Father Ray McGowan, each of these being very cautious, which means, I suppose, "conservative" in what pertains to the Faith and each forward-looking in what pertains to social action and reform—which means, I suppose, "liberal". In fact, in all things they were merely trying to be decent, which means faithful in conscience to the teachings of the Church and faithful in service to the needs of God's people.

While I was here in Pittsburgh I often wondered whether a priest like, say, Pittsburgh's Father Jimmy Cox felt more at home during the march which he led on Washington, D.C., for social justice or during the pilgrimages which he led to Saint Anne de-Beaupre in Canada or to Lourdes in France and to Rome for the rekindling of the ancient Faith of himself and his people! When do you decide to classify him in some subcategory of Catholics, was it when you found him preaching the need for better wages or housing to lead the decent human life? Or was it when you found him reproducing the Holy Stairs and preaching the traditional doctrines of penance, prayer and basic Faith by which even the most human of decent lives is lifted to the level of the Divine?

And if you have this problem in classifying the Catholic clergy and bishops who bore their witness to social justice and human dignity, in season and out, with or without success, ending as they began, fully the servants of the people and yet faithfully bound to the altar, I must remind you that you will have the same problem classifying Protestant Christian or prophetic Hebrews who have used their ministry in behalf of the social gospel or the social witness of the Hebrew prophets—but have never forgotten what are the premises in faith of that witness, what is the secret of the hope that the world can be renewed and the conviction that the world continually needs renewal from outside itself. On this, Jew, Protestant and Catholic have been in agreement from the ten commandments, to the collective pastorals of the various Boards of Bishops or rabbinates, from the encyclicals of the Popes on social and moral questions to the most recent local declaration issued in agreement under ecumenical auspices.

Those secrets are simple. They are set forth in the text that I read to you this morning. The hope that society can be redeemed and renewed is in the word *justice*, of which God is the force and which is one of His attributes. The source of our confusion, our embarrassment, or all our moral and social evil is *sin*, of which Satan is the source and which constitutes his very essence.

And now that I have said to you thank you for including me among those who have tried to keep this message of Sacred Scripture alive in the battle for human progress, let me come to my second, most important and final point. Nothing substantial, permanent or truly positive can be accomplished about any of the problems which so bewilder us—the problems of war, the problems of infidelity (whether within the family unit by double timing, within the nation by treachery, within the Church by apostacy), the problems of maldistribution of the resources and the wealth of the world, the problem of hunger, the problem of unemployment, the problem of genocide, whether by gas chamber or by government programmed contraception, the problem of neglect, whether it reveals itself in illiteracy or delinquency or mere pollution of the air—nothing can be done about any of these problems until we stop using technical jargon and sweet talk—Al Smith used to call it using words to conceal meanings—and put proper labels on things where those labels are called for.

As one speaking in the biblical and religious traditions of the Judeo-Christian world, for example, I suggest that we begin this process with the return to our vocabularies of the word and above all to our convictions of the concept "sin". I suggest at if our nation is miserable, or largely so despite its affluence and its blessings; if our world is, in fact, miserable in the news reports despite its infinite resources and capacity for happiness; if our beloved city, to be quite specific, is miserable this weekend despite all the imaginative forces at work in its "renaissance" and all its financial power to build so ambitiously and so beautifully—if all this is true, and it is, then something essential is missing from among its assets and something vicious is present among its liabilities. The first of these is frequently mentioned, though with what degree of conviction I am never entirely sure. That something is *justice, the justice that exalts a nation, a church, a city, a family, a community*. That justice is clearly missing somewhere along the line, however loudly it may be invoked on every side.

But the vicious thing that is *present* and that *no one ever mentions*—or mentions *only reluctantly* and as if he were crudely introducing a discredited concept into an otherwise intelligent discussion—that something is the word *sin*.

The present miserable condition that surrounds us is visible all over the city, all over the nation, all over the world. Yet no one seems willing to brave the spirit of the times by pronouncing the word which sums it up and explains it. The reason for this reluctancy is that the misery is present within these very walls because it is present within our very hearts, deep in our hearts. It is the more difficult to eradicate precisely because we will not say the word and admit what it means and how alone it can be purged.

Whatever may be the secondary and complicating causes, the plain fact is that the city, the nation, the world, and, if you will, the Church is not made miserable by maladjustment, maldistribution, maladministration, misinformation—but by *sin*.

We must not be simplistic or rabble-rousing in this matter, charged with the emotions and vocabulary of a camp revival meeting. Nor, on the other hand, must we abjectly conform to the spirit of the moment and limit ourselves to its vocabulary and text book jargon. We need not become hermits, in pious flight from positive action; that, all by itself, would be no solution to the social question. Neither must we become religious fanatics, denouncing the values of the world or the wisdom of its programs; that could easily become heresy, another word we would do well to restore to our vocabulary and our convictions.

But we must restore something of the proportion presently so gravely violated when the word "sin" rarely appears in a public pronouncement, and then usually as a figure of speech, and never appears in a purportedly serious analysis of the true causes of our problems. The use of the words "sin" and "repentance" have seemed almost artificial, when used by public authorities at all, since the death of Woodrow Wilson—and increasingly, even pronouncements put out by religious agencies appear more concerned with the positive, creative support of sociological and political programs—a support in fact frequently needed and too often withheld—than with prophetic denunciation of the fact of sin or prophetic calls to effective repentance.

Instead even religious spokesmen offer such specific suggestions, they are such as any common sense group, speaking with the wisdom of the world, should come up with, while the prophetic denunciation of sin, specific and unashamed, together with the call to conversion, specifically to God and by the mercy and grace of God, are either muted, or omitted, or wrapped up in rhetoric seemingly designed to reduce the concept of sin and the nature of conversion to some sort of broad consensus in which God is allowed and His Church accepts only a constitutional voice, certainly when the problem is thought of as secular and political, and even when it is acknowledged to pertain to faith and morals.

The justice that exalts a nation is not the justice of a constitutional deity; it is the justice of the God of the Bible. The sin that makes a nation miserable is the sin denounced by Isaiah and the prophets, by Jesus, by the independent papacy. The sin, or the concept of sin arrived at by consensus, determined in the light of widespread habit, public policy or cultural *mores* at any given moment, may tranquilize a nation, undermine a nation, and, by definition, be acceptable to a nation. *But it may still be the sin that makes a nation miserable.*

Let me be more specific. During the last several years spokesmen for various church and ecumenical groups in America have put out sincere, eloquent and well-intentioned statements on social questions. Some of these have been concerned with peace and war. Some have been concerned with poverty and what to do about it. Some have been linked to intergroup disorders in the cities or starvation in rural areas. Some have been linked to special seasons, to Peace Day for example, or to Labor Day. I have had a hand in the writing of a few of these and so I know the earnestness, the desire to be of service, the careful thought that goes into the preparation of most of them.

Some of them discuss the symptoms of our miserable condition. They lament the violence which is the most obvious and most painful of the symptoms of our miserable condition which they record as would a clinical report. Some of them seek to explore more profound levels of the causes of these symptoms, the roots of our misery. Not a few even suggest specific remedies, particularly in terms of cash, allotment of monies, improved programming, new approaches to tired or discredited political, religious, community or private efforts to relieve the symptoms and to remove the only causes which are mentioned. These causes are invariably economic, political, social, cultural, geographical, or historical—but sin is stamped all over them. Yet *sin* is rarely if ever mentioned, let alone acknowledged.

If only because I am standing in a pulpit—but I would do the same if I were talking in Congress, at a Labor Union Convention, or at a roundtable on social problems—I feel bound to emphasize the fact of *sin*—to declare the presence of *sin* among us; to suggest that it is *sin* which makes a nation, a family, or a city, miserable; that *sin* is at the heart of all the problems to which we give such attention as we give the misery around us; that repentance from *sin* is essential to the correction of those problems; that unless *sin* is acknowledged and repented our social problems are, in fact, insoluble, our misery is indefinite, however much the sin may be buried in our subconscious, put out of our minds, or whatever else is meant by the phrase "swept under the rug".

Our Labor Day statements mention justice; they nowhere mention sin. They underline, in positive and intelligent fashion, the need to face up to the causes of social unrest and the need to confront the causes of poverty; the Church is specifically urged to attack those causes, largely in terms of the indispensable practical strategies admittedly needed to attack the problems which have economical, political or social consequences and complications. But even the enumeration of the causes which the Church is specifically called upon to confront does not mention that radical cause which the Church is primarily and uniquely instituted to con-

front, charged by Its Founder to confront, inspired by its saints to confront, called by Its God to confront: namely, the radical, all-pervading fact of sin that makes a nation miserable.

The Church is an institution that works in the world. As such it must cooperate with all other institutions honestly engaged in fighting whatever problems impede human progress, threaten human life, limit human freedom and pervert happiness here below, while destroying the possibility of these in the life of the world to come. But the supreme business of the Church is the prophetic, moral leadership proclamation that certain of the problems which so curtail life here below and threaten it hereafter are not merely economic, nor political, nor cultural, nor social, nor ill advised labor or education policies—*they are objectively sinful.* In the words of the otherwise often doubtful Dutch Catechism, sin is the refusal to love others or the Other, by which the Dutch Catechism, since it spells the "Other" with a capital "O", presumably means God; therefore, sin is the refusal to love others and to love God.

Christ worded it a little more simply. He declared sin to be the refusal to obey God's Law and He defined God's Law in terms of Love. He said that we are guilty of moral evil, by violating God's Law, if we refuse to love the Lord, our God, with our whole mind, our whole heart, our whole soul. Then He added, in effect: "By the same token, you commit the same sin if you refuse to love your neighbor the way you love yourselves"—if you refuse your neighbor the same opportunity to be, to grow, to be free, to work, to join up in the movements designed to protect basic rights—such as life, liberty and the opportunity for work—that your love for yourself prompts you to establish for yourself and guarantee for yourself."

It is as simple as that. When all the technical jargon, the history courses, the sociology studies, the research projects, the government reports and the convention resolutions have made their suggestions and played their part, it is still the Sacred Scripture that has the final say: *Justice exalts a nation; but sin make nations miserable.*

The Bible uses the word *sin*, on one or another form, about six hundred times: the Kerner Report does not mention it at all, which is probably defensible in a secular state but is no great help in a miserable society. What is even more lamentable, few other statements of the causes of our misery, except perhaps those of extreme fundamentalists who discredit their witness by religious fanaticism and social myopia, include *sin* either when they list the causes of our misery or attempt to program their solutions; there may be comfortable talk about "change of attitude" but little or no call for repentance, change of heart, in the strict biblical and traditional, theological sense.

I need hardly say that, except in terms of sin, the Bible never uses most of the words that are used to describe the processes, priorities, projects, interfaith programming, ecclesiastical and political budgeting which are the commonplaces of our political and even religious declarations on those matters and approaches to their solutions. It talks about *sin* as a *cause* and *love* as a *cure*, the cure that casts out the fears at the heart of our hatred, our basic *sin*.

I suppose that I am not, certainly in any narrow sense of traditional polemic, "a Bible Christian". My Protestant Christian brethren will understand that I would not believe in "Scripture alone" as the source of faith or morals. I believe that the Scriptures call for very careful interpretation and for divinely-inspired powers of discernment of their messages of which I do not feel capable, all by myself. Hence my grateful dependence on the authority of the Church and the word of its apostolic teaching.

Moreover, I have a deep veneration for the power of human intellect, for the ultimate reliability of common sense, for the wisdom of the ages, for all the things of which Dante saw Virgil and natural reason, as well as natural ethnic, to be the symbols. And so I know what the American hierarchy meant when, in connection with another moral problem currently disguised and distorted as merely a political worry, medical difficulty and sociological phenomonem, they dared to call the sin of contraception an "objective evil". I also know that even pagans, even atheists, the present moral mess that surrounds us would be called what it is: the proximate result of poverty, of unemployment and discrimination—but the ultimate result of hatred—which is an "objective evil"—which, again, means *sin*.

The misery we are worrying about all over the world at the moment—in Pittsburgh and elsewhere at home, in Northern Island, in the Middle East, in areas of Africa, in disputed zones of Europe—is given all manner of names and explanations. In fact, it is usually one or another form of *racism*—which means of *sin*—which means of *hatred*—which means of *fear*. Fear is not cast out by knowledge alone and hatred is not diminished by money or power alone—as many wealthy families well know and some powerful organizations. Fear is cast out by love—and that is what the Church is expected to preach and to give before it opens its mouth or its offices for anything else. *The Church exists to confront sin and communicate love.*

Let me linger for a moment on this concept of *sin*, because this is the heart of the matter and on this you will not hear much, I am afraid, in the discussion of our community tensions. On this point the Dutch Catechism, often too obscure and inaccurate on other matters, is remarkably useful. Discussing the failures of Christians and the nature of sin, it says that the great fault of men is not that some social mechanism is out of order, the way Marxists suppose, but that free will is misused in favor of objective evil. It says further that evil does not ultimately mean just imperfection or disorder that we can straighten out with mere human intelligence and human energy, but that it involves turning away from God, which situation cannot be corrected by man alone. It goes on to say that sin is not merely transgression of some abstract, lofty law, but involves a personal offense against love. Finally, and most importantly, it underscores that sin is not just an offense against man, as secularists and humanists are limited to saying, but it is also and supremely an offense against the Creator and Redeemer of the human race. It is a deliberate offense against Divine and human love, which cannot be repaired by human means, or human solutions to human problems.

Sin is harmful to man, but the point is that as a transgression of God's Law it always involves a refusal to love as God wishes us to love both Him and one another.

That refusal may not always be conscious and fully willed; it admits of degrees of guilt, according to cultural conditioning, fear of heart, confusion of mind, degrees of understanding or of ignorance—again as the American Bishops pointed out in discussing the objective evil that is contraception, and in suggesting the degrees of guilt which may be present in an individual caught up in all the pressures and propaganda, slogans and sneers of a contraceptive civilization, political atmosphere or economic cultural. But the corrosive objective evil is there, all the same, and so is objective sinfulness, just as it was present in the days of slavery in the United States when respectable men, still held in great renown, were, in fact, slaveholders, and as men may be acceptable today in social or diplomatic circles even though they represent nations whose whole economy is based on slavery in one or another form.

I do not pretend to say that George Washington, for example, or Thomas Jefferson, were subjectively sinners, but I do say that the situation of slavery to which they were apparently blind was objectively evil; it was, in fact, sinful, though they may have been kindly men and, for one reason or another, diminished in their guilt.

The same thing goes for racism, which is a form of spiritual slavery as there are forms of cultural imperialism long after political and economical imperialisms have ended their exploitation. Such racism is sinful and it calls for change of attitude, a change of heart, a radical conversion in the Scriptural sense. It is not enough to call it a "disorder", or a "lesser evil", or "a stage in the striving toward a greater ideal"—as some Christians say about life-prevention, abortion or the bombardment of non-combattant villages, or as other Christians say about the discriminations, segregations, exclusions and inequalities at the bottom of our present misery. *It is a sin.* That is *all* it is and it is *no less* than that.

The guilt of some involved in it, like that of some of those involved in other sins we have mentioned or could mention, may be understandable because of cultural conditioning; may be pardonable because of invincible ignorance; may be diminished because of panic, fear, confusion or instability—but the situation remains *objectively sinful.* The very first business of the Church, Catholic or Protestant, and of the Synagogue, is to put that fact in clear focus and unmistakable clarity when it is facing the causes of poverty and confronting the causes of our misery.

This is the mandate that God Almighty gave the Church and the Synagogues—to preach the fact and the nature of sin as the cause of our misery, the need and the nature of repentance as the beginning of the cure of our problems. To be sure, neither God, nor the prophets, nor Christ left it as that. God Almighty has also given the Church an agenda as to what it is to do about social problems beyond what is the obligation of the State, primary custodian of public order and the temporal common good. He has done this through His Sacred Scriptures, which tell us that a brother helped by a brother makes a strong city; that every field is to be plowed by its owner with a view to what he can make available to the needy; that not those who say "Lord, Lord" but those who keep the Law of God, which is a law of charity, are worthy of the Kingdom; and that the final judgment concerning whether we go to heaven or to hell will depend on what we did for those in prison, who need clothing, food, housing or the plain comfort of our company and moral support. This mandate the Church received from God Almighty before it received volunteer mandates or rebukes from Concerned Citizens, Action Groups or Political Commentators. But this mandate follows upon and depends upon the primary mandate God gave His Church to preach love not hate: to remind men and governments that it is justice which makes a nation powerful and it is sin which makes a nation—or a city—miserable.

The lesson for Labor Day 1969, especially to the Labor Unions whom we have tried to honor and encourage each year, is too obvious to need explicit declaration. So, let me sum up all I have tried to say by three brief quotes:

(1) Of the many sayings attributed to the late President John F. Kennedy one is particularly facile sounding and particularly false. It went to the general effect that there are no human problems which do not admit of human solutions. If this means our present social problems of poverty, violence, war and racism it is flat nonsense, however cheerful. Our only problems worth mentioning are due to sin, particularly hatred, though the sin may be the kind the Old Testament child of God prayed he might be for-

given: from my *unconscious* sins, O Lord, deliver me—from the sins against life, against the dignity of my neighbor, against the common good of which I am not even aware, but which nonetheless objectively ruin Thy divine order! Deliver me, as I beg you to do, from the sins which I admit and which I consciously confess—but do even this by Thy mercy and Thy grace, because I cannot do it alone.

(2) In fact, it is these objective evils, these objective sins of which so many of us are sometimes unconscious, because the world tells us that they are not so sinful after all, it is *these* which cause our misery. Pope Pius XII once said: "Perhaps the greatest sin in the world today is that men have begun to lose the sense of sin". This would take another sermon in terms of a few situations within the Church itself. I limit myself to the problems in our general community. We have more sense of what is bad politics, bad diplomacy, bad military tactics, bad medicine, bad technology, bad business procedures, bad union interests or bad public relations than we have the sense of what is objectively sinful. We would almost rather have a rogue in charge of our affairs, if he kept trouble away from the door, than a saint if he called us sinners to our faces and told us that we must have a change of heart before we can change the mess around us.

(3) My final quotation is from a perhaps surprising source. But it has to do both with the nature of sin and with the contemporary rejection of the whole idea of sin as the cause of our misery, as well as with its opposite as the only ground for our hope. I had never thought that I would quote James Joyce's novel *Ulysses* from this or any other pulpit. But here goes. Its principle character, a Dublin Jew, is quoted by Joyce as saying to the typical characters in his Dublin hangout: "It's no use", he says, "force, hatred, that's not a life for men and women; insult and hatred is no way of life; everybody knows that it is the very opposite of that, that is really life." "What is?", says Alf, one of the citizens. "It is love," says Bloom, "I mean the opposite of hatred." And they all laughed at him.

Please do not anyone laugh at which I have tried to say to you, a little obliquely but with great feeling, this Labor Day. I love you dearly, every last one of you. I know that many, that probably most, I sometimes think with a terrible sense of unworthiness, that *all* of you love me.

I beg you love one another and all God's children. Let us purge our hearts of hatred, which is sin, and thus purge our city of all the misery which hatred begets. Let us not merely love one another *sentimentally;* let us do the *works of love,* the first of which is justice. For it is: *Justice that exalts a nation; but sin that makes nations miserable.*

SALUTE TO MALAYSIA

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of Congress to the 12th anniversary of independence of the Federation of Malaysia on last August 31. We wish Malaysia well out of admiration for her accomplishments in her first dozen years of self-government and out of a sympathetic recognition of similar problems faced by both our governments. Like the United States, she has had to balance the rights of far-flung states within a stronger federation; like the United States, she has been challenged to weld a diverse population of many national backgrounds into a united people; like the United States, she has not always succeeded in persuading racial harmony to prevail; like the United States in Korea and Vietnam, Malaysia suffered long years of armed conflict from the Communist threat within her borders.

But Malaysia has forthrightly faced her problems and is making progress. She has dealt firmly and successfully with Communists who attempt to exploit the social antagonisms of her people. Her educational policy permits instruction in any of several officially recognized national languages. Her rural development and industrialization programs have helped to bring the outlying states more fully into national participation and to be less vulnerable to threats of subversion. She has sought a better life for all her citizens by broadening the economic base as well as reestablishing a sense of national purpose and unity with progress. As Deputy Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razak has said:

> This prosperity must be widely shared and spread throughout the nation. This prosperity is for all.

Malaysia's recent past justifies her faith in economic growth as a means of endowing her people with a sense of hopefulness and accord. The wealth and wisdom of her past development has already made her an economic leader of Southeast Asia. She produces nearly one-half of the world's rubber, and her palm oil output has increased annually. Her rich tin mines provide employment for many of her people. Her successful rural development plan serves as a model for the rest of Asia. Her people have the third highest per capita income in Asia, and her GNP grew regularly at 6 percent during the first decade of freedom. Her Government has formulated plans for the promotion of cottage industries and for industrial expansion into production of bicycles, textiles, and tools. Plans are afoot to increase agricultural output. Experimental use of new strains of rice has been initiated to increase rice production sufficiently to feed the nation. The Government, World Bank, and private enterprise are cooperating in a program to open new lands to be given to farming families.

I wish Malaysia success in her attempts to lift her people beyond the traditional divisions of culture, nationality, and religion, while suppressing those who would divert them from these worthwhile goals. It is a noble goal for the future to view Malays, Chinese, Indians, and other national groups as more than ethnic units, but rather as united Malaysians.

KNOXVILLE NEWS-SENTINEL UNDERLINES DANGER OF TVA POWER INCREASES

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the Knoxville News-Sentinel in a recent editorial deplored the recent announcement by the Tennessee Valley Authority that it is increasing power rates for the third time in 2 years.

This announcement has caused concern among TVA's strong supporters throughout the Tennessee Valley and the Nation and in this connection I place in the RECORD herewith a copy of the editorial, a news article by Mr. Powell Lindsay, Washington correspondent for the newspaper, and a letter from Mr. Dan Laws, city attorney of Elizabethton, Tenn., deploring the fact that the city of Elizabethton must continue to increase its consumer power rates because of TVA action in this regard.

The articles from the News-Sentinel and the letter from Mr. Laws follow:

EVINS CRITICIZES TVA RATE HIKE

(By Powell Lindsay)

WASHINGTON, Aug. 8.—A key Tennessee congressman has scolded TVA for upping its electric power rates.

Instead, said Rep. Joe L. Evins, Smithville Democrat, TVA ought to, "if at all possible, reduce rates rather than increase them."

Evins, ranking member of the House subcommittee which recommends funds for TVA, said it was difficult to understand why TVA couldn't make "some internal adjustment" to meet mounting costs and avoid a rate increase.

"The fact is that TVA is changing its image from one of economical power to one of escalating power costs," Evins said.

TVA, citing rising fuel and labor costs and high interest rates, recently announced its third rate increase within two years.

"As a longtime friend and supporter of TVA, this development disturbs me," Evins said. "I want TVA to maintain its image as the yardstick of economic public power.

"TVA would do well to review this entire matter and its decision to increase rates and, if at all possible, reduce rates rather than increase them," said the congressman.

TVA IMAGE IN PERIL

It's an interesting criticism that Rep. Joe L. Evins of Tennessee makes when he says that the Tennessee Valley Authority is "changing its image from one of economical power to one of escalating power costs." Evins, whose record and voice show long friendship with TVA and support of its programs, was referring to a recently announced third rate increase made by the authority in two years.

Internal adjustments should be made, Evins says, so that TVA can "maintain its image as the yardstick of economic public power." He would like the decision to raise rates reviewed with a purpose of reducing rather than increasing the charges.

We hope Evins is successful.

ELIZABETHTON, TENN.,
August 16, 1969.

Congressman JOE L. EVINS,
House of Representatives Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN EVINS: As the City Attorney of Elizabethton, Tennessee, and more particularly as an individual citizen, I was pleased to read the enclosed news item recently published in the *Knoxville News Sentinel.*

Our situation here in Elizabethton, Tennessee, a City of approximately 13,000 population, is one where the electric system has approximately $2,000,000.00 in deposits and are restricted by the T.V.A. Act from using these funds except in two instances, one for capital improvement and the other for rate reduction. Yet, our local rate continues to increase although we do have one of the lowest in the Country.

Thanking you for your kind attention to this matter and awaiting your advice in the premises, I am

Sincerely,

DAN M. LAWS, Jr.,
City Attorney.

RIVERSIDE PAYS TRIBUTE TO ITS FAMOUS LANDSCAPE ARCHITECT

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, one of the most interesting cities in the United States is Riverside, Ill., the first planned model community in the Nation, which is located in my district.

Next Sunday, September 7, will be Olmsted Day in Riverside, in commemoration of the centennial of the Riverside plan that was drawn up by Frederick Law Olmsted. Olmsted was not only one of America's greatest landscape architects—he was the first to use the term "landscape architect," having coined it in 1858, when he and Calvert Vaux designed Central Park in New York City.

The Chicago Daily News of July 30 contained a very interesting and well-written article about Riverside and Mr. Olmsted, by M. W. Newman, which I am including in the RECORD as a part of my remarks:

RIVERSIDE: A MONUMENT IN GREEN: UNIQUE 100-YEAR-OLD SUBURB HONORING PLANNER OLMSTED, WHO GAVE IT VISTAS, TREES, AND CURVED STREETS

(By M. W. Newman)

Robert W. Heidrich, a Chicago lawyer, first saw suburban Riverside a dozen years ago. The gently curving streets surprised him. So did handsome Long Common in the middle of the village, the century-old elms and oaks, the gas lamps and the mellow, time-defying unity of the place.

"That is for us," Heidrich told his blond wife Lynn.

They bought a house along the winding Des Plaines River, where fox and pheasants ran. "But would you believe it," Heidrich now says, still a little surprised, "I never had heard of Frederick Law Olmsted at the time. And I'm not sure how many other people in Riverside knew or cared about him."

Now, surely, most of them must know—thanks to Heidrich and other earnest members of the Frederick Law Olmsted Society. For Riverside is celebrating its centennial this year, and Olmsted is the pioneer city planner and all-around man who laid out its 1,600 acres as America's first model suburb, just nine miles west of downtown Chicago. The Olmsted Society has been reminding Riverside about all this, in case anyone had forgotten.

Olmsted had the greenest thumb of his time. He designed great urban parks and communities from coast to coast—from Central Park in New York to Golden Gate Park in San Francisco.

A noted writer, a scientific farmer, a battler against slavery and corrupt politicians, he was a sort of American Renaissance man.

And he had a great deal to do with Chicago, even if history is only now catching up with him. Chicago owes its design for Jackson and Washington parks and Midway Plaisance to his genius. His landscaping for Chicago's great World's Fair, the 1893 Columbian Exposition, was a major factor in its success.

When the Riverside Improvement Co. brought Olmsted here to develop an ideal commuter suburb, the time was only four years after the Civil War. Chicago was a ramshackle, swollen tinderbox, still two years away from its devastating fire of 1871.

This still was the frontier. It was willing to try new ideas, and Olmsted had them. He was so far ahead of his time that Riverside to this day, gas lamps and all, still seems to be the most modern planned community. The reason is that it has not deviated from Olmsted's 1869 plan, which blended housing and greenery while lovingly respecting the natural terrain.

Living in Riverside, say the Heidrichs, is like living in a park—which is precisely what Olmsted had in mind. Those curving streets (there are only about three straight roads in the entire village of 9,750 persons) related beautifully to the river and the land. Rich foliage seems to be almost everywhere. Road levels are subtly depressed to emphasize Riverside's natural setting.

The contrast with today's raw new suburban developments is painful. Their unplanned jamup of ticky tacky on narrow lots, with skimpy landscaping, grubby shopping districts and dangerous highways, is exactly what Olmsted set out to avoid.

Almost anyone who lives in Riverside can look out of his front window, for example, and see great trees. They didn't just happen to grow there; Olmsted wisely insisted that their residents plant at least two trees in their front yards.

MONOTONY CHALLENGED

The Heidrichs, who now live at 165 Longcommon in Riverside, have a good many more than two trees. The pair they owe to Olmsted's foresight, they believe, are the chestnuts that flank their front walkway.

It was in Riverside that the handsomely bearded Olmsted decided to challenge the grid pattern of streets that makes most American cities so monotonous. The formula already had been fixed in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and it never has changed in them.

We seem to be stuck with it interminably, even though it makes our cities look as though they emerged from one giant stamping mill, designed without regard for differences in terrain, grading, drainage, taste or convenience. The main reason for the grid was to simplify real estate descriptions and sales. So when Olmsted single-handed set out to change that system, he at the same time laid the foundations for humane and sensible city planning.

To this day, many model suburban and housing developments around the country owe their design to Olmsted's Riverside plan.

But only a few have such amenities as Long Common, Riverside's "Midway"—one of several commons artfully dispersed through the village. And when Bob Heidrich looked out of his window one day in 1966 and saw Long Common dotted with tot lot equipment abruptly installed by village officials, it started an uncommon adventure.

CHANGE BRINGS BATTLE

As far as Heidrich was concerned, this invasion of seesaws and toy animals was a misuse of the site and a cluttering of Olmsted's unified and sensitive setting of homes and greenery.

The fight over Long Common became a cause celebre in Riverside and was taken to court, where it still awaits a ruling. It also helped to get Heidrich insterested in Olmsted, in a way he never had anticipated.

"I already had become alarmed over the introduction of ugly electric lighting in downtown Riverside and things like that," he says. His civic dander was up, so when the fight over Long Common broke out, Heidrich started looking around for the original plan of the community.

The search for Riverside's heritage took him to the Library of Congress in Washington, where he was overwhelmed to find 30,000 Olmsted documents on file. And there, he recalls, he studied Olmsted's "beautiful plan" for Riverside. It was the second draft; the first, Heidrich learned, had been destroyed in the Chicago Fire of 1871.

Riverside was a woody tract along the Des Plaines River, an old portage site and Indian trailway, when Olmsted and his partner, Calvert Vaux, were called to design the village. They already were established as the designers of Central Park in New York, America's first great urban park, where Olmsted first showed how to separate foot and vehicular traffic.

Olmsted conceived of Riverside as essentially middle-class, but with homes for people of modest means and the newly married as well as for the settled affluent.

WRITER AND FIGHTER

Born in 1822, Olmsted came out of Hartford, Conn., to ramble the world in carriage and forecastle as a youth. He first made his name with documentary reporting in the 1850s on the slavery system in the Deep South.

This versatile man was a founder of the American Red Cross and the Nation magazine. But he achieved his historic role in life when he was employed as superintendent of New York's Central Park. Not only did he design the famous park as we know it today, but he fought the Boss Tweed political gang to preserve it from political interference.

He had to resign five times in that urban war, and his health was affected. It was a prophetic prolog to the plight of the nature-minded urbanist, seeking to make our cities natural and livable, with open landscaped spaces suited for the simple joys of breathing deeply and stretching one's legs.

Olmsted created Chicago's beautiful Jackson Park out of barrens and marshes and dunes. Jensen's masterworks include Columbus Park and Humboldt Park. Probably neither man would have been surprised to learn that City Hall today is sponsoring controversial plans to put schools and perhaps even housing in their parks. And Jackson Park, of course, has been the scene of angry citizen protests against tree-cutting and highway-widening.

It is all part of the fight over open land in the cities. Olmsted lived long enough (until 1903) to point out wryly that there would not be any Central Park left if all the buildings and sideshows proposed for it had been accepted.

Even Olmsted's Riverside, preserved as it is out of the city's turmoil, cannot ignore change. It is about filled up, and feeling population pressures. The proposed 1st Av. expressway and present 39th St. throughway are traffic problems.

Riverside already has lost one of its two greatest architectural treasures, the Babson House designed by Louis H. Sullivan. The village turned it down when it was offered as a gift, and a new subdivision now stands on the old Babson estate.

Its other world-renowned building, the palatial Coonley House designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, has been walled in two. Half of it is said to be up for sale.

And though the Riverside was designed by a man who exposed the evils of slavery, the files of the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities do not indicate the presence of any black householders in Riverside. "There was a rumor one family had moved in," a resident said, "but it wasn't true."

Sept. 7 has been designated as Olmsted Day in Riverside by the Olmsted Society, which is headed by Heidrich. It was organized last September by about a dozen couples, and 10 times that number now are members. A high point of Olmsted Day will be a house walk that will include the Coonley House.

The Olmsted Society now is seeking to

have Riverside designated as a national historic landmark. Olmsted, to be sure, really doesn't need monuments, for he created his own—the grounds of the Capitol in Washington, Niagara Falls park, the Stanford University campus in Palo Alto, Calif., flanked by a green belt.

All we really have to do, say his present-day admirers, is to hold on to what he gave us—and to build in the same spirit.

SOUTH HOLLAND, ILL.

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, my home community of South Holland, Ill., celebrated its 75th anniversary with ceremonies concluding on Labor Day. This old, but thriving, community has one of the most unique backgrounds of any municipality in Illinois.

For that reason I was especially pleased to note an editorial in the South Holland Tribune, Sunday, August 31, which eloquently touched upon the history of our unique village of South Holland.

The editorial follows:

IT'S A GLORIOUS DAY IN SOUTH HOLLAND HISTORY

The Tribune is both proud and happy today to present to the people of South Holland a special section of this newspaper commemorating the 75th anniversary of the founding of the community. We have hopes that it will inform the younger element of the glorious past and remind the older residents of events in their lives that may have been long forgotten.

Much effort by many people have gone into compiling this historical document but we think special recognition is due to Mrs. Cynthia Jacobs who eagerly agreed to represent the Tribune in compiling the photographs and information needed to make this once-in-a-lifetime project a success. Her assistance was invaluable and we owe her a debt of gratitude, as well as those who provided her with the material.

Then there is our own Penny Bradshaw who took the raw material and, with the assistance of the Tribune's women's editor, Verneeta Gowens, wove it into a document that we believe, and we think you will agree, earns a place in the archives of the community.

Not to be forgotten are those who helped underwrite the cost of this most expensive product. Without the financial assistance of the advertisers, both in South Holland and its neighboring communities, the scope of the project would of necessity been more limited. It is important that they too, as business organizations, go down in the village history along with its pioneer citizens for they have played an equally important role in its growth. Without representation in the document their contributions, even their presence, might well be forgotten by posterity.

The South Holland of today is a far cry from the community of yesteryear which served as a haven for a few Dutch families who broke ground for their farms almost a century ago. Yet, the South Holland of today is stark evidence of the steadfastness and forsight of those founding families. A modern community judged by the most critical standards, South Holland remains, nevertheless, one of homes and churches with a springling of light industry that enhances rather than detracts from its physiognomy.

From a community purely Dutch in character, South Holland has grown into one more cosmopolitan in nature. Within its limits architecturally splendid churches representing almost all faiths are to be found. Founded as it was on religous principles it was natural that the community was to set Sunday as a day of rest and worship and it is a tribute to the founding generation that even those who have since adopted the community are happy to subscribe to this principle—with some minor alterations effected several years ago which included the privilege of selling medicines and drugs. Throughout all these 75 years not one drop of alcoholic liquors has been sold within the confines of the community and the residents, both old and new, appear not only satisfied but happy with that arrangement. South Holland is and perhaps always will be a "dry" town.

Growth and stability have not just happened. South Holland has had the advantage of fine government guided by capable and devoted leaders. Our memory travels back over three administrations—those of James Gouwens, Henry Van Der Giessen and the current president, Harold Gouwens—and we believe it can be said without fear of contradiction, that it was the efforts of these three individuals who, more than any other, that guided the village over the rough spots and formed a solid foundation for the almost meteoric but orderly growth that has been experienced. It is a well-planned community apparently safe for all times from heterogeneous expansion such as is experienced in many other communities with leadership of less foresight and dedication.

South Holland has an ample water supply, fine fire and police protection and refuse collection, a good sewage system and excellent streets, all of which combine to substantiate the excellence of its management. That South Hollanders are happy people is due in no small measure to the environment which has been created for them.

We would be derelict if we failed here to take note of the efforts of the Jubilee committee, headed by Tom Miller, which has spent so many hours planning the official observance and social phase of the community's Diamond Jubilee over this weekend. Beginning with an open house at the municipal center (which started yesterday) the holiday weekend will be replete with entertainment and action, details of which will be found elsewhere in this publication. We would urge all townsmen to participate for here is an opportunity to meet with their neighbors in an atmosphere of joviality and friendliness. Here is an opportunity to become acquainted with those public officials in whose hands the destiny of the community has been placed. Here is the chance to see the home town at play.

Finally, the entire Williams Press organization joins the Tribune in extending to the people of South Holland their most sincere congratulations on having achieved this milestone in history. It is our hope that we can relive some of the nostalgic events of today 25 years hence when the community observes its centennial. Meanwhile, we shall seek to keep its citizens informed in our columns of those events which will combine to provide the material from which the history of tomorrow will be written.

COMMUNIST WAR CRIMES IN VIETNAM

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the recent announcement by the Embassy of Vietnam that since 1962 more than 120,000 noncombatant men, women, and children have been murdered by the Communist Vietcong staggers the imagination of free men.

To think that as many people as now living in Pasadena, Calif., or Hammond, Ind., or Columbus, Ga., have been viciously murdered by the Vietcong is repugnant to civilized man.

We do not—and we must never—condone the activities of such terrorists. More important, we Americans must realize that we are at war, facing a merciless, godless threat in Vietnam—an enemy that is but a front for its international master and which will stop at nothing to impose its ideology of fear upon all unwitting human beings.

Tragically, there are malcontents within our own country who still refuse to acknowledge these atrocities by the Communists. Especially has this been the case with many so-called reformists and peaceniks including some of the news media.

In order to help set the record straight, I include a recent report from the Embassy of Vietnam, "Communists Kill, Kidnap 120,308 Civilians," following my remarks:

COMMUNISTS KILL, KIDNAP 120,308 CIVILIANS

SAIGON, July 24.—Since 1962, the Communist terrorists have killed and kidnaped 120,308 innocent civilians, an official report said today.

The highest toll was reported in 1968 during the Communist Mau Than Lunar New Year and June offensives, with 41,952 persons slain or captured.

Since early this year, the Communist terrorist activities have increased, causing 10,160 people killed or captured, 14,267 others wounded and 2,451 houses destroyed.

Besides, religious facilities such as churches and pagodas in Vinh Hoi, Quang Ngai, Ba Xuyen, Quang Tin, Long An and Ben Luc and social welfare facilities such as hospitals and schools were also damaged by the Communists, the report said.

NEARLY 200 YOUTHS ABDUCTED BY COMMUNISTS

SAIGON, July 25.—The Communists have captured nearly 200 South Vietnamese youths to send to the North, spokesmen at the National Press center said:

The victims included 138 youths from the I Corps Tactical Zone and 57 others from the III Corps Tactical Zone.

ANOTHER MASS GRAVE OF RED VICTIMS FOUND IN HUE

HUE, July 23.—During a search operation on July 20 the Nam Hoa sub-sector command found a mass grave of 40 victims who were killed by the Communists during their Nau Than (1968) New Year offensive. The grave was uncovered at Dinh Mon hamlet, Thuong Hoa village.

The remains of the victims were transported to the hamlet school so as to help possible identifications prior to the organization of a mass funeral by the local administration, it was reported.

SALUTE TO INDIA

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on this 22d anniversary year of India's independence, we are proud to commemorate

that historic event and to pay tribute to her manifold achievements during the last two decades. We salute the people of India and their courageous leaders who have brought India to its present position of world eminence. Indeed, India's recent achievements in democratic government, social reform, and technological advance make that progressive nation a model for all newly independent countries to follow.

In the tradition of its great leaders, Gandhi and Nehru, India's Government has been unified and strengthened under the strong and progressive leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The truly representative form of government provided for in India's Constitution has resulted in ever-increasing national unity and in important legislative initiatives toward solving problems in both rural and urban India.

Although agriculture continues to be the predominant component of the Indian economy, comprising about half of the national income, the contribution of other fields to the economy has increased steadily since independence. The annual industrial expansion has averaged 10 percent, aggregating 150 percent during the period 1951 to 1965. Large modern steel mills, fertilizer plants, heavy machinery plants, oil refineries, and locomotive works have been constructed at an amazingly rapid rate. New plants are turning out a wide variety of consumer and producer goods, many never before manufactured in India.

India is steadily improving those aspects which hindered economic growth in the first decade after independence: the lack of development capital, low level of consumer income, inadequate transport facilities, limited power supplies, and the lack of both skilled technicians and experienced management. With time, all of these limitations are being surmounted as the entire economy matures and continues to grow at a rate that is envied by developed and underdeveloped nations alike.

Although India has made important beginnings in economic growth and social progress, it still faces many large, but not insurmountable, problems in its continuing advance toward modernization. The standard of living in India is still one of the lowest in the world. Poverty, illiteracy, overcrowding, and frequent famines still loom as compelling challenges to the ingenuity and stamina of the Indian people and particularly to their leaders. Overpopulation, that paramount obstacle to progress in nearly all of the developing areas of the world, is India's chief enemy and accounts for its most difficult political and social dilemmas.

India's outstanding record in the short time since independence, however, is an encouraging indication that such problems will eventually be surmounted. Given the forward-looking determination to better their way of life that the independent people of India have thus far demonstrated, that strong nation's future looks bright indeed. We congratulate India on the remarkable progress she has made in recent years, and we express our confidence that she will continue to grow in her role as leader of Asia and exemplifier of democracy at work in the developing regions of the world.

COL. GEORGE A. KRIM DIES

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, one of the Army's experts on armored warfare, Col. George A. Krim, has passed away after an extended illness.

Colonel Krim contributed so much to the military service which was his life that I believe the newspaper articles marking his passing and also an article which appeared in Time magazine in 1943 should be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a permanent tribute to his memory and all that he contributed to the U.S. Army.

The two articles follow:

[From Time magazine, Aug. 2, 1943]

THE RISE OF SERGEANT KRIM

The old army noncoms who still wear chevrons in the vastly expanded U.S. Army of 1943 have something to brag about. One of them has set some kind of a record for promotion.

In April of last year, tall, serious George Krim was a master sergeant. He had 26 years of service behind him, and the respect that officers give to oldtimers who know all the answers. Today George Krim is a lieutenant colonel.

After returning from France in 1919, George Krim, with a new set of sergeant's chevrons on his sleeve, became a regular soldier and a tankman. Over two decades he built up a quiet reputation as an engine expert, an intrepid tester of tanks. When the Armored Forces was organized in 1941, Sergeant Krim was one of the few men who knew much about a branch in which the money-shy U.S. Army had long been weak. He became an instructor. After many months somebody discovered that George Krim deserved more from the Army. Result: forthright promotion to a captaincy, with more rank on the way. Colonel Krim's present assignment: secret tests of tanks.

[From the San Jose Mercury, July 14, 1969]

EARLY U.S. TANK EXPERT COL. GEORGE KRIM DIES

Col. George A. Krim, an Army tank expert when there were only a handful of such men in the service, died yesterday in a Palo Alto hospital after an extended illness. He was 74.

Colonel Krim, who may have held a record for promotion in the Army, rose from sergeant to lieutenant colonel from 1941 to 1943 because of his tank expertise.

A resident of 7150 Rainbow Dr., he had been a county resident since retiring from the Army on Feb. 28, 1953.

He entered the service on June 21, 1916 and served overseas with the Infantry in World War I.

He returned to the United States with a sergeant's rank. In the two decades following World War I's end, Krim assiduously studied engines and armored equipment.

Time Magazine on August 1943 took notice of his rapid Army promotion and wrote about Krim:

". . . Over two decades he built up a quiet reputation as an engine expert and intricate tester of tanks. When the armored section was organized in 1941 Sgt. Krim was one of the few men who knew much about the branch in which the money-shy United States Army had long been weak.

"He became an instructor and after many months somebody discovered George Krim deserved more from the Army. Result: forthright promotion to a captaincy, with more rank on the way. Thirteen months later he was a lieutenant colonel."

Krim was instrumental in the organization and administration of the engine division, tank department of the Armed Forces school at Fort Knox, Ky., in 1941.

During the second World War he was put in charge of a special secret tank training group which later went to England on a hush hush mission whose role was never made public.

Krim was the husband of Josie M. Krim of San Jose; father of Lucille A. Scarr of Texas and Maj. James B. Krim of Kentucky; brother of Lucille O. Krim, Cora Meyers, both of Kentucky, and grandfather of six.

Funeral services will be held at 2 p.m. Monday at the Willow Glen Chapel. Interment will be in the Veterans' plot at Oak Hill Cemetery.

BACK TO FEDERALISM

HON. MARTIN B. McKNEALLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. McKNEALLY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include in the RECORD the following excellent editorial which appeared in a recent edition of the New York Daily News and is entitled "Back to Federalism":

BACK TO FEDERALISM

President Richard M. Nixon passed along to Congress last week the revenue-sharing proposal that will be the cornerstone of what he has dubbed the New Federalism.

The measure would funnel no-strings-attached federal money to the states, beginning with a modest $500 million during the next fiscal year and working up to $5 billion by the 1975 fiscal year.

Mr. Nixon hopes thereby to restore some substance to the federal system, now but a shadow of what the Founding Fathers established.

The President is bucking a tide that began with President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal attack on the crisis conditions of the Great Depression.

What started as an emergency salvage operation has become, over the years, an end in itself as liberals saddled the country with their Big-Brother-knows-best ideas.

Now there are so many Washington-packaged aid, grant and loan schemes that even the self-anointed experts have lost track of their number. In the process, the machinery for administering these projects has become crusted with layers of bureaucratic barnacles.

The cost—in waste, duplication, red tape and buck-passing—is enormous.

As it clamped its fist on an ever-expanding range of activities, the federal government found it necessary to soak up more and more of the nation's wealth. Increasingly, states and cities have been strapped for revenue.

And because many programs were set up on a matching basis, localities anxious to grab a chunk of "free" federal money were lured into programs they could ill afford—and in some cases did not even need.

The whole business of centralizing authority was a mistake from the beginning. The U.S. is simply too vast, too complex and too diverse a nation to fit snugly into a strait jacket tailored by dreamy theorizers.

Revenue-sharing would be a giant step in the direction of dismantling the cumbersome apparatus that has grown up in Washington. It can't happen too soon to suit us.

CONGRESSMAN JOHN BRADEMAS AWARDED HONORARY DOCTORATE OF LAWS BY NOTRE DAME

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, I quote:

He has been trusted by all those, on both sides of thirty, who want most to put intelligence and integrity to work in the service of the nation and of mankind.

That is the concluding sentence in the citation which was read when our distinguished and able colleague, the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. BRADEMAS, was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by the University of Notre Dame on June 1 of this year.

On the same occasion, this great American university awarded honorary doctorates of law to such prominent government figures as Daniel P. Moynihan of the White House staff, Secretary of Labor Schultz, Senator EDMUND MUSKIE and former Ambassador Sol Linowitz. I insert the full list of honorary degrees conferred, and the text of the citation for the degree awarded our colleague from Indiana at this point in the RECORD:

DEGREES CONFERRED

The University of Notre Dame announces the conferring of *The Degree of Doctor of Laws, honoris causa, on:*

His Eminence George B. Cardinal Flahiff, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

Dr. Daniel P. Moynihan, Washington, D.C.

Honorable John Brademas, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Thomas P. Carney, Chicago, Illinois.

Monsignor Luc P. Gillon, Kinshasa XI, Republic of Congo.

Honorable Sol W. Linowitz, Washington, D.C.

Honorable Edmund S. Muskie, Washington, D.C.

Dr. Nathan M. Newark, Urbana, Illinois.

Honorable Stephen O'Connell, Gainesville, Florida.

Honorable George P. Shultz, Washington, D.C.

Judge Luther M. Swygert, Chicago, Illinois.

The Degree of Doctor of Science, honoris causa, on:

Dr. Henry Eyring, Salt Lake City, Utah.

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

At The 124th Commencement the June Exercises The University of Notre Dame confers the degree of Doctor of Laws, *honoris causa* on a man who in 1958 was elected, at the age of thirty-one, to represent Indiana's Third Congressional District, the district in which the University of Notre Dame is located, in the United States House of Representatives. He has continued to serve in that capacity brilliantly since that time.

What manner of man is he? Plato suggests the type in speaking of the education and selection of Rulers in the *Republic,* "They must have the right sort of intelligence and ability; and also they must look upon the commonwealth as their special concern—the sort of concern that is felt for something so closely bound up with oneself that its interest and fortunes, or good or ill, are held to be identical with one's own".

What is his social philosophy? Whitehead, in his essay on "Universities and Their Functions", gives us a suitable statement of it: "In the modern complex organism, the adventure of life cannot be disjoined from intellectual adventure. It is a libel upon human nature to conceive that zest for life is the product of pedestrian purposes directed toward the narrow routine of material comforts. Mankind by its pioneering instinct, and in a hundred other ways, proclaims the falsehood of that lie".

What has he achieved? Much of the major federal educational legislation of recent years is attributable to is genius and his hard work. He has always been acutely aware of the fact that man's reach, his spirit, and his vision are by no means limited to his material needs and comforts. He has shown that the role of the leader is not only to reflect the will of the people, but also to inform and to form that will. He has been trusted by all those, on both sides of thirty, who want most to put intelligence and integrity to work in the service of the nation and of mankind. On The Honorable John Brademas, Washington, D.C.

IS DDT WORTH THE RISK?

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Sun Times recently ran an editorial on DDT, and raised a very valid question as to whether further use of this chemical is worth the risk it provides for mankind.

The Sun Times editorial is a classic and I believe it deserves strong consideration for the Pulitizer Prize.

In simple and succinct terms, this editorial dramatizes better than anything else that has been written on this subject the dangers that lie ahead for civilization as it continues to disturb the chain of life.

Mr. Speaker, I do not know who wrote this editorial, but it would be my hope that this excellent piece of writing would be included in every textbook as an outstanding example of journalism at its very best.

The author has managed to grasp, with a few poignant strokes, the full range of dangers that lie ahead as man tinkers with his environment.

The Sun Times editorial follows:

IS DDT WORTH THE RISK?

A principal argument of opponents of the use of DDT is that the toxic substance interferes with the chain of life.

For those who doubt that such a danger is real, there is evidence in a recent issue of Natural History Magazine. In an article on grants for ecological studies, a Ford Foundation official related this tale:

DDT was used in a Borneo mosquito abatement project. The mosquitos died, as predicted. So, however, did a large number of predatory wasps, which had kept the caterpillar population under control. Thus freed of a natural enemy, the caterpillars thrived, dining with abandon on the roofs of native houses. The result: The roofs began to collapse.

Meanwhile, the DDT also was used to control houseflies. The flies died as predicted. So, too, did a small lizard that ate houseflies, and so, too, did cats who ate the dead lizards.

As a result, the rat population zoomed upward—and in order to control the danger of plague, fresh cats were parachuted in.

The moral: When man intervenes with nature, armed with a spray gun, he had best remember that he, as well as mosquitos, flies, lizards, caterpillars, cats and rats, is part of the chain of life.

And, the cat airlift notwithstanding, it may not always be possible to keep the chain intact with parachuted replacement parts.

OPPOSING THE VIETNAM WAR IS NOT ISOLATIONISM

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, an excellent article has been written by Barbara Stuhler, associate director of the Minnesota World Affairs Center. Miss Stuhler examines the charge of isolationism being leveled at congressional critics of the Vietnam war and other military excesses. Her analysis is very perceptive and constructive. I am sure all of my colleagues will find the following article of value:

THE AMERICAN SENATE AND NEO-ISOLATIONISM

(By Barbara Stuhler)

We hear a good deal of talk today about neo-isolationism in the United States. Many Americans, weary of international responsibility and worried about domestic tranquillity, are facing inward with their backs to the world. It is not surprising that this public sentiment finds expression in the United States Senate but the identity of neo-isolationist senators merits careful examination, not careless accusation. The charge of new isolationism in the American Senate was launched largely by columnists of conservative persuasion. Listen to Roscoe Drummond:

Is another wishful, head-in-the-sand group of Senators going to take the nation into new isolationism by pretending that the lesson of Vietnam is that little in the world concerns us or in supposing that (by) throwing off more of our responsibilities as a great power, we can live safely and cozily in our own little corner of the planet?

And William S. White echoes the same theme when he comments:

The new isolationists of the Senate are attacking more than the anti-ballistic-missile system and more even than the whole philosophy of adequate military preparation in a world where danger still manifestly lives.

They are challenging the very realities of the present in a headlong retreat to a past which even after all this time they still cannot understand. They are in fact turning the clock back by three decades to the late Thirties, when the old isolationists were all but disarming this country while Hitlerism was visibly rising in Europe.

Drummond and White point their fingers at the Fulbrights, Kennedys, McGoverns, Mansfields, and McCarthys as neo-isolationist spokesmen and advocates. To many Americans who equate isolationism with Republicanism, this has been a jarring accusation. After all, Henry Cabot Lodge and his cohorts, whom Woodrow Wilson labeled "a little band of willful men," prevented our joining the League of Nations. During the 1930's, the retreat to isolationism was sealed by the conclusion of Republican Senator Nye's well publicized investigating committee that we had been sucked into World War I by the machinations of the "merchants of death." (Today, we give these same alleged conspirators a more academic designation—we call

them the "military-industrial complex.") When World War II began in Europe, Republican Senators were among those most vocal and vehement in the protest against the abandonment of neutrality as the cardinal rule of foreign policy. Mindful of its rejection of the League of Nations after the first world war, America was determined not to be blamed after the second for the retreat from responsibility. We took the lead in organizing the United Nations and that charter was enthusiastically endorsed by the United States Senate with only two Senators voting against it and they were both Republicans—William Langer of North Dakota and Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota.

The historic isolationism of Republicans was partly partisan—when Europe heated up in the 'Teens and in the Thirties, Democrats occupied the White House. In large part, however, their isolationism was representative of the radical agrarian tradition that permeated middle and western America. The liberal Republicans and their third party offshoots who articulated this tradition first set forth the proposition before World War I that international affairs were an unworthy intrusion upon domestic priorities. In the minds of these men, we should have bent our energies to the task of building a more perfect society which could serve as an example to the world in peace and freedom and with an economic system that afforded fair play for all. The exploitation of the worker and the uncertain security of the farmer were eloquent signs of a sick society. We were, these isolationists argued, being diverted from domestic improvement by unnecessary involvement in the contagious corruption of Europe and its national struggles for power, prestige and profit. Furthermore, we were susceptible to these same ills if we let the munitions makers, the bankers and Wall Street have their way. They were manipulating America away from her original goodness into acquired sin, from her prime obligation of domestic reform into international meddling.

The rhetoric of the Sixties may not be quite so flamboyant but it has a striking similarity to that of the Thirties. The poverty of millions of Americans living in the world's most affluent society has shamed us and moved us to action. The injustice of discrimination in a nation which presumed to be the foremost spokesman for equal opportunity has led us to question nearly 200 years of hypocrisy. The frustrating war in Vietnam has angered Americans and, in their reaction, they have challenged the basic assumption of post-World War II foreign policy that we should police the world in order to prevent aggression, contain conflict and preserve the peace. They are alarmed at the momentum of the military-industrial complex which appears hard, if not impossible, to stop and they protest that the state of the economy is based on "guns not butter." And political leaders of today, like their antecedents, assert that peace can best be served by making America an example for the world.

But the similarities between these two eras do not stop with rhetoric. The United States is decreasing the amount of economic assistance to the poor nations of the world to the point where the interest payments we receive on our loans often exceeds the aid we give. In the 1930's, the big economic issue was the failure of the hard-pressed nations of Europe to pay their debts owed us for war and reconstruction. We were penny-pinchers then and it might be argued that we are penny-pinchers now. In the 1930's, tariffs went higher and higher as we struggled to protect American industry from foreign competition. In the 1960's, quotas and other new protective devices are being hailed as the way to halt the increasing number of imports coming into the United States. We had to learn from the experience of the Thirties that had we cancelled the war debts and lowered tariffs, the world economy would have had a chance at recovery. As it turned out, we intensified the depression by insisting that the war debts be paid and by escalating tariffs to an historic high. We made no effort to help build an international community; instead, we attempted to shut ourselves off from conflict by passing a series of neutrality acts. Today, many Americans argue that there shall be no more Vietnams, no more interventions, and the concept of collective security becomes rusty with the distrust of certain of our military alliances and with the disuse of the United Nations.

It is not surprising that the charge of neo-isolationism is leveled against men whose rhetoric parallels that of the Thirties in their assertion that we should take a lesser role in world affairs and expand our energies on our problems at home. Nor is it surprising that this rhetoric stems from political figures to whom one might legitimately ascribe the liberal label. As we have already noted, American radicals have been in the forefront of the isolationist tradition. The list of the foremost Senate isolationists of the 1930's looks like an honor roll of those who fought domestic injustice: Lundeen of Minnesota, LaFollette of Wisconsin, Wheeler of Montana, Johnson of California, Borah of Idaho, and Norris of Nebraska. In terms of their concerns for domestic affairs, it should be expected that Kennedy and McGovern and the rest would be the natural inheritors of this cause.

But the comparison fails in a number of crucial respects. Not all these men who emphasize domestic reform today and urge a greater restraint in world affairs wish to raise barriers to trade nor decrease aid nor ignore the United Nations nor disarm unilaterally. Indeed, among them, you will find the strongest advocates of American responsibility in world affairs but they do not equate that responsibility with support of American policy in Vietnam or the installation of an anti-ballistic-missile system or an unquestioning support of the defense establishment. This is not to say that they are right or wrong but only to suggest that the isolationist tag does not fit with great precision. A new isolationism *is* abroad in the land—it is quite clear that some Americans would be quite content to disassociate the United States from the headaches of world affairs. The question before us is who are the Senate isolationists? Are they the Kennedys who suggest that we open up lines of communication with the mainland of China? Are they the Fulbrights who protest that we do not make adequate use of international instruments to channel aid? Are they the Mike Mansfields who have devoted their careers to Asian Affairs? Are they the McGoverns who spent their energies in the executive and legislative branches to assuage hunger at home and abroad? Are they the McCarthys who call for more enlightened trade policies with Latin America? Let us turn from them for a moment and look at the Senators who have supported our actions in Vietnam, who have endorsed the Safeguard system and who have championed large military appropriations. Here we find, for the most part, conservative Republicans and southern Democrats. These are the Senators who have also most vigorously opposed freer trade and larger aid, and have been indifferent to the formation of an international community. There are exceptions, of course, but the fact remains that their main thrust has been national strength, self-sufficiency and unilateral action.

Part of the difficulty in sorting out the Senate isolationist lies in the differing interpretations of isolationism. To some it means a weakening of our capability to oppose aggression from whatever source. A corollary of this is that initiatives to moderate tensions between the communist nations and ourselves may prove to be the appeasement that invites aggression. Those who hold to this definition do so out of the experiences before the second World War when efforts to appease Hitler's appetite only nurtured his appetite for more. After the war, this conviction was reinforced when efforts to "get along" with the USSR resulted in Soviet territorial imperialism. To others, isolationism represents a lack of generosity to less fortunate nations, a lack of commitment to regional and international organization, a reluctance to initiate policies that may lead to the resolution or containment of conflict. Are those who advocate withdrawal from Vietnam appeasers? Are those who opposed the ABM weakening America's ability to counter aggression? Are those who assert that the military has grown too big and too powerful diminishing our national security? There is room for honest disagreement on these difficult issues but to conclude that men who hold these views are necessarily neo-isolationists does not fit their voices or their votes if you subscribe to the position that there is another dimension to internationalism which also requires commercial, cultural and organizational association with other nations.

Just as there are conservative and liberal Republicans, and conservative and liberal Democrats, so, too the case can be made for varying strains of isolationism and internationalism. One kind of isolationists is the "fortress America" variety. Enough said of this petrified man. Another is the kind who will insist on the primacy of domestic policy over foreign policy and who will ignore the hard realities of interdependence, of the fact that a great nation's domestic happiness will turn on the question of its security on the world scene. The internationalists run along a continuum, from those who would so structure the world that the only military force was in the possession of the United Nations to those who would continue to respect the need for a national military component while advocating a greater internationalism of other aspects of American foreign policy.

At the moment, it appears that the so-called neo-isolationism of the left is a reaction against the overzealous interpretation of great power responsibility, against an overheated response to aggression or revolution, and against an overeager sense of democracy's missionary spirit. Because liberal Senators urge restraint in foreign policy, it does not necessarily follow that they mean abdication. As yet, there is insufficient evidence to mark their protest as isolationism. What is evident is that they are trying to restore the balance between the Upper House and the Presidency in foreign policy decision-making. The prospect remains, of course, that some among these same Senators may overreact by rejecting future administration efforts to strengthen the instruments of American foreign policy. Then the charge of neo-isolationism which cannot now be validated may come true.

In one generation the United States has taken a giant step from an isolationist posture to an international one. In the process, we may have gone from one extreme to another and what we now may be searching for is a balance and perspective worthy of national maturity and wisdom. Isolationist impulses should not be condoned, but it can be a misleading condemnation to apply the label of neo-isolationism to certain Senators because they take positions opposing an arguable case of intervention (Vietnam) and a defense issue of debatable virtue (ABM), and because they become increasingly assertive in civilian review of military requests. It may be that out of the current Senate discussions, American foreign policy will find a greater strength and sensitivity befitting a democratic and nuclear nation. It may be that a harder look at foreign policy will increase our options and enable us to choose

more wisely in the fundamental task of building world order. Instead of castigating, we should be cheering those Senators who insist that there may be a better way of fulfilling our obligations to ourselves and to the world.

FREEDOM BECOMES ILLEGAL: A CROSSROADS IN EDUCATION

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, I have, many times, voiced my protest to the unprecedented denial of freedom of choice to our schoolchildren and warned of the inevitable destruction of the public school system as a result.

The public schools have now attempted to reopen for the 1969–70 term, but are faced with the anticipated chaos. Parents who have already paid for one set of school buildings are digging into their pockets to finance independent school systems. Other parents are organizing to raise funds to file lawsuits to protect their neighborhood schools—others are boycotting the entire system and there is an ever-mounting atmosphere of tension—potentially violent—which, if triggered, could set off an irreversible domino reaction beyond control. And further polarize the white and black communities.

While the social mechanics attempt to justify denial of freedom as necessary to achieve some nebulous racial balance, the scorecard shows that in many areas the schools have become more segregated by race as a result of denial of freedom than they were before. For example, in one school in Tangipahoa Parish the classrooms are running 25 Negro to 1 white. In another high school, the classes are running 32 Negro to 5 white.

Rather than providing quality education the new "Federal academies" are generating a new cause of school dropouts. And if our national leadership allows its "agencies of force" to continue to press the condition which engenders school dropouts there will be more and more individuals academically unprepared to accept the technological positions required in an advanced society. Simultaneously an ever-increasing reservoir of hard-core unemployed will develop—many having intellectual capabilities but embittered by the realization that they were denied their freedom to develop their potential as they wished.

Mothers and dads, as free agents, have become desperate to do what they feel is best for the safety and welfare of their children.

And there is no guilt in the actions of mothers and dads or the children. Their reaction is but an effect which has been provoked by the pressure applied by our Government agencies. There is no solution in name calling or further punishing the people. The problem was created in Washington—it is ours to recognize and solve.

It is simple enough to undo the wrongs inflicted in the name of governmental authority. We need only repeal the supposed authority. We dare not fail in our duty—lest we force our people to respond to tyranny as people have done throughout history.

Mr. Speaker, I insert several news clippings from the Baton Rouge Morning Advocate, this date, following my remarks:

OFFICIALS PROBING ANTIMIXING SUITS

NEW ORLEANS.—Justice Department officials were here Tuesday looking into state court suits seeking to block school boards from proceeding with desegregation commitments in various area parishes.

A department spokesman said a motion will be filed by Wednesday to seek removal of a Pointe Coupee Parish suit to federal court.

Similar motions for removal of cases in Ascension, Evangeline and Avoyelles parishes were granted last week.

In the cases, white parents said boards went beyond the law and adopted plans requiring racial balance and busing of pupils to achieve it.

The civil rights officials were also checking state suits in Iberia and Iberville parishes that might slow down desegregation.

In Iberville, a Negro parent brought suit to protest alleged sex discrimination in that school board's plan.

A white group also sued to block the board's plan of requiring racial balance.

The Iberville board last week delayed the opening of schools until Monday after trouble erupted in the first attempt to open schools early. The board decided on the delay to give the board's legal counsel more time to ask federal court for permission to use freedom of choice as an alternate to the plan ordered by the court.

Among the officials in Louisiana looking into the school cases were Asst. Atty. Gen. Jerris Leonard, head of the department's civil rights division; Frank Dunbaugh, Southern section chief; and two other division lawyers.

The Louisiana activity came after a request for action against nine school districts in Georgia Robert H. Finch, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, asked Justice Department action against the districts. Finch accused the Georgia school districts of reneging on voluntary desegregation plans.

The department dispatched a team of civil rights division lawyers to Georgia to take court action against the districts, a department spokesman said Tuesday.

MANY START SCHOOL

Darkest picture on the school scene in the area where some schools have yet to open was Ascension Parish—whites threatened whites to keep the boycott so tight that enrollment on opening day Tuesday was almost zero.

However, on the lower reaches of the Acadian country, Evangeline Parish started classes Tuesday morning with about 25 per cent enrollment but by evening, schools were recessed until further notice after over 1,500 citizens descended upon the school board to demand the stop action. There were no pickets during the day and some buses made their rounds without picking up a pupil.

HALF AND HALF

In St. Mary Parish, it was good and bad. Schools in the Franklin area in the western part of the parish were about scuttled with a 90 per cent boycott in effect but in the Morgan City area in the eastern end attendance was reported at nearly 100 per cent.

Some schools will be opening Wednesday in some areas and others will open later. West Baton Rouge schools open Wednesday. Iberville Parish, which had troubles when it sought to open last week, will not resume classes until Sept. 8.

Public schools opened Tuesday in Lafayette Parish under full integration without incident.

The city of Lafayette where the schools contain the majority of Negro pupils will not be integrated until next fall.

City and parish-wide in Lafayette, 28,000 youngsters returned to classes. The enrollment total was an increase of 1,000 over last year. Nat Gisclair, assistant school superintendent, said the enrollment increase was smaller because a number of former public school pupils enrolled in the parochial system.

On the heels of school opening, a group called Freedom Inc. has called a meeting for Wednesday to discuss ways of establishing private schools.

WESTLAKE CLOSED

In Calcasieu Parish as schools went into their second week, trouble developed at Westlake High School Tuesday and the school board decided to close it for two days to restore discipline.

A three-member delegation including Principal John Letard told the board that the situation is ready to explode at any moment and asked for a transfer of 50 Negro pupils to Sulphur High and iron-clad discipline. The delegation charged that unruly Negro students, who formerly attended Mossville High, have completely demoralized discipline. Letard said 147 Negroes attend the formerly all-white school with a student body of 600.

Board President John Denison said the board has adequate policy to take care of the problem.

In East Baton Rouge Parish where freedom of choice prevails in the school system's desegregation route, more than 62,000 young people returned to classes Tuesday without any educational disruption. The enrollment includes more than 40,000 white pupils and more than 21,000 Negro students.

SCHOOLS PADLOCKED

In Ascension Parish where several schools were apparently padlocked during the night preceding the scheduled opening Tuesday, sentiment was strong against opening the schools under the court-ordered plan of speeded up integration.

Pickets were reported at all schools in Ascension where locks were found on the gates at Dutchtown and Galvez schools. W. C. Brunson, school superintendent, said some locks were found to have been jammed by keys inserted in them and twisted off and other locks could not be operated by the janitor's keys, indicating the possibility that these locks had been secured by persons not on the school staff.

Some teachers called in sick, others were reported nervous and frightened. "They have all been threatened," said Henry Glaze, assistant superintendent.

Bus drivers have refused to drive because they have been threatened too, the school official reported. "They have been getting calls at all hours of the night, threats to burn their houses down and put bombs on their buses."

Attendance at the St. Amant school was zero; Dutchtown Junior High, 6; East Ascension Junior High, 20; Galvez school, zero; Gonzales Elementary, 164 out of 1,740 enrolled; and East Ascension Senior High, 123 out of 1,350.

THREATENED

Maintenance workers, lunch-room personnel and parents who want to send their children to school have been threatened, officials said.

A curfew is still in effect in Gonzales. It was imposed last week after tension between whites and blacks swelled. Ascension Parish Sheriff Hickley M. Waguespack said the tension developed as a result of the new integration orders and threats circulated by boycotting whites.

St. Landry Parish, where the Negro population is heavy and where racial tension has been heightened by the new court-ordered plan, starts registration Wednesday.

Federal marshals are in Washington

Parish and in St. John the Baptist Parish. Marshals were called into St. John because of threats of violence. In Washington Parish, the marshals were ordered to watch over Negro teachers entering the formerly all-white Thomas High School which had to be closed a few days to let tempers cool. All the schools were back in operation Tuesday in Washington Parish.

Iberia Parish, which had racial troubles last week when schools opened, resumed operation Tuesday peacefully. George Crowson, principal of New Iberia Senior High, said 10 Negro pupils were suspended indefinitely as a result of the disruption when a group of Negroes beat up white pupils.

In other area parishes, Tansipahoa reported some white boycotts, and pupils at Woodland Elementary in Hammond were let out after a bomb was reported to have been planted in the school but it turned out to be a hoax; Pointe Coupee Parish reported some schools picketed and nearly a total white boycott in effect; West Feliciana resumed its second week of classes without any apparent trouble; Rapides reported a small number of pupils not attending classes—these are white pupils assigned to formerly all-Negro schools; and Avoyelles Parish reported there have not been any boycotts nor any racial disturbances although in some cases, the Negro students outnumber the white ones in classes.

Elsewhere in the state, Caddo Parish reported scattered picketing at four schools; Grant Parish postponed its school opening with the date for starting classes to set later this week; and Natchitoches Parish delayed its opening until Sept. 3.

In Richland Parish, 75 per cent of the pupils at the all-Negro school in Rayville stayed home in protest of the appointment of a white principal to the school.

EBR SCHOOL REGISTRATION INCREASES

(By Bill McMahon)

The East Baton Rouge Parish school system enrolled 62,152 students the first full day of school Tuesday, 1,835 above the first-day figures of last year.

The totals reflect only those in grades 1–12 and not those in kindergarten and special education classes, Asst. Supt. Lorin Smiley said Tuesday.

Enrollment is expected to move toward the 65,000 mark as late registering, kindergarten and special education students are added to the first day totals, Smiley said.

The total recorded Tuesday is 165 below the increase of 2,000 projected, Smiley said.

Indicated by the figures gathered late Tuesday were 32,871 elementary students (20,776 whites and 12,095 Negroes) and 29,281 junior and senior high students (19,409 whites and 9,872 Negroes).

TRANSFERS DO NOT SHOW UP

Although possibilities of a large increase in the number of students was speculated upon because of tougher desegregation policies in surrounding parishes, the first day's enrollment did not indicate such happened.

School administrators had indicated that as many as 600 additional students might enroll in East Baton Rouge Parish public schools because area parishes had been ordered to dispense with freedom of choice as a method of desegregation, and in many cases go to a pairing and zoning method of integration.

East Baton Rouge Parish was not one of the parishes so ordered, and has maintained a freedom of choice method.

The local system also had no unusual problems resulting from school beginning.

The freedom of choice method used in the parish schools resulted in no substantial increase of integration, a comparison of this year's enrollment with last years shows.

SECONDARY RATIO HIGHER

Eleven of 80 schools with elementary classes had at least five per cent Negroes in majority white schools. The percentage was higher in the secondary schools, with 9 of 29 showing at least five per cent of blacks in majority white schools.

Two elementary schools with majority white enrollment last year became majority black since the first day of school last year. They were Banks (formerly 373 whites and 132 Negroes, and now with 198 whites and 310 Negroes) and Fairfields (formerly with 139 whites and 59 Negroes, and now 26 whites and 185 Negroes).

Eight elementary and six secondary white majority schools showed at least a 50 per cent increase in the number of Negro students.

The elementary schools, with last year's Negro enrollment listed first, followed by this year's Negro enrollment: Bakerfield 68, 134; Baker Heights 15, 37; Bernard Terrace 21, 59; Melrose 23, 36; Park Ridge 4, 10; Westdale 57, 87; Wyandotte 35, 53; Zachary Elementary, 2 * * *.

Secondary schools with at least 50 per cent increase in the number of Negro students: Baker Junior, 16, 48; Baton Rouge High, 52, 106; Glen Oaks Junior 74, 121; Glen Oaks Senior 41, 63; Istrouma Junior 41, 90, and Lee Junior-Senior, 62, 139.

IBERVILLE BOARD HIT BY MORE CHARGES

PLAQUEMINE.—A group of white parents Tuesday accused the Iberville Parish School Board of meeting in secret at night and not telling the truth about integration.

The small group asked the board what John R. Ward, special counsel to board, meant when he said he would go back before U.S. dist. Judge E. Gordon Dest and ask for "supplementary relief."

Ward said he would seek the relief during a special meeting of the board last week when opening of schools was delayed until Sept. 8.

Registration in Iberville was marked by demonstrations by both whites and Negroes, a temporary classroom was destroyed by fire and police used teargas to quell a Negro demonstration after rocks were thrown at police.

Board member T. J. Sanchez, Ward 1, said Ward would ask for a plan based on freedom-of-choice since the board had experienced great difficulty in instituting the court-ordered integration plan approved by Judge West.

Carlyle Marix, Ward 2, siding with those in the audience, said that was not the way he understood the matter and did not want the people to be misled.

There were shouts of: "We want the truth."

FACTIONS ASK ASCENSION UNIT BACKING

DONALDSONVILLE.—Opposing factions of parents from East Ascension faced the Ascension Parish School Board Tuesday night with requests for support.

And, in the session which ran on and on into the night, neither side was given assurance by the board.

Loy McCrory, a spokesman for the pickets and boycott supporters who were present at the meeting in large numbers, said the issue in East Ascension is not a racial one. "We had colored students at Dutchtown," he said, "and last year we had colored teachers and you didn't see any picket lines."

He claimed the pickets are peaceful, want no violence and are only seeking to have freedom of choice restored.

McCrory also asked minutes be read of the meeting at which the board accepted the plan of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. "And we want to know," he added, "why one side of the parish has freedom of choice and one has the HEW plan."

The plan accepted by the federal court preserves freedom of choice in Donaldsonville for the current school session.

James Leche, who identified himself as one of those picketing schools, said if the schools function normally, the board can't go to court seeking relief from the HEW plan. Several board members agreed the fact that the schools are not able to operate normally may give them a point to argue in court.

WANTS SCHOOLS OPEN

Mrs. Bill Kivett, Gonzales, said she is one of many parents on the east side who are anxious to send their children to school. "Every one has the right to picket," Mrs. Kivett said, "but limit the number. I can't tell my child he can't go to school. Children are being deprived of their right to an education."

Of the six schools in East Ascension, only Gonzales Elementary and East Ascension Senior High School conducted classes on Tuesday. Gates were chained and padlocked at St. Amant and Galvez and low attendance closed the other schools.

No buses operated on the east side of the river and bus drivers claimed to have received threats.

Asked by those parents anxious to send their children to school whether buses would run and all schools be open, the board gave no reply.

McCrory told the board he and about 35 others represented a very large group of boycotting parents and had agreed to take "some answers" to them at a meeting Thursday night. It was unclear that any answers had been given to satisfy the group.

RAPS SECRET MEETINGS

Leche blamed the board's penchant for executive session caused much of the current trouble. He said he had been attending board meetings for years and everytime the subject of integration came up, "I was politely asked to leave."

"You are charged with providing an education for our children," Leche told the board, "then you should never go into a secret session."

"You haven't had any confidence in us, how can you expect for us to have confidence in you," he added. "If you'd been more honest with people you'd be in less hot water now."

C. T. Hodges, among those seeking to send their children to school, said he had a petition with 174 signatures asking schools be reopened immediately. The petition noted the group is in favor of freedom of choice but is also in favor of education and opposed to threats, picketing and harassments.

SHERIFF CITES THREATS

Asked for his opinion, Sheriff Hickley Waguespack said he believed a secret poll would show most parents in East Ascension would like to send their children to school. He said it is threats, fear of threats or violence that are keeping most children out of school, not integration. He said he had come to this conclusion after talking to large numbers of persons.

Alva John Wall asked the board to pass a resolution stating any teacher who discriminated against boycotting students on their return to school would be dismissed.

A lengthy discussion on what comprised discrimination brought out the fact boycotting parents want their children to be allowed to play football, participate in the band and not receive failing grades for the classes they've missed.

Board member Lawrence Noel said he would not want to sign a resolution which might give the appearance of school board support for the boycott. No action was taken on the request.

SCHOOLS CLOSED IN EVANGELINE PARISH

VILLE PLATTE.—The Evangeline Parish School Board, overwhelmed when more than 1,500 white citizens showed up for its meeting, voted to keep schools closed until further notice and joined the audience as co-plaintiffs in two suits.

The board moved from its office to Ville Platte High School's gymnasium to accommodate the crowd of citizens protesting federal court-ordered desegregation.

The group argued heatedly for adoption of

the four-point program drawn by an 18-man committee. It was finally adopted by the board.

The first of the four points called for the indefinite recess in schools.

The second point called for the board to join as co-plaintiffs in a suit against the Department of Health, Education and Welfare now in U.S. District Judge Richard Putnam's court at Shreveport seeking to restrain HEW from imposing its desegregation plan on the parish.

The third point called for the board to join as co-plaintiffs in a motion to have the suit filed by Paul Manuel et al against the board and HEW moved back to 13th Judicial District Court in Ville Platte.

The fourth asked that a speedy hearing be given in both cases.

After a long debate between members of the committee and the school board and its legal representative, John R. Ward, the board huddled and agreed to adopt the program.

There was only a sprinkling of white attendance as schools opened Tuesday morning. About 25 per cent of the expected enrollment, white and black, reported for classes. Some stayed only a short while and left.

Many school buses arrived empty after making their rounds in the parish. Five empty buses in a row showed up at Ville Platte Elementary.

There were no pickets at schools, but booths set up by the Concerned Citizens of Evangeline Parish were set up in each community of the parish to survey feasibility of a large central private school. The group reported "a tremendous turnout."

RAPIDES SCHOOL BOARD HALTS ENROLLMENTS ZONE CROSSINGS

ALEXANDRIA.—The Rapides Parish School Board moved Tuesday to crack down on students enrolled in schools outside their residential zone.

Board members reported there were numerous instances of students enrolled outside their regular zones and warned they would be notified by the principal they could not continue at the schools.

Allen Nichols, school superintendent, said: "I feel we've reached the point where we must have people obey the court order" or have mass shifts and further disruptions.

The problem is compounded by low registration in the schools this fall. Travis Funderburk, assistant superintendent, said first day enrollment was 1,300 fewer than anticipated and 700 fewer than registered last year.

He said the normal five percent growth apparently did not occur although there was considerable late registration and many students were enrolling this week.

He said the board still has a number of teachers unassigned and a number of vacancies.

DISPLACED TEACHERS

Most of the displaced teachers are black.

Funderburk warned that it seemed likely 22 teachers would be left after assignments. Their pay represents about $120,000 a year, he said.

He said the state allocations would not cover those salaries, which would then have to come out of the board's general fund.

A request from the Alexandria Academy for the board to furnish bus transportation from Alexandria to a private school in Pineville was approved. The private school occupies a public school building which was closed this year because of zoning changes under the court order.

Lafargue School, which was also closed this year for the same reason, was rented to the Office of Economic Opportunity for Head Start program headquarters.

Ward 1 members had asked that it be loaned to the OEO without charge but rural members balked and insisted that rents be collected.

An increase in the price of milk for children who get extra help was approved. The cost to the parish has gone up from .0718 to .074, board members were told and children who have been paying three cents now must pay four cents for a half-pint carton.

WHO'S RUNNING HEW?

The conflict between moderating statements from some high members of the Nixon administration and the relentless drive by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare for total control of the nation's schools and institutions furnishes an interesting study in governmental operations. From just whom is HEW taking its cues, anyway?

If HEW's actions and the available evidence mean anything, the agency is not yet fully under control of the Nixon administration. It's ideologues are acting on their own and on the basis of advice from civil rights doctrinaries, not with guidance from the courts, from Congress, or from any elected official in Washington. They are taking advantage of this situation.

The new administration has been reluctant to make a clean sweep of more fanatical members of HEW and of the civil rights compliance sections that exist in other agencies and take their guidance from HEW. To do so might be interpreted as an effort to turn back the clock, and might provoke from civil rights enthusiasts and from many liberals an even stronger attack than already has been launched by them against President Nixon. Keeping these people happy probably would be a hopeless task for any president, but President Nixon does not want to stir up any storms unnecessarily or lose any votes that can be saved. The HEW people feel safe in their jobs for the time being.

Agency control can be changed gradually as key posts become vacant and are filled with new men. But if those presently in control move swiftly enough, they may hope to present the administration and the nation with a fait accompli in the form of drastic changes that cannot be undone without the danger of making things even worse.

Some might wonder whether the administration itself may be playing a game with the public by walking softly while tipping HEW off to keep swinging the big stick. But the circumstances do not support this theory as well as they support the one we already have stated. The situation is becoming too embarrassing to the administration.

FORT BELVOIR SERVICES HONOR GENERAL WALKER

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, services are being held today at Fort Belvoir for one of Oklahoma's finest soldiers, Maj. Gen. George H. Walker.

The Nation has lost one of its ablest engineers and officers in the tragic illness and death of this great and good American.

General Walker and his lovely wife Jo grew up together in Muskogee, Okla., where a sister and brother of the general still live. As a fellow townsman, I have followed General Walker's splendid career through the years with keen interest and growing pride.

The general served throughout his career in the Army Corps of Engineers, a career which ended with his retirement as commanding general of the U.S. Army Engineer Center at Fort Belvoir, Va.

He worked long and hard as a builder, and was one of the finest architects of watershed development this country has produced. His contributions in this area while serving as district engineer for the South Atlantic Division earned him the Distinguished Service Medal. His influence in watershed development also was strongly felt while he served as executive officer for civil works in the Office of the Chief of Engineers here in Washington.

I want to extend my deepest sympathy to the family of this great American. My wife and I sincerely share their grief in their great loss.

OUR MAGNIFICENT SCIENTIFIC PROJECTS

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, in previous remarks on the recent space achievements, I expressed the hope that we would apply the same devotion and organizational know-how evident in the space program to the complex social problems facing this Nation.

Recently I received a letter from a constituent expressing similar views. The distinguished author of the letter, Dr. Frederic J. Kottke, professor and head, department of physical medicine and rehabilitation, University of Minnesota, asks whether Federal expenditures for magnificent scientific projects such as the moon shot and the supersonic transport (SST) can be justified in face of poverty, untreated disease, hunger, urban deterioration, and significant social unrest?

Dr. Kottke points out that Minnesota's pro rata share of the cost of these scientific projects would be substantial. If these funds could be diverted, or if comparable amounts were available, necessary educational and health programs could be adequately funded.

Dr. Kottke's final paragraph tersely summarizes the feelings of many Americans who recognize the importance of the SST and space programs, but who feel that other projects cry out for equal or higher priority in the list of tasks urgently requiring Federal moneys:

All of this adds up to the issue of relative value for activities of the federal government. I thrill to magnificent scientific efforts. There is no question but that with proper support scientists can do marvelous things. However, I think that the government's first obligation is to consider the relative value of the activities which are supported. Luxuries should not take precedence over necessities. The health and welfare of the people of the United States should be the first concern of government and should take first priority. It appears that we are not maintaining this perspective in the programs supported by the government.

COMMUNISM—STILL THE ANTITHESIS OF FREEDOM

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, communism is still the mortal enemy of freedom everywhere. By definition, motivation, philosophy, strategy, and objective, communism strangles individual freedom as surely as cancer kills and replaces living cells within the human body.

It is the height of error to admit Communists to any form of coalition government, for they will work to destroy and replace that government with a Communist government. No Communist can be a genuine Communist and obey any oath or any religious tenet that might conflict with the Communist goal of world domination.

In this case, a recent editorial by the distinguished editorialist and publisher of U.S. News & World Report, the Honorable David Lawrence, is significant.

The editorial follows:

A DEFINITION OF COMMUNISM OFFERED

(By David Lawrence)

Almost every week people read in the news dispatches something about "communism" and its relationship to activities in the United States. But rarely has a comprehensive definition of the word been given based upon an official inquiry authorized by Congress.

Such investigations have been occurring for many years. Most of the witnesses testifying voluntarily and represent all walks of life—priests, ministers, college professors, schoolteachers, state and city officials, industrialists, farmers, officials of big labor unions, representatives of various industries, and patriotic societies and other organizations, including the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Legion.

It is not generally realized that one of the practices of the Communists is secretly to advise and inform the members of different types of organizations how to plan for demonstrations on public issues.

Year after year, as the House Committee on Internal Security and the Senate Internal Security subcommittee have carried on their investigations, evidence relating to Communist activities has been revealed.

One of the earliest explanations of what is meant by communism was issued by a House committee in an official report, and is worded just as if it were written today. It says;

"The following is a definition of communism, a worldwide political organization advocating:

"(1) Hatred of God and all forms of religion;

"(2) Destruction of private property and inheritance;

"(3) Absolute social and racial equality; promotion of class hatred;

"(4) Revolutionary propaganda through the Communist International, stirring up Communist activities in foreign countries in order to cause strikes, riots, sabotage, bloodshed, and civil war;

"(5) Destruction of all forms of representative or democratic governments, including civil liberties, such as freedom of speech, of the press, or assembly, and trial by jury;

"(6) The ultimate and final objective is by means of world revolution to establish the dictatorship of the so-called proletariat into one world Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with the capital at Moscow.

"Communism has also been defined as an organized effort to overthrow organized governments which operate contrary to the Communist plan now in effect in Russia. It aims at the socialization of government, private property, industry, labor, the home, education, and religion. Its objectives are the abolition of other governments, private ownership of property, inheritance, religion, and family relations."

The customary method of carrying on Communist activities is through infiltration of large organizations by a relatively few persons. They have available manuals of guidance and instruction which they give privately to influential leaders to help them organize demonstrations. Communism, of course, is never mentioned. The FBI has discovered many instances of this kind, including donations of funds by some wealthy Americans who are sympathetic to socialistic ideas.

The same techniques are apparent in Latin American countries. When an occasion like the visit of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller to South America arises, the Communist agents get busy and help to organize the demonstrations which will get publicity and arouse antagonism to the United States. Many of the agents are working for Red China or Cuba and are individuals of Spanish background or Europeans who speak Spanish.

In the United States, also, the conspirators are often not foreigners but Americans who are trained abroad or students in this country who have been converted to communism by agents of the Soviet or other Communist governments.

The general assumption has been that such plotters cannot be prosecuted unless it can be proved that they are being financed by a foreign government. The Constitution, however, does provide Congress with power to punish treason or efforts to overthrow the government of the United States by force.

When the average American reads about "communism," he still does not learn much about the techniques of treason and espionage that are being used to damage the American system of government and the established institutions of the country—including colleges, churches, labor organizations and other groups which play a conspicuous part in domestic controversies.

THE AMERICAN LAG IN SOLVING THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, for a long time I had been deeply concerned with the fact that the United States has done very little to encourage the rest of the world toward developing a common language for international business, cultural, educational, and diplomatic relations.

In many countries of the world there is a serious effort being made to establish Esperanto as a common language.

I have asked the Esperantic Studies Foundation, which has its headquarters at 6451 Barnaby Street NW., here in Washington, D.C., to prepare for me a report on this entire subject and I should like to call that report to the attention of my colleagues today.

I believe Esperanto does offer an exciting alternative.

I would like to recommend the following report prepared by the Esperantic Society for such discussion. There may be other ways of meeting the problem. One encouraging sign is the growth in the use of the English language throughout the world. There are now few places, if any, throughout the world where English is not being taught as a secondary language.

But it occurs to me that even with widespread use of English, we ought to consider greater emphasis on Esperanto to help bridge the gap with languages other than English and which are not having as wide an appeal as some of the English courses around the world.

This report documents the extent to which the United States has fallen behind most other countries, especially behind the Communist states, in the search for a common international language.

Research is needed on the language problem because of its complexity, and because of the potential benefits of an internationally agreed-on common second language. Yet this report shows that:

Almost no interlinguistics research is being done in the United States, while much work is going on in the Soviet Union;

The United States has many linguists, but only a handful of experts on planned international languages;

The Library of Congress and other American libraries have failed to collect the books and documents necessary to do research on this problem; and

Thousands of people are studying a planned international language in the schools and universities of the Communist bloc, while American students are almost never taught such a language, in spite of its probable educational benefits. Office of Education policy makes it difficult to correct this imbalance.

The report goes on to show how the Communist governments are testing, developing, and promoting one planned international language, through international meetings, broadcasts, and publications, while the United States does nearly nothing to test the feasibility of this language or to present American views to its speakers around the world.

The report concludes that the United States can and should give higher priority to solving the language problem, and suggests three concrete steps to help put America in the forefront of the search for an international language.

The Esperantic Study Foundation research report follows:

THE AMERICAN LAG IN SOLVING THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

The language problem

The absence of a common language for international communication is by now a well recognized problem. Its effects range from the deception of tourists in foreign bazaars to fatal crashes in international passenger aviation.[1] An article published simultaneously in the July 29, 1969, issue of *Look* magazine and the July 26, 1969, issue of *Saturday Review*[2] blames translation errors in an official communication between Hanoi and Washington for a misunderstanding which delayed peace negotiations. Even among diplomats, and at the United Nations, the language problem is severe and costly, perhaps increasingly so, as recent articles have pointed out.[3] International agreement

Footnotes at end of article.

on a common second language, to be taught in all schools, would make the citizens of each nation better equipped to benefit from today's technology of supersonic transit and worldwide satellite communication.

The Communist lead in research

The United States lags behind the rest of the world, especially the Communist countries, in the search for a solution to the language problem. A combing of the index to *Dissertation Abstracts* for the years 1963–1968 reveals not a single doctoral dissertation in the United States in the field of interlinguistics, or international or universal languages, during that six-year period.

In contrast, the Soviet Union is actively researching this problem. The U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Institute of Linguistics in Moscow has an interlinguistics section. Dr. E. A. Bokarev, assistant director of the Institute, is currently engaged in a research project entitled "The Problem of an International Language". (The U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Council for Cybernetics also has a sub-section on Esperanto.) "Similar work is done at the Academies of Sciences in the Union-Republics", and "Soviet scientists are active in the council for language problems of socialist countries and in other international organizations", according to an official Soviet source.[4]

CHART A.—*Books in and about Esperanto in major library collections*

United States of America (1.4 percent)	1,000
Communist countries (28 percent)	21,000
Rest of world (70 percent)	52,000

The need for research

Is the language problem so simple that America can afford to let it "solve itself"? Many experts, including State Department officials, do not think so. In Appendix I, Pierre R. Graham, acting director of the Office of International Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State, writes that "the problems of world-wide communication admit of no simple, easy solution, but rather are matters of the utmost complexity."

While some experts believe that English is on its way to becoming the world language, others disagree. Dr. Richard Noss, scientific linguist with the School of Languages and Area Studies of the Foreign Service Institute of the Department of State, writes:

"If English is indeed the principal language of international communication, it is only the latest in a series of languages to hold this position. . . . If anything is clear from the history of international communication, it is that once a language has established itself as predominant in the world it will eventually fall from that perch. There is no reason to suppose, moreover, that this will not happen to English as well.

". . . If anything, increased reliance on the spoken language at the expense of printing and reproduction of written materials seems to be indicated by the most recent developments; this works in favor of all languages equally, including those with no present literature to speak of."[5]

The American lag in manpower

One reason for the research gap is the *shortage of trained experts on planned international languages in the United States.* According to Charles A. Zisa, assistant director for manpower of the Linguistic Documentation Program of the Center for Applied Linguistics, in Washington, *only four or five persons out of the five thousand linguists* in the Center's national file *indicate any degree of competence in any constructed language,* and only one of them claims fluency in Esperanto, the most widespread language of this type.

Footnotes at end of article.

CHART B.—*Size of largest public library collection in and about Esperanto*

United States of America: 400 (Library of Congress, Washington).

Communist countries: 11,500 (Bulgarian National Library, Sofia).

Rest of world: 14,000 (Austrian National Library, Vienna).

The two basic approaches to an international language are (1) the adoption of an ethnic ("natural") language for world use, and (2) the utilization of a planned (constructed, "artificial") international language. In any thorough search for a solution to the language problem, both of these approaches must be examined. Some experts, for example Prof. Mario Pei of Columbia University, believe that both approaches together offer a viable solution.[6] But American expertise is confined almost solely to one of these kinds of languages: ethnic ones. The Esperantic Studies Foundation is acting as a clearinghouse for students of constructed international languages, but the shortage of such scholars in the U.S. is critical.

The American lag in information resources

We have seen that few if any Americans are experts on the international language problem. One reason is simply that *our libraries do not collect the books we need to study this problem.* As is shown in Chart A, the U.S. has only about 1000 volumes in its (two) major library collections of books in and about Esperanto. Chart B shows that *our largest public collection, in the Library of Congress, has only one-thirtieth as many volumes as the largest public collection in the Communist bloc* or the largest one in the world.

(Most of the literature on the international language problem deals with Esperanto: 60% of the volumes in the international language collection (PM8000–8999) of the Library of Congress are in or about Esperanto. Thus Chart B is relevant to information on the language problem as a whole.)

The Library of Congress collection, in addition to being inadequate in size, *is also poorly selected.* A great emphasis has been placed on textbooks and dictionaries, almost to the exclusion of current scientific and literary works. Only seven volumes of fiction published in Esperanto since 1930 have found their way to the shelf of the Library of Congress, out of perhaps a thousand such works in existence. When it is considered that the acquisition policies of the Library of Congress influence the acquisitions of almost every library in the country, it becomes clear that *few Americans can have access to the documents necessary to study the evolution and development of Esperanto* from a simple project into a full-fledged international literary language. Yet this study is crucial to any understanding of the factors working for and against the adoption of any planned international language.

CHART C.—*Number of persons studying Esperanto in schools and colleges*

United States (3.0 percent)	550
Communist countries (50 percent)	8,000
Rest of world (47 percent)	7,500

TABLE 1.—*Some universities in Communist countries at which Esperanto has been taught between 1965 and 1969*

Bulgaria: Plovdiv Institute of Technology; Ruse Institute of Mechanization; Sofia, Kliment Ohridski State University, School of Philology; Svishtov Institute of Finance and Economics; Varna, Dimiter Blagoev Institute of Economics.

China (Continental): Hiamen University, Peking University.

Czechoslovakia: Bratislava, Komensky University, School of Philosophy.

Hungary: Budapest University, School of Law; Budapest Technical University; Budapest University of Science, School of Philosophy; Esztergom University; Pecs University; Szeged University.

Poland: Gdansk Academy of Medicine; Krakow, Jagiellonian University; Krakow School of Education; Torun, Copernicus University.

U.S.S.R.: Moscow, Lomonosov University.

Vietnam (North): Hanoi, Vietnamese School of Education.

Yugoslavia: Zagreb University.

The Communist lead in education

Another major explanation for our shortage of experts on planned language problems is that American schools and colleges rarely teach constructed international languages. Chart C shows how many persons are studying Esperanto; the only planned language now taught in any significant number of schools. It is clear from the Chart that *the United States falls far behind the rest of the world, especially the Communist countries, in the teaching of Esperanto.* With 6% of the world's population and an even greater portion of the world's students, the United States has only about 550 people studying a planned international language, 3.4% of the world's total.

One of the *possible beneficial educational by-products of teaching a constructed language* in the schools is suggested by the recent decree in which the government of Communist Lithuania adopted Esperanto as an elective foreign language in the seventh through eleventh grades. The decree called Esperanto "the easiest language in the world to learn" and said that the study of this kind of language is an excellent foundation for the future study of other foreign languages.[7] American schools where an international language has been tried have also commented on its benefits. See Appendixes IV and V.[8]

The United States Government, however, *has largely ignored the possible advantages of, and even discourages research on, international language programs* in school curricula. Inquiry at the Office of Education has produced replies to the effect that constructed international languages are probably considered outside the definition of "modern foreign language" as used in Title III and Title VI of the National Defense Education Act, or that a constructed language would be given low priority even if included in the definition. Thus our manpower shortage and our education lag reinforce each other in a vicious circle, and *current interpretation of the National Defense Education Act perpetuates the problem.*

CHART D.—*International youth meetings using Esperanto as official language, 1969*

United States of America, percent	9	(0)
Communist countries, percent	17	(65)
Rest of world, percent	9	(35)

During the 1968–1969 academic year, *only about 40 persons studied Esperanto at the college level in the United States,* and most of these did so in non-credit courses. In contrast with the American situation, Table 1 lists some of the universities and other institutions of higher education in the Communist countries at which Esperanto courses have been recently reported. If a similar number of American universities were to decide to introduce Esperanto courses in the next Academic year, they would find this decision difficult to implement, because of our shortage of experts who can teach the language.

In fact, the demand for college-level international language courses may be growing here. Several teachers of Esperanto in California schools went to Massachusetts during the 1969 summer session for a teacher training course in that language when no college

in their own state offered such a course. And *reports have been received from four American colleges* (Tufts University, the University of Arkansas, the University of Southern Florida, and North Adams [Mass.] State College) *stating that each of these institutions wishes to teach Esperanto in 1969–1970* if a qualified instructor can be found.

The American lag in policy

The United States Government has no official policy on the language problem. This fact is clear from Appendix I, in which Mr. Graham writes that the United States has not favored the promotion internationally of any particular language, natural or artificial. The thought has been that the educational systems of the various countries are so diverse, the problems of promoting any one language are so vast, and the need to overcome illiteracy even in national languages within a given country's borders is so urgent that the United States has not chosen to support any universal language program. Even the value of an international language is, quite legitimately, questioned: "Whether the use of a single word language, be it natural or artificial, would overcome the destruction of smaller cultures is a question worthy of study."

Like the United States Government, the Communist governments have not adopted an official policy on the solution of the international language problem. They have vascillated between advocating Russian and promoting a constructed language, and are now taking the view that more study is necessary. *But unlike the United States, the Communists are hedging their bets.* While the United States in practice puts all its eggs in the ethnic-language basket, the Communist governments in a variety of ways are active in the use, development, and encouragement of the major constructed international language, Esperanto. The following Charts give some examples.

Most international youth meetings in which Esperanto is the official language are hosted by Communist countries: see Chart D. In almost every Communist country there are strong and active organizations of Esperanto speakers who enjoy official aid in holding such meetings: see Chart E.

Most radio broadcasting in Esperanto is done from stations in Communist countries: Warsaw, Sofia, Zagreb, and Peking at present. See Chart F. In 1968 Radio Warsaw tripled its foreign broadcast hours in Esperanto. The Voice of America currently does no broadcasting in this language.

Although neither the United States nor the Communist countries produce an overwhelming share of the world's Esperanto magazines (see Chart G), *the Communists actively use Esperanto to advertize their way of life to Esperanto speakers* around the the world. Of the seven nationally sponsored foreign-information periodicals currently published in Esperanto, six come from Communist countries (see Chart H and Table 2).

Charts I and J show that as with international meetings, radio broadcasts, and periodical publications, *the United States also produces less than its share of books in and about Esperanto,* and *the Communist countries hold a sizable lead in the translation and publication of their literatures in this language.* The U.S. while publishing 6% of the world's translated books,[8] published none in Esperanto from 1964 through 1968.

In contrast with the diversified utilization of Esperanto by the Communist governments, *the United States Government currently uses Esperanto for only one minor purpose.* The U.S. Navy prints finders' instructions in Esperanto, together with seven other languages, on its bottle papers, which are thrown overboard by ship captains to trace ocean currents (see Appendix VI).

Footnotes at end of article.

CHART E.—*Membership in national Esperanto organizations*

United States of America (1.0 percent)	700
Communist countries (55 percent)	28,200
Rest of world (44 percent)	22,700

CHART F.—*Radio broadcasting in Esperanto*

[In percent]

United States of America (0 hours per week)	0
Communist countries (22.75 hours per week)	83.5
Rest of world (4.5 hours per week)	16.5

CHART G.—*Publication of periodicals in and about Esperanto*

United States of America (3 percent)	3
Communist countries (18 percent)	21
Rest of world (79 percent)	91

CONCLUSION

In almost every aspect the Communist countries have taken the initiative and the United States has lagged behind in the search for a common international language. Progress in this area not only would contribute to world understanding, but might well have important spill-over effects on education, information retrieval, the mass media, the publishing industry, international organizations, and other arenas. This area of communications research and planning is so new that *there is no reason why the United States can not take a leading position* and soon begin to make a major contribution to what ought to be a joint East-West effort. Rather than a large investment of resources, *what is needed is mainly a recognition that the language problem is critical, and that any widely used planned international language is a critical language* in the search for a solution.

This report would suggest that *the following immediate steps would help rectify the existing American lag and be in the national interest:*

A. Correction by the Library of Congress of its insufficient and unrepresentative acquisition practice in the international language field.

B. Review by the Office of Education of its apparent position that constructed international languages are not "modern foreign languages" or are low in priority for funding.

C. Reconsideration by the United States Information Agency of its policy of doing no broadcasting or publishing whatsoever in any widely used constructed international language.

Beyond these stopgap measures, much could be done to make the search for a common language an official national priority. The Esperantic Studies Foundation will be ready at any time to assist all interested governmental and private agencies in the development of plans to this end.

CHART H.—*National information periodicals in Esperanto published for foreign consumption*

United States of America (0 percent)	0
Communist countries (86 percent)	6
Rest of world (14 percent)	1

TABLE 2.—*National information periodicals in Esperanto published for foreign consumption*

[Country of origin, title, and frequency]

Communist

Bulgaria, *Bulgarino*, yearly.

Bulgaria, *Nuntempa Bulgario*, monthly.

Bulgaria, *Ripozoj*, bi-monthly.

China (Continental), *El Popola Cinio*, monthly.

Hungary, *Hungara Vivo*, quarterly.

U.S.S.R., *Por la Paco*, irregular.

Non-Communist

Germany (West), *Okcidentgermana Revuo*, bi-monthly.

CHART I.—*Publication of books in and about Esperanto, 1967–68*

United States of America (2 percent)	2
Communist countries (40 percent)	42
Rest of world (60 percent)	60

CHART J.—*Publication of books translated into Esperanto, 1964–68*

United States of America (0 percent)	0
Communist countries (65 percent)	144
Rest of world (35 percent)	79

APPENDIX

Statement of purpose

The rapid acceleration of international contacts through both travel and telecommunication gives new salience to the fields of language planning and "languages of wider communication." Esperanto, the only planned international language in global use in a wide range of contexts, has escaped the attention of most American researchers in linguistics, international relations, and education. While its relevance is recognized by scholars abroad (e.g. Rotterdam, London, Paris, Vienna, Stockholm, Moscow, Budapest, Peking and Rio de Janeiro), we believe that the field of Esperantic studies is under-researched in the U.S., considering the high level of American scholarship in related fields.

To help remedy this imbalance, an Esperantic Studies Foundation (ESF) has been established. ESF will function as a center for the stimulation and support of teaching and research on the language, literature, culture, history, psychology, and social and political relations of the Esperanto-speaking community. The term "Esperantic studies" was coined to describe this area, in analogy with Hispanic, Icelandic, Arabic, etc. studies. ESF will also be concerned with applications of the Esperanto experience over the past eighty years to both scholarship and policy in such fields as science, technology, commerce, mass media, diplomacy, and citizen interactions.

ESF regards Esperanto as a topic worthy of serious research, but does not otherwise take a position on its merits. The Board of Directors will consist of representatives of diverse disciplines and views who are interested in the objective, empirical, and experimental study of international language problems and of language planning and development in a broad perspective.

ESF is incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia, and Federal tax-exempt status has been granted. Further communication on ESF should be directed to Dr. E. James Lieberman, 6451 Barnaby Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20015. List of research topics and bibliography are available.

Selected topics for research in Esperantic studies

1. Proposed studies of the linguistic characteristics of Esperanto (descriptive and analytical problems):

a. Grammar (oral and written varieties, algorithmic, computer-oriented, instruction-oriented, contrastive, etc.; lexical and semantic problems).

b. Phonology and script.

c. Linguistic stability and change in planned vs. unplanned languages.

d. Uniformity, diversity, standardization, and dialect formation in Esperanto.

2. Proposed social-behavioral studies (socio- and psycholinguistic problems):

a. Problems of language planning, choice, change, and standardization on the international vs. national level.

b. Linguistic problems of international language planning: contact, interference, etc.

c. Attitudinal problems of international language planning: attitudes toward international communication, world language, Esperanto, language innovation and planning, etc.

d. Cultural and attitudinal correlates of

international language use: effects on nationalism, group/ethnic consciousness and identity; linguistic competencies, limitations, habits, predilections, and taboos in international language vs. national-language communication; psychological and semantic aspects of communication in conferences and small groups; literary development in Esperanto vs. national and ethnic languages; cultural identity as expressed through Esperanto literature, and its implications.

e. The politics of international language planning: effects of domestic language situation, education policy, political regime, ideology, etc. on international language policy; policies of authoritarian regimes, small nations, etc. toward various means of international communication.

f. Social and political correlates of international language use or non-use: effects on integration, mobility, stratification, allocation, international relations, diplomacy, and communication patterns; effects of external linguistic pressures on small cultures and language groups.

g. Costs and benefits of international language use or non-use: effects of alternative international language planning strategies on technology, trade, development, scholarship, etc.

3. Proposed studies of the educational aspects of Esperanto:

a. Learnability of Esperanto vs. national languages, controlling for learners' nationality, age linguistic and cultural background, etc.

b. Dynamics of learnability: proficiency attainment curves in Esperanto vs. other languages.

c. Affective components of learnability of Esperanto vs. national languages as second tongue: motivation, confidence, identity, and sense of possession.

d. Esperanto as a propaedeutic: effects of studying Esperanto on performance in other foreign languages, English, etc., and on interests and attitudes.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON FOUNDERS

E. James Lieberman, born in Milwaukee in 1934, received B.A. and M.D. degrees from the University of California and trained in psychiatry and public health at Harvard. At present he is Chief of the Center for Child and Family Mental Health, National Institute of Mental Health. He has published articles on preventive psychiatry, family planning, sex education, nonviolence, and Esperanto. Having studied Latin and German in school, he first encountered Esperanto while hosteling through Europe in 1954, and studied the language on the ship home. He attended the 1957 Universal Esperanto Congress in Marseilles, and subsequently served as member and chairman of the Executive Board, Esperanto League for North America. His Esperantic publications include "L. L. Zamenhof—Dr. Esperanto", *New Eng. J. Med.* 261:963–65, 1959; "Esperanto, Interlingua, and the Emperor's New Clothes", *Intl. Lang. Rev.* 28, 1962; "Enkonduko" to *La Profeto*, by Kahlil Gibran (tr. R. Orloff Stone), 1962; "Do We Want a Monolingual World?", *N. Am. Esp. Rev.* 1965, No. 2.

Humphrey Tonkin, born in Truro, England, in 1939, was an undergraduate at Cambridge University and received his Ph.D. at Harvard as a Frank Knox Fellow in 1966. Now Assistant Professor of English at the University of Pennsylvania, he specializes in English Renaissance literature. Since learning Esperanto in 1955, he has lectured widely in and on the language, and contributed frequently to Esperanto periodicals. He is a former editor of the youth magazine *Kontakto*, is currently a contributing editor for the new edition of *Enciklopedio de Esperanto*, and is serving as General Secretary of the Tutmonda Esperantista Junulara Organizo. In the field of Esperantic studies, his publications in English include "Language Problems in International Relations: A Select Bibliography", *Intl. Lang. Rev.* 44–45, 1965–66; *A Research Bibliography on Esperanto and International Language Problems* (New York: JEN, 1967); "Code or Culture: The Case of Esperanto", *Era* 4, 1968; "Esperanto Literature Since the War", *PEN Bul. of Sel. Bks.* 19, 1968.

Jonathan Pool, born in Chicago in 1942, received his B.A. at Harvard and an M.A. at the University of Chicago, where he is a doctoral student in political science. After learning Esperanto in 1961, he helped found the Harvard-Radcliffe Esperanto Club, the Esperanto Education Center, and the University of Chicago International Language Society. He has spent a year in Norway, a summer in Ghana with Operation Crossroads Africa, and two years with the Peace Corps in Turkey, where he wrote a Turkish primer of Esperanto, *Esperanto Ögrenelim*. His language background also includes Latin and Russian. He is now a member of the Executive Committee of the Esperanto League for North America and Secretary of the Executive Board of the Organization of Esperanto-Speaking Young Americans, whose correspondence course he directs and whose newsletter he edits.

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Chart A: "Esperantaj Bibliotekoj" *Jarlibro de Universala Esperanto-Asocio*, 1969, part 1, pp. 51–55.

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Chart B: Same sources as Chart A.

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Chart D: "Kalendaro de Internaciaj Junularaj Esperanto-Arangoj en 1969". Tutmonda Esperantista Junulara Organizo, *Novajoj*, Oct., 1968.

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Chart G: "Esperanto-Periodajoj". *Jarlibro de Universala Esperanto-Asocio*, 1969, part 1, pp. 497–507.

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Chart H: Same sources as Chart G.

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Chart I: "Books Published in or about Esperanto in 1967–1968". Document D/i/6. London-Rotterdam: Centre for Research and Documentation on the Language Problem, 1968.

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Table 2: Same sources as Chart H.

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[1] "Aviado". *Esperanto*, Jan., 1969, p. 15.

[2] Norman Cousins, "How the U.S. Spurned Three Chances for Peace in Vietnam" and "Vietnam: The Spurned Peace".

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[4] Georgi Korotkevich, "Esperanto in the U.S.S.R." *Moscow News*, Apr. 27, 1968.

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BETTER PASSPORT SERVICE

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, on July 28, my colleague, the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. WEICKER), and I introduced legislation designed "to provide more efficient and convenient passport service." I am highly pleased to report that this drive to provide such service for millions of American travelers has gained strong bipartisan support in the House.

The fact that 35 Representatives of both parties and of all areas of the country have either cosponsored this measure or introduced identical bills shows conclusively the seriousness and national scope of the passport problem.

I am also gratified by the highly favorable response to our bill outside of Congress. The many citizens who have suffered through interminable delays and other inconveniences in order to obtain passports are now urging immediate congressional action to remedy this disgraceful situation and to assure them the

prompt and efficient service which they pay for and have every right to expect.

Some critics of our proposal would have you believe that these delays and inconveniences are seasonal and that they occur a few weeks a year. This contention is not just untrue; it is irrelevant. The fact is that the American people are entitled to prompt and efficient passport service every day of the year. My colleagues and I are attempting to insure this.

For those in this body and elsewhere who refuse to admit that the passport situation in this country has reached crisis proportions, I am including at this point in the RECORD the text of the lead editorial in the September 3 edition of the Federal Times. This editorial describes clearly the problem as it exists and the means by which we can solve it. Action is obviously needed; it is up to us to act.

The editorial reads as follows:

PASSPORTS

American travelers finally may get a break if a bill introduced by two Connecticut congressmen becomes law.

Reps. Robert N. Giaimo, a Democrat; and Lowell P. Weicker Jr., a Republican; propose beefing-up the passport office by adding more offices and more staff.

At present there are passport offices in Washington and in 10 other major United States cities. Both the State Department and Congress must approve any new facilities or the addition of personnel.

The proposed legislation would allow the Passport Office to use some of the revenues it collects to improve the service it provides—admittedly a novel approach.

Expansion of the facilities would eliminate the need for extensive travel and inconvenience to complete a passport application. The congressmen point out it takes longer to get a passport than it does to fly to Europe.

Here is another instance of a federal agency lagging behind the times in meeting the needs of the people it was designed to serve.

The Passport Office should be so organized and so located that it would facilitate travel for those who want to go abroad for business or pleasure. As now operated, it frequently produces the opposite effect.

The Congressmen say: "Millions of Americans are paying for passport service and they have every right to expect such service to be prompt and efficient."

Makes sense to us!

THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF HITLER'S ATTACK ON POLAND

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is said that human memory is short. I therefore believe it fitting and proper to remind ourselves and our Nation that we are marking the 30th anniversary of a dark day in the annals of world history.

In 1933, Poland's neighbor, Germany, came under the domination of the brutal Adolf Hitler. From that date the armed might of Germany began to take shape, and on September 1, 1939, the world was shocked by Hitler's brutal and completely unjustified attack on Poland, an innocent and peace-loving republic.

Hitler and his Nazi hordes unleashed their power against Poland and invaded her fertile lands. Though a small nation, greatly outnumbered in men and fighting equipment, Poland earned the admiration of the entire world by her gallant stand against the most powerful military machine ever assembled up to that time, and fighting back as no other people have fought before, they gave ground slowly.

While the Polish Army, with its back to the wall, was striking back blow for blow against the vast Nazi military might, it was administered its death blow when the Russians invaded Poland, on September 17, 1939, from the rear and stabbed Poland in the back.

In spite of these two crushing forces, hitting from the front and rear, Polish patriots continued to fight back. The heroic and stubborn defense of Poland's capital city, Warsaw, will never be forgotten by the freedom-loving people of the world. But with the Nazi armies in front and the Russians in back, the collapse of the Polish defenders was a foregone conclusion.

With the fall of Warsaw, Poland again was partitioned by Russia and Germany. With the fall of Hitler and the Nazi armies, the millions of Poles and the Polish territory came under the domination of Russia, which is continued to this day.

We all know, for history shows it, that Poland was not giving up easily to the Russians. They fought where they could and as hard as they could. Those who escaped the dreaded Communist hordes joined up with the armies of other nations to fight for the liberation of their beloved country. The enemy knows that as long as there was an able Pole alive, he would fight on. The extermination of thousands of Polish soldiers at Katyn Forest showed the fear that the Russians had of the Polish soldier. Even to this day the spirit of these dead hovers over all of Poland and its patriotic people. The fact that so many were massacred at Katyn illustrated the great love that the Pole has for his country, and would not give in. There were no quislings in Poland. The country was not delivered to the enemy freely, but resisted the oncoming hordes of an insane military might.

The evidence of the fervor of a Pole for freedom was well seen in the escape of Lt. Franciszek Jarecki and Lt. Zdzislaw Jazwinski, who were trained for the Communist air force. Many of us well remember their escape in Russian MIG's to Denmark from behind the iron curtain. They finally were able to come to America and are—to my best knowledge—engaged in business ventures in this country.

These are but two examples of what the Poles would do if given the opportunity. What numbers escaped but are unknown to us?

At the time, the world little realized what would be the tragic effects of that attack. There are some who thought it was of no concern to us and could not affect us, seemingly safe and secure, thousands of miles from attack.

The attack on Poland brought about and directly caused World War II, the bloodiest holocaust ever recorded in human history, bringing tragedy and suffering on all the freedom-loving world, including the United States.

It would also be worthwhile to remember that without a promise of support from Stalin, Hitler would not have dared to launch his attack on Poland, that Hitler's nazism was the associate and accomplice of Stalin's communism.

At the very first opportunity, Stalin joined Hitler in dividing Poland between them and in the barbaric plot to torture and exterminate its people. Let us not forget the Nazi gas chambers, their inhuman incinerators and their dastardly inhuman plot to completely extinguish the Polish nation.

The end of World War II brought no liberation to Poland. Its people today, although given a limited amount of freedom, have not accepted total defeat and enslavement. The hope for total freedom is still in the hearts of the Polish people and this hope continues stronger than ever.

Let us on this day of September 1969, rededicate ourselves to vigilance and preparedness and pledge ourselves never to relax until the international conspiracy, hatched out simultaneously in Berlin and Moscow, has been completely wiped off the face of God's earth.

There can be no peace in the world without a free Poland, free and independent in company with other nations of east-central Europe.

Freedom is indivisible. It is not possible to enjoy freedom when basic human rights are violated in one country while its neighbors are free. There can be no freedom in the world when one nation rules over another. World peace depends upon international cooperation and on the voluntary commitments of all nations.

Thus, the people of Poland reject the role of a satellite of Russian communism and demand to be restored to their well-earned place among the people of the free world.

Justice and our own national security require that we do everything possible to wipe out the dark spot on the history of the world which appears under date of September 1, 1939.

TRIBUTE TO THE HONORABLE DANIEL RONAN

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, I wish at this time to pay tribute to our late colleague, the Honorable Daniel Ronan of Illinois.

Congressman Ronan was a dedicated public servant and an able worker, a loyal patriot, and a generous friend to all who knew him. His life was a testimony

to the faith which Americans have traditionally placed in the merits of the democratic process.

A native of Illinois, Congressman Ronan did graduate work at Loyola University, before serving with the Air Force in the Second World War.

Elected to the position of Illinois State Representative in 1948, and reelected to that office in 1950, he was elected as Chicago alderman in 1951, serving in that office until his election to the U.S. Congress in 1964.

Having majored in economics and political history in his undergraduate program at Loyola, Congressman Ronan's training and interests were admirably suited to his work in the House of Representatives, where he was highly regarded for his work on the Subcommittee on Transportation and Aeronautics, of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

He was the kind of man who gave himself unsparingly to his work and yet always had an equal amount of devotion for his friends and colleagues. He not only represented his constituents conscientiously, but gave to all who knew and worked with him a sense of his humane and generous nature.

We are deprived by his death not only of his intellectual acuity, his thorough knowledge, and his confident ability, but also of his diligence, his patience, his warmhearted integrity.

He earned the affection and admiration of all of us; we mourn him and shall miss him.

THE DRUG CRISIS

HON. J. HERBERT BURKE

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, the sinister threat that the increasing use of drugs poses to the well-being of our youth and our Nation is becoming increasingly apparent. The problem of dope addiction in our country is not new, but the problem of ever increasing dope users is new and today we are in the midst of a serious narcotics problem which is rapidly piercing the soul of our society.

During the last campaign, I suggested that the problem of the use of drugs had extended far beyond it being a strictly local problem, and for this reason I suggested there be greater Federal participation in an all-out war to stop the flow of narcotics into our country and into the hands of our youth.

At that time I suggested that the Federal Government increase the amount of custom agents and our border patrol as step 1 in this fight. As step 2 I suggested that International Commissions be formed to aid in the fight to eliminate the flow of drugs at the point of origin.

Statistics show that between 1960 and 1967 juvenile arrests involving the use of drugs rose by almost 800 percent and half of those now being arrested for misusing narcotics are under 21 years of age.

New York City alone has records of some 40,000 heroin addicts and the numbers are rising by 7,000 to 10,000 annually.

In early 1968 a Gallup Poll taken at 426 college campuses revealed that 6 percent of the students polled had used marihuana on one or more occasions and that 1 percent has used LSD.

Dr. Stanley Yolles, Director of the National Institute of Mental Health, testified before a House committee last Congress that 20 percent of the college youths polled in his survey admitted experience with marihuana.

How many actual drug addicts exist in our society cannot be accurately calculated, but President Nixon in a recent message to Congress indicated the number is in the hundreds of thousands.

There is no doubt that as the number of narcotic addicts increase, there will be more problems for our society in the areas of health, both mentally and physically; social mores; and most especially crime.

The cost of drugs comes high.

A person hooked on dope may require anywhere from $15 on up to hundreds of dollars per day depending on his sickness to purchase the narcotics needed for their systems.

In New York City alone where local and Federal officials have tried to curb the problem of drug abuse, the Food and Drug Administration estimates that the city's addicts must raise from $500,000 to $700,000 daily to support their habit.

The saddest part of all this is the fact that an entire generation of teenagers and college-age youths seemingly are finding it harder and harder to resist the temptation of drugs.

Statistics bear out that more and more young people, after once becoming addicted to dope, start a life of crime and become involved in first petty crimes and then crimes such as robbery, prostitution, and even murder in order to find money to buy dope and support their habit.

A Department of Health, Education, and Welfare study shows that several million American college students have at least experimented with marihuana, hashish, LSD, amphetamines, or barbiturates prompting President Nixon to say this week:

> It is doubtful that an American parent can send a son or daughter to college today without exposing the young man or woman to drug abuse.

Local and Federal officials have strived hard to combat the increasing tide of drug abuse, but have been understaffed and underfinanced in their flight. There are laws on the books which prohibit the importation, selling, and use of such drugs, but today we are living in an age where we are experiencing drug abuse which is becoming almost epidemic. Throughout the country, new programs and new action is needed if we are to overcome this scourge.

Even though vast amounts of raw dope may be discovered, and thousands of users arrested for selling or using narcotics, there are many more being led daily into the dark alleys and shadows where they purchase addictive drugs and eventually become slaves to it.

Last year I had recommended the creation of international commissions so that our neighboring countries and others could work directly with the United States to halt the flow of narcotics into our country.

I believe this would be an effective weapon in fighting the drug problem since it would point out that many syndicated crime lords are responsible for keeping the narcotics peddlers well supplied, and would also pinpoint the source as well as the distribution patterns of narcotics.

As an example, marihuana, one of the most popular drugs used by addicts, comes from the Cannabis Sativa plant. It is primarily grown in mild climates throughout the world, with the majority grown, however, in Mexico, Africa, India, and the Middle East.

According to the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, most of the dangerous drugs are grown in foreign countries, and are usually converted into a powder base in clandestine laboratories close to the growing area. The drug is refined, and once it is ready for use, it is then smuggled via various ingenious methods into the United States through neighboring borders or ports.

Since the vast amount of illicit narcotics are smuggled into our country, it is easy to see why international restraints are needed to halt its movement at the point of origin.

Since my return to Congress last January, I have had several discussions concerning these matters with a number of people in the executive branch, and was indeed happy therefore to note that President Nixon in his recent message to Congress endorsed the idea of creating international commissions.

The President has suggested legislation recently for a renewed attack on drug peddlers and users by proposing fines for the sale of hard core drugs of $25,000 for the first offense and $50,000 for the second. I strongly concur.

He would also make the use of LSD, which can and is easily manufactured at laboratories in our country, a crime calling for maximum penalties as in the case of other hard core drugs.

One of the worst type of criminals is the dope pusher and seller. I was happy with the President's proposal that sellers of these illegal drugs should face penalties of 20 years imprisonment, and that those who are convicted of having drugs in their possession to face prison terms from 2 to 10 years for first offenders and up to 20 years for second offenders.

As a further step in this war, I have advocated the bolstering of manpower for our border patrols, customs agents, the Justice Department, the Bureau of Dangerous Drugs and Narcotics, and State and local police forces. President Nixon supports more funding for this.

Several weeks ago I was happy to be able to announce that the administration had authorized $100,096 to the State of Florida and the Caribbean and South and Central American countries in an

effort to keep current on the actions of syndicated crime members and their efforts to move narcotics into our country.

A further grant of $174,176 was given to the State of Massachusetts to initiate a computerized communications program on syndicated criminals and their activities among the five largest States in the country, including Florida. This maneuver would give local police in the States readily available information on these criminal elements, and most especially, pinpoint the flow of drugs.

Notwithstanding the above, I still feel that more effort must be made to make the public fully aware of the dangers of drugs and to also increase programs to rehabilitate those who are unfortunately already chained to the habit of drug abuse.

As for rehabilitation, the President has proposed additional funding for suggested new ideas and concepts in the field of reforming addicts, and he also has recommended increasing existing funds for treatment centers to be established at the local and Federal levels.

Most of these suggested recommendations are matters which require prompt congressional action and the problem gets bigger as each day passes. This is but one of the many wars on the home front, which we Americans must face, and which we must conquer.

The wanton and illegal use of narcotics, especially by so many of our youth, is changing the face of America. Thus, we as a people must roll up our sleeves and say, "We have just begun the fight," and will not quit until the war is won.

For the above reasons and as a start, I am happy today to join with those of my colleagues who have previously introduced the Drug Abuse Education Act of 1969 by adding my name in support of this legislation, which would authorize the U.S. Commissioner of Education to make grants to elementary and secondary schools and other educational institutions for the conduct of special educational programs and activities concerning the use of drugs and for other related educational purposes.

It is essential that we stimulate every means possible to fully inform students, teachers and others involved in education at this level as to bring about the full awareness of the sinister implications and ramifications the growing use of and reliance on drugs poses to the United States.

The Drug Abuse Education Act of 1969 and other drug legislation must be strongly supported by all Members of the Congress, if we are to eliminate the drug problem which faces our Nation today.

BARRATT O'HARA

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, it is with great sadness that I note the passing of my friend and colleague, former Representative Barratt O'Hara. He served in the House for almost two decades with humanity and compassion. Not many know that Barratt was the last congressional veteran of the Spanish-American War.

His was a career ranging from soldier to editor to lawyer and statesman. His eagerness to take to the floor of the House, his love of debate, his willingness to test each new idea revealed the depth of his character and the color of his personality.

He will not be readily forgotten.

FEDERAL GRANTS SET FOR MISSISSIPPI GULF COAST DISASTER AREA UNDER NATIONAL DISASTER ACT

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, we are all concerned and distressed because of the devastating disaster left in the wake of Hurricane Camille on the gulf coast of Mississippi.

The loss of life and property were shocking and all of us are indeed sympathetic to the needs of the devastated areas.

However, it is my understanding that bills are being introduced to establish a national disaster policy to provide assistance in such situations. I would remind my colleagues that we have had a national disaster policy since September 30, 1950, when Congress passed the Disaster Relief Act, providing for assistance to States and local governments to cope with disasters. Subsequent acts provided for additional assistance.

Under the basic and subsequent acts the Government through the Office of Emergency Preparedness is authorized and directed to provide assistance for "natural disasters" and "acts of God."

Certainly, the gulf coast disaster falls within this category and grants are being made by the President through the OEP to these areas.

In the recent independent offices and Department of Housing and Urban Development appropriations bill, $45 million was added to available funds for Federal disaster grants. This bill has passed the House and is pending in the Senate.

When this bill is passed and signed by the President, these new funds will become available. I recently was called by Gov. John Bell Williams of Mississippi and I advised him of the status of this appropriation for national disaster relief.

I told Governor Williams further that should the Office of Emergency Planning request supplemental funds to meet additional needs, the committee will give consideration to the need and request.

In other words, Congress has assumed the responsibility for assisting areas devastated by natural disasters—Congress has declared this policy and intent—and further legislation in this regard is not needed to provide the disaster assistance being sought in the gulf coast area.

REGIONAL MEDICAL PROGRAMS—REPORT ON A PROJECT

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most promising pieces of legislation to emerge from the 89th Congress was the regional medical programs. The basic objective, as you will recall, is to assure that the American people, wherever they may be, will benefit from the advances of medical science against the threats of heart disease, cancer and stroke and related diseases. In order to achieve this goal, each region is to develop a regional cooperative effort involving all of its health resources—manpower, institutions and organizations. These regional cooperative arrangements are concerned not only with the development and maintenance of high quality health care, but also with the wider availability of that quality of care to people in need.

In my own district, a regional medical program was established about 18 months ago. Even while it was being organized, it was evident that more knowledge about the availability of health care facilities in the northeast part of the San Fernando Valley was going to be necessary if the program was to be an effective and meaningful one. Thus, under the California regional medical programs, administered by the University of California at Los Angeles, and funded by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the northeast San Fernando Valley project was developed. Its objective was to learn what health care resources are available, how they can be used more effectively, and what must be done to bring the best health care to the people of this particular part of my district.

Funds were awarded in October 1968, and in this short space of time, the project is well on its way to achieving its objectives. It has been, I am happy to say, refunded for the second year. And, I have no doubt that when its objectives have been reached, the findings will contribute greatly to the success of the total San Fernando regional medical program.

The report of the project's activities was recently given to me. I believe it may be of interest to the Members of the House and I herewith submit it for inclusion in the RECORD:

THE NORTHEAST SAN FERNANDO VALLEY PROJECT

Several communities in the northeast section of the San Fernando Valley comprise what is considered to be a "health ghetto." A federal grant of $120,000 has been awarded by the Regional Medical Programs to investigate what health resources are available; how they might be used more efficiently, and what must be added to bring the quality of health care delivery in the area to the level of that of a medical center community.

The six communities of the Northeast Valley include Pacoima, San Fernando, Sunland, Sun Valley, Sylmar and Tujunga. The grant is under Area IV of the California Regional Medical Programs, administered by UCLA and funded by the Division of Regional Medical Programs, HEW.

The population of the Northeast Valley is 250,000 or 20 percent of the total San Fernando Valley. Of all the Blacks who live in the San Fernando Valley, 93 percent live in the Northeast portions; 37 percent of the Valley's poorly educated live in these six communities and 25 percent of the unemployed are there. About 26 percent of the San Fernando Valley families with an annual income of $3,000 or less are in the northeast section.

The medical resources are six hospitals. They include San Fernando Veterans and Olive View which are Chronic Disease hospitals. There are 21 hospitals in the remaining portions of the San Fernando Valley. There are 41/100,000 physicians in the "health ghetto" as compared to 98/100,000 in the more prosperous sectors.

This data has been collected since the inception, eighteen months ago, of the Regional Medical Programs (RMP) in the San Fernando Valley; but even as the San Fernando RMP District Committee was being organized, its members realized that the northeast section of the Valley would require their first and immediate attention.

The lack of medical facilities became most apparent when directors of a newly created mental health clinic attempted to refer their patients (who had medical needs other than mental health) to appropriate community health facilities and found them non-existent.

The Director of the community mental health clinic, and at that time, Coordinator of the San Fernando Valley RMP District, catalyzed the District Committee to begin preparing an operational grant proposal to develop the health care resources of the Northeast Valley.

The funds for this were awarded in October 1968. Since then, a staff has been trained and an office organized to begin planning for a better system of health care delivery for the six communities. The first step will be to accurately assess the presently available resources. The administrators of each of the principal health facilities located in this section were contacted and appointments were made for staff visits to the facilities. On the basis of these visits and a health facility questionnaire, the facilities will be assessed.

A second step already begun, is the collection of "soft data" which is on-going. Members of the community were surveyed to determine health needs and utilization of available health facilities. The groups surveyed were selected on the basis of their being representative of the community; groups according to age, sex, ethnic and socioeconomic characteristics.

The preliminary results indicated that many residents of the Northeast Valley use health facilities only in extreme emergencies. The nearest general medicine services for indigent patients are at the USC, Los Angeles County Medical Center, located 22 miles away; a one hour drive by car, or a two hour bus ride costing $2.00. Some of these surveyed complained of having to wait long hours for medical care in hospitals. They said some hospital facilities often were unclean and there appeared to be an inadequate number of staff members; too often, they were required to pay fees at private hospitals before receiving services—fees which, in their opinion were too high.

The purpose of the survey was to trace the route the people take in seeking medical help, to identify the ecological systems of the communities, and to obtain ideas and information from those living in the community concerning health needs, and the effectiveness of existing health resources.

From the data collected from these surveys, those working in the Northeast Valley RMP project hope to form a basis for sound health planning, involving the members of the community in the planning of their own resources and facilities.

As stated by Philip Lee, M.D., Chancellor of the University of California Medical Center in San Francisco, even though health services are available in cities throughout the United States, many people who could use them—and pay for them—will not do so because they are unable to cope with the health care system.

This is precisely the problem that those involved in the Northeast San Fernando Valley project are trying to avoid by involving the people who will use the health care resources in the planning and implementation of their own system.

GHETTO FRAUD ON THE INSTALLMENT PLAN

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, the exploitation of consumers is not often understood clearly, even though the organized consumer movement has grown more visible in recent years. I fear that Congress does not appreciate the gravity of the abuses involved and therefore, has not acted vigorously to eliminate them. Frankly, I am shocked by many of them.

I harbor the suspicion that the superficial terminology of consumer frauds engenders an inappropriate image of a latter-day medicine man and his "magic mineral water to cure all ills." What is not understood is that this comic image is relevant to contemporary selling frauds only in the similarity of the charlatan's pitch. The important difference, however, is in the size and consequence of the transactions involved.

Today's deceived purchaser does not merely get a $5 bottle of useless chemicals, but often several hundred dollars of furniture or major appliances. Moreover, he may find he loses not simply some loose change as in the days of old, but his means of making a livelihood.

Even more shocking, we find today charlatans, rather than being fearful of the local sheriff, are actually aided by our court system and society's law enforcement machinery. Unscrupulous merchants rely heavily on default judgments, improper service of process, repossession of property by marshals, and the threat of garnisheed salary by court order to compel a frightened consumer to pay for unwanted merchandise.

In the end, a poor consumer inveigled into debts far beyond his means, threatened with loss of job, unable to afford a lawyer and unaided by the courts or any Government agencies, can be driven to anger and frustration. The Kerner Report made his point very explicitly in describing some of the motivation for civil disturbances.

With these grave consequences in mind, I feel the problem of ghetto fraud takes on elements of urgency which cannot be ignored. It is imperative that we dispel the inaccurate image of the fraudulent medicine man by viewing modern abuses as they actually are. In the May 26 and June 2 issues of New York Magazine, a two-part series of articles appeared which thoroughly describe the range and depth of fraudulent sales practices in our poor neighborhoods. I strongly recommend that any of my colleagues who wish to understand the true nature of consumer fraud and an underlying element in our urban unrest, read these articles fully:

GHETTO FRAUD ON THE INSTALLMENT PLAN

(By Craig Karpel)

Warren, a grown man who lives with his mother, walked into the Harlem Consumer Education Council's basement office a few months ago. Director Florence Rice gave him a leaky ball-point pen and he wrote:

"Bought TV from door to door salesman—Philco 19" lot of trouble with T.V. back cracked notify company to come have fix. Company claimed misplace T.V. sent repossed T.V. 1949 had to stick in hanger to get reception—two weeks after that broke down. Called to fix that removed T.V. still pay bill by garnishment—left job on account of garnishment which effect my marital relation as the garnishee took away from our expenditures food clothing and rent. Which for which my wife was forced to except welfare and I left to establish myself again T.V. paid $500 never received T.V."

Louis-Ferdinand Céline coined the conceit that life was nothing but death on the installment plan. For poor people in New York City, this comes close to being literally true.

Six years ago sociologist David Caplovitz of Columbia's Bureau of Applied Social Research published a book called *The Poor Pay More*. The book is a landmark in the literature of consumer problems, right out there with *The Jungle* and *Unsafe At Any Speed*. As a result, Caplovitz has become witness-in-residence at a host of committees and subcommittees where he talks about the lack of "scope" which keeps poor people from leaving their neighborhoods in search of better prices and terms, about the "deviant sub-economy" which springs up like weeds through the cracks in the cement of tenement courtyards, where nothing flourishes that isn't rank.

The Great White Way of the deviant sub-economy is the L-shaped strip of 54 furniture and appliance stores running from 116th Street and Third Avenue to 125th Street and Lexington. The strip is the home of literal *shlock*. Not figurative *shlock*, as in "that agency has nothing but *shlock* accounts." Literal *shlock:* doll furniture, one good long cut below "borax." "Borax" is junk, but it's better-quality junk. Birch? maple? dowels? glue? fabrics? veneers? Forget it—*shlock* is made of gumwood and flakeboard, knocked together with a few screws, upholstered in plastic "brocade" and varnished like a cheap coffin. The prices, however, are strictly W. & J. Sloane. *Shlock* stores do not talk about percentages of markup, like 50 per cent markup or 75 per cent markup—they talk about how many "numbers" they jack the price up over wholesale, and a "number" is 100 per cent. All *shlock* is marked up at least one number, and on a credit sale the markup can be three or four numbers.

So why buy *shlock?* Because the *shlock* emporia will give terms: "Easy credit." "Easy credit" means that as long as you are working and have wages that can be attached in the likely event that you miss one payment, you're okay. "Easy credit" means that if, as Shyleur Barrack, head of the Harlem civil branch of the Legal Aid Society once did, you go into a store and give a reference who say you now have two garnishees against your salary, the salesman will come back from the phone smiling and try to hustle you into $1,114.80 worth of furniture and appliances. "Easy credit" means that there is a store on 125th Street called Future Furniture

that has to have a sign in its window: "WE ACCEPT CASH."

But all the places on the strip offer "easy credit," and a store can't generate much traffic by telling poor people it's going to take them to the cleaners, so it runs an ad in the *Daily News* in which two credit managers (black and white, take your pick) offer: Economy apartment, $198. Sleeper, matching chair, 2 walnut finish step-tables plus decor, lamps, walnut finish bachelor chest, matching mirror, full size bed, with 1pc. Firestone comb. mattress, 16 pcs. dishware, 16 pcs. cutlery, 8 towels, 11 pc. salad set, 29 table access.

But once they've spent the money to get you into the store, they can't let you out with only a miserable $198 worth of *shlock*. That is only the bait end of bait-and-switch advertising. By the time the customer leaves, he should have put his Juan Hancock on the dotted line for at least $1,000. To cause this takes more than just an old-fashioned bait-and-switch. It requires nothing less than that balletic extravaganza of salesmanship known to the trade as the "turnover" or "tossover," code name "T.O." The salesman starts by showing the customer a pile of junk for $198. One store keeps its bait furniture piled in a dark corner, lit by a naked lightbulb. It is painted battleship gray, every stick of it, down to what used to be the chrome legs on the dinette table. If you wanted to give a salesman a heart attack, all you'd have to do is say, "Okay, I'll take it." "You don't want this stuff," he says. It'll fall apart in a couple of months. Besides, a person like you can afford something better. Let me show you something a little bit better." The salesman then takes the stiff upstairs in an elevator, but not before shaking him down for a $50 deposit for the privilege of "seeing the warehouse." The elevator gets "stuck" after the first trip up and doesn't get unstuck until the stiff has been signed up for a bill of goods. The idea of the T.O. is to show the stiff successively more expensive suites of furniture without letting him get discouraged about the price.

When he begins to look green around the gills for the first time around, the salesman turns him over to another salesman who is introduced as the "assistant manager." The A.M. immediately "sandbags"—knocks 50 per cent off—whatever the first salesman quoted. The stiff is so taken aback that he lets the A.M. build him up again. Just before he begins to feel weak again, the A.M. turns him over to the "manager," who slashes the A.M.'s prices "as a special favor for you." The manager will try to build him up to, say, $800 or $1,000. If the stiff says he "wants to think about it" and tries to leave, he finds that the elevator is on the fritz. The "owner" now appears, knocks off a hundred bucks or two, and this usually convinces the stiff to sign. At which point the elevator suddenly clicks back into action.

Now the fraud starts in earnest. When the furniture arrives, it's almost invariably damaged—delivery men routinely saw off legs on couches to get them in elevators and fit them back together with a special double-ended screw. The furniture turns out to be a junkier variety of *shlock* than what was ordered. The colors bear no relation to what was displayed in the "warehouse." The stereo doesn't work. The television looks used. Two chairs are missing. You were supposed to get a 9-by-12 rug with your order; the "rug" turns out to be a piece of linoleum. When the payment book arrives, the installments listed add up to much more than the amount that was agreed on.

Try to do something about it.

Say, for example, that the glass coffee table is cracked. You bring it back and the salesman tells you he'll be happy to give you your money back. He shows you that the contract simply says "three rooms furniture" for $943.17. It doesn't list the price of the table separately, and now he tells you the price was a dollar. "Would you like your dollar back?" he asks slyly. Or tell him the dinette table keeps collapsing and he says he'll send a man up, but nobody comes. Or say you want to send everything back because it isn't anything like what you ordered. If you're very lucky the salesman agrees and the store picks up your furniture, but when you go back to pick up your $50 deposit, he says the store is keeping it as a "service charge." And you let him bulldoze you because you don't know what else to do.

Some stores rise to printworthy extremes of doublethink when it comes to not returning deposits. Dorothy Mason, a counselor with the MEND consumer education project in East Harlem, tells about a guy who came to her recently because he couldn't get his deposit back:

"He had put down $150 at Eldorado Furniture and Appliances on Third Avenue. A salesman had convinced him to buy a washing machine and a 19-inch portable television for only $649. Two things happened to bring him to my office. First, the washing machine was delivered with a broken timer. He could not get any satisfaction from the store. Second, he found out that he could buy the same washer for $199 instead of the $299 he had paid.

"I went over to Eldorado with this man to discuss the matter with Samuelson, the boss. Samuelson said, 'Your man could have had it for $199 cash.' Then why did you ask $299? I asked him. Because the man is a bad risk,' he said, 'How bad a risk could he be,' I asked, 'if you've got 150 of his dollars?' Well, I thought of him charging this man on welfare $649 for merchandise on credit that he could have purchased for $360 with cash, and I smiled, because this was almost a daily experience on Third Avenue with complaints of poor consumers. Samuelson became very upset and threw me out for smiling."

"You wouldn't believe some of these places," says Steve Press, whose New York Institute for Consumer Education is setting up a cooperative furniture store in East Harlem. "They'll stamp NO DEPOSIT RETURNED on the contract. That would never stand up in court, but poor people are impressed and don't even bother asking for their money back."

There is a certain type of used-car dealer in New York that is especially anxious to deal with poor people. Tune in to WWRL:

"Friends, have you tried to buy a car lately? Have you been turned down? Well, call Headquarters at 538–4300 . . . You have a garnishee or a judgment against you, and no one will let you forget them? Well, call Headquarters at 538–4300 . . . Your desire to pay plus a small down payment is all you need."

"Used-car dealers really do a job on poor people," says former Commissioner of Consumer Affairs Gerard M. Weisberg, recently appointed a Criminal Court judge. "Some of those lots out on Bruckner Boulevard and Queens Boulevard—they don't deliver the car that was agreed on, they inflate prices to a point you wouldn't believe, they charge a fortune for so-called 'credit investigations.' And they refuse to refund deposits if the customer's credit doesn't check out, though they lure him out there with promises that nobody's refused. Recently we revoked the license of Motorama Wholesalers on Queens Boulevard. Motorama was taking people's money and refusing to deliver the cars. The deposits ranged up to $580.

"The Department is constantly going over these dealers' books, but it's tough to police them. You put one corporation out of business, the next thing you know there's another corporation employing the same salesmen, using the same shady tactics on the same lot."

The Consumer Fraud Unit set up by US Attorney Robert Morgenthau under the direction of Richard A. Givens has been looking into the used-car racket.

"Our investigations have disclosed a pattern of sales of certain used cars at many times their original cost," explains Givens, "followed by a cycle of repossession, repurchase of the car at a low price at auction and further resale at many times that price to new customers, who in turn are frequently sued by finance agencies and often claim to have received no notice of suit. The inquiry indicated that in certain cases some used-car dealers know in *advance* that there will be a complaint regarding *each and every* automobile sold and that many customers will give up the car and default because they feel it can't be made to work. We're looking into possible violations of federal law by these people."

You don't have to leave the comfort of your home to be bilked. Peddlers making the rounds of slums and projects run the oldest-established permanent floating crap game in town. Encyclopedia salesmen tell welfare mothers they are officials of the Board of Education, that the books they are pushing are required reading for their children. They sell people encyclopedias who already *have* encyclopedias. They sell $379.60 worth of books in English to people who only speak Spanish, to people who can't read at all, to people who are destitute. A peddler tells a woman she can have a set of pots and pans in her home for 10 days; if she doesn't like them, she can return them. When the utensils arrive, she signs a receipt for them. She decides to call the company and tell them to take the stuff back because it's junk. Then she realizes she has no idea what the company's name is or where it's located. The "receipt" she signed was actually a retail installment contract for $83.75. Soon she gets a payment book in the mail with a note saying she'll be sued if she misses one payment.

Richard A. Givens prosecuted a character named Rubin Sterngass recently for running a "chain referral" swindle, a mode of fleecing that is popular in the slums. A salesman would come to the house and offer quartz broilers and color television sets for nothing if the customer would refer acquaintances to Sterngass' company. The customer would sign up for a color TV at a credit price of $1,400; commissions were supposed to be paid to him for each "successful" referral—$50 for the first, $200 for the fourth, $400 for the eighth and $1,200 on the twelfth. Givens demonstrated the scheme had its faults by presenting a table of how many new customers would be necessary at each step if the merchandise were to be paid off by referral commissions:

Step	*New customers necessary*
1	8
2	64
3	512
4	4,096
5	32,768
6	264,144
7	2,113,152
8	16,905,216
9	135,241,728
10	1,071,933,824

Givens argued successfully that since every last human being on earth, plus everybody who had ever lived, plus a few generations yet unborn, would have to buy quartz broilers and color TVs on the eleventh go-around for the scheme to work, Sterngass ought to go to jail and think about other ways of doing business for a few years. The judge agreed.

At any given moment there is one super-fraud that sets the tone for all the other ghetto frauds in the city. Until last year the super-fraud was the "family food plan." Ray Narral, head of a legal services office of Mobilization for Youth, describes how the plan worked.

"Mr. and Mrs. Hernandez have two infant children and live in a New York City housing

project. A salesman knocked on their door and said he was offering a very good food and freezer program. 'If you join,' he told them, 'you will be able to save a great deal of money feeding your children.' All of the sales literature indicated that for $12.50 a week, the family would receive a complete order of food—prime meats, fresh vegetables, everything. The freezer, the salesman announced, was theirs to store the food in, completely free of charge. The sales pitch was so inviting that the couple signed up immediately. They later discovered that the papers they signed were a retail installment contract for the food in the amount of $375.00 and a contract for a freezer for $1,020.76. Payments on the food were $93.75 a month for four months and 35 installments of $28.35 for the freezer."

Two years ago, a Nassau County District Court was asked to void one of these freezer contracts. It handed down a decision that, under the "unconscionability" provisions of the Uniform Commercial Code, "the sale of the appliance at the price and terms indicated in this contract is shocking to the conscience." Attorney General Lefkowitz' Bureau of Consumer Frauds and Protection went to court against the "family food plan" operators, seeking orders restraining Serve Best Food Plan, Thrift Pak, and People's Food from "carrying on . . . their business in a persistently fraudulent manner." In 1968, the Bureau curbed the biggest food plan operator of all, Martin Schwartz of Ozone Park, whose five companies were raking in a very neat $10 million a year.

The current super-fraud is a "sweepstakes" craze that started somewhere in the Southwest and recently arrived in New York. It offers sewing machines and stereos "free" to holders of "winning numbers." Regardless of where in the U.S. the shuck is being operated, the "contest" materials are the same. A chain with seven stores in New York is now being investigated by the city's Department of Consumer Affairs. The swindle starts with this letter:

"Here is your opportunity to participate in our 'Stereo Sweepstakes'. It's fun! It's easy! Just remove the gold seal to find your serial number, and compare it with the enclosed list of lucky numbers. If you have a lucky number, it means extra savings to you! For example! If you have a number which appears in Group 3 (Grand Prize) you pay nothing for a beautiful 1969 General Electric Stereo Console."

The number under the seal on this letter is 67487. 67487 is listed on the enclosed list of lucky numbers, not once, but twice, so you won't miss it and be the only person who receives such a letter who doesn't "win." A Consumer Affairs investigator visited one of the stores with this letter. He was shown a G.E. stereo model C121. The salesman explained that the investigator had won this record player, worth $150, but that it couldn't be removed unless he signed an installment contract to buy a record a week for 39 weeks at $5 each. The investigator called the Dealer Equipment Section of G.E. and found that the C121 carries a list price of $99.95. The records which must be purchased under the plan are displayed around the store. They are the sort of off-brand, off-band cha-cha albums that one ordinarily finds remaindered for $1.19.

There is cash-and-carry cheating in poor neighborhoods, but most ghetto fraud hinges on the "easy credit" retail installment contract. It invariably has some features designed to protect the consumer, which seldom work, and others designed to nail him, which always work. Under the law there has to be a "Notice to Buyer." The first point must say: "Do not sign this agreement before you read it or if it contains any blank space." In fact, nobody ever reads one of these agreements. They ordinarily run to about 2,300 words in phrases like "time is of the essence hereof." (The Everything Card chit is a retail installment contract—ever read it?) The space for a descripition of the merchandise is hardly ever filled in completely at the time of the sale—usually only a few words are written in at the top, like "3 Rooms Furniture" or "one 23" Color TV." What harm in that? Just a second—point number two is: "You are entitled to a completely filled in copy of this agreement," and right above where you sign, it says: "Buyer acknowledges receipt of an executed copy of this Retail Installment Contract." But the moment your pen leaves the paper the salesman whips the contract away—including your copy—and the next time you see it, if you ever do, it says "Damaged Furniture—Accepted As Is" or "Used Television Set—Customer Will Repair" right in the blank space you were warned against. This is all assuming you read the "Notice to Buyer," of course. One reason you might not have read it is that you only read Spanish. The stores have *"muebleria"* and *"credito"* and *"se habla español"* plastered all over the outside, but there is no such thing as a contract printed in Spanish. The finance company's linguists are apparently too busy composing dunning letters to the *campesinos*.

The fine print on the back socks it to the buyer in terms only a lawyer can savor. The kicker is contained in the following hocus-pocus: "The Buyer agrees not to assert against an assignee a claim or defense arising out of the sale under this contract provided that the assignee acquires this contract in good faith and for value and has no written notice of the facts giving rise to the claim or defense within 10 days after such assignee mails to the Buyer at his address shown above notice of the assignment of this contract." What this means in practice is described by Philip G. Schrag, attorney in charge of consumer litigation for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund.

"If Greedy Merchant gets Ernest Black to sign such a contract for a 'new color television' and the set turns out to be an old, battered black-and-white instrument, or *even if Merchant never delivers any set at all*, Merchant can sell Black's contract to Ghetto Finance, Inc., for a lump sum, and Black is out of luck. Ghetto has a right to payment in full from Black, and Black has no right to tell a court that he's been robbed."

The common-law justification for this is that Ghetto Finance supposedly knows nothing about Greedy Merchant's business practices, that it is a "holder in due course" of the installment paper. In practice, finance companies often work hand-in-glove with merchants to soak the poor.

Martin Schwartz' five food freezer companies at 105–32 Cross Bay Boulevard, Ozone Park, were selling their paper to Food Financiers, Inc., Associated Budgeting Corp., and National Budgeting Systems, Inc.—each of 105–32 Cross Bay Boulevard, Ozone Park. Attorney General Lefkowitz' injunction forbids Schwartz' salesmen from stating that Schwartz' finance companies are "unassociated" with Schwartz' freezer companies. Still, the finance companies are "holders in due course" of the freezer companies' contracts and are continuing to collect on hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of paper they "acquired" before the injunction.

Tremont-Webster Furniture Corp. is at 412 East Tremont Avenue in the Bronx. When I visited this *shlock* shop, it was locked. There was a sign on the door that said "GO NEXT DOOR." Next door, 410 East Tremont Avenue, behind a more fiduciary storefront than Tremont-Webster's, is Argent Industrial Corp. It turns out that Argent buys Tremont-Webster's paper. No doubt it is a convenience for a holder in due course to have the store about whose affairs it knows nothing right next door. This kind of hanky-panky extends from rinky-dink outfits like Argent right up to the heavyweights. Credit Department Inc. ("That's right, Madam, no finance companies are involved in this transaction—you just sign a contract with the credit department . . .") has the distinction of suing more people in New York County Civil Court than any other finance company. Erase any image you may have of ghetto shylocks cowering behind boarded windows on burned-out, glass-littered streets. Credit Department is located in the heart of Dry Dock Country at 60th Street and Third Avenue. Credit Department does not know anything about the business practices of the operations it finances. Take Associated Home Foods of 41–01 Bell Boulevard, Bayside, which used to sell freezer plans to poor people at prices equal to those which the courts have found to be unconscionable. That's none of Credit Department's business—they bought Associated's paper, are holders in due course and are suing people for not paying. Besides, Credit Department isn't buying freezer contracts any more—they know it's "garbage paper" and they don't want to get their hands dirty. Credit Department lists a few of its clients on its door—not that it knows anything about their operations, you understand—and one of them is Vigilante Protective Systems. Vigilante is in the business of selling burglar alarm systems door-to-door and is located at—you guessed it—41–01 Bell Boulevard, Bayside.

Lately, the holder-in-due-course ploy has come under attack from consumer forces. Three states have outlawed it. A bill to end it, sponsored by Attorney General Lefkowitz, was killed in the legislature in 1968 but will be re-introduced this year. Witnesses at FTC hearings last November called for federal legislation to do away with the principle that allows finance companies to remain aloof from the dirty business practices of the companies whose paper they buy. The New York State Bar Association Committee on Federal Legislation is considering a report that would recommend that holder in due course be abolished. Richard Givens has a mail fraud indictment pending against a finance company and its officers for claiming that it was a holder in due course when in fact it had an interest in the sale of the merchandise.

Coburn Credit Company first made waves in the ghetto a decade ago when it began to carve out a commanding position in the market for furniture-and-appliance installment paper in the New York area. It rapidly gained a reputation among stores as the outfit that was willing to pay top dollar for "garbage" paper—trade can't for inflated installment contracts for purchases of low-grade goods by poor credit risks.

Today the company is listed on the American Stock Exchange as "Coburn Corporation of America." In addition to its $50 million New York metropolitan area sales finance operation, it now has small loan offices throughout the South, a mortgage operation in Louisiana and a division that runs revolving credit plans for department stores. Coburn has made skillful use of the holder-in-due-course principle to protect itself against possible charges that the merchants it finances engage in fraudulent or unconscionable practices. Under the law, for example, a finance company can't be held liable for fraud in the contract if the customer doesn't complain within 10 days after he receives notice that the contract has been sold. When Coburn buys a contract, it sends three sheets of paper to the customer. One is headed "Certificate of Life Insurance Protection" another, "American Fidelity Fire Insurance Company Insureds Memorandum of Insurance." These two are of little importance to the consumer. The third sheet, half the size of the others, has no heading. Three-quarters of the way down the page are three sentences. The first of these is 125 words long. It contains an urgent warning that if the consumer does not act quickly, he will forfeit all his rights. The second and third are seven and ten words long respec-

tively. They read, "Enclosed you will find your payment book. Payments are to be made as directed in this book."

Coburn has had brushes with the Bureau of Consumer Frauds, but according to Assistant Attorney General Barnett Levy, it has "cooperated" in giving money back to customers who claimed irregularities in the original contract.

I visited Coburn to discuss the sales finance business with President Irving L. Bernstein. His offices are in the Coburn Building, the largest structure in Rockville Centre, Long Island. One walks toward Bernstein's office past no end of teak, brass, marble, quarry title, bronze, royal purple couches, van der Rohe chairs and recessed lighting.

The finance company's substantial physical presence would come as a shock to its thousands of poor customers, many of whom tend to personalize institutions they never see: "I got a contract with the Coburn Company, and Mr. Coburn won't wait no longer to get paid."

I tried to get Bernstein to talk about the holder-in-due-course provision. How, I asked, did Coburn make sure that the outfits whose paper it was buying were on the up-and-up? Bernstein told me that these were technical matters that I, who was "not an expert in finance," would have difficulty understanding. He preferred to tell what a bunch of deadbeats people were who lived in certain neighborhoods. I asked whether fraudulent and deceptive practices on the part of merchants might not make poor people less than willing to pay their debts.

"Listen," said Bernstein, "I have a social conscience about these things. I grew up in one of these neighborhoods—Brownsville. These people are not exactly truthful when they give credit information. And there are entirely too many of them who have no intention of paying. It was different in my day. My mother used to steal deposit bottles rather than miss weekly payments."

I suppose Bernstein saw me wince because he asked, "Do you have a social conscience?" He talked about a social conscience as if it were painful, like an ulcer. Bernstein said we ought to cut the interview short, since an important announcement was forthcoming from Coburn and he would be in a better position to discuss the sales finance business the following week. On the way out I picked up a copy of the Coburn house organ.

"Early in December," it explained, "Coburn initiated its annual 'Adopt Needy Families' program . . . five of the neediest families were selected. To each of the families chosen, Coburn employees in Rockville Centre have contributed specified sums of money to make an otherwise bleak and destitute Christmas into a happy and hopeful one." Gelusil for the social conscience.

The next day Coburn released the news that it would "discontinue its $50 million retail installment finance business." Coburn had protected its sales finance investment with a dunning staff of 250 who engaged in what are charitably referred to in "easy credit" circles as "hard collection practices"; the staff was being let go, so $5.1 million in contracts was being written off as uncollectible. But at the end of the story it turned out that "about $30 million will be allowed to run off and the borrowers asked to convert their contracts to direct personal loans." "The company will continue to carry about $20 million in installment receivables, but will buy such contracts only on the condition that they be converted to loans.

In the trade, the procedure of converting sales finance contracts into direct personal loans is called "flipping." It is done by offering to lend the customer more than enough cash to pay off his contract. The trick is that the maximum interest for sales finance is about 18 per cent, while the legal rate for direct cash loans is 36 per cent. The other advantage of "flipping" was best expressed by Bernstein when I spoke to him later:

"When you have an installment finance operation, you're going to be concerned with the dealers; this way, you only worry about the willingness and the ability of the individual to pay."

If holder in due course is abolished in New York, finance companies will be liable for fraud in the original contract. Even now, if there is fraud "on the face of the contract"—if, for example, the interest rate charged is in excess of the legal rate, or the merchandise being purchased is not described—the finance company is liable. But from now on, Coburn will be lending people cash to *pay off* the original contract, so it won't be liable for anything. If other sales finance companies go Coburn's route, they will have found a way of getting around policing the dealers whose contracts they buy. Until this writing, Coburn didn't know, for example, that at least one link in the chain of stores that the Department of Consumer Affairs is investigating displays a sticker that reads, "COBURN AUTHORIZED DEALER." Now Coburn knows, but with the new policy, it won't have to care.

So whether or not holder in due course bites the dust, the customer is supposed to keep on paying. But what if the couch falls apart in three months, and the store you bought it from has gone out of business and the bills continue to come? What if the color TV explodes and the repairman tells you it was a used set to begin with and the store won't exchange it? You just can't see mailing in that money order for $26.96 every month for the next 34 months? What happens if you just *ignore* the bills?

Nothing happens until one day, a year or so after you've forgotten about the whole painful affairs, your boss asks you to come into his office. He looks annoyed and shows you a paper and says he's supposed to take $7 out of your paycheck each week and send it to the city marshal and it's a damned lot of paperwork and he'd just as soon fire you if it weren't illegal. Then he hands you the paper and says you'd better take care of it or he'll find some other reason to get rid of you. So you go to the address on the paper and the marshal tells you to pay him $10 every week or he'll send the paper back to your boss. You do it because you don't want to lose your job. The furniture, the television, were long since put out on the street as junk, but you have a wife and four children. The only problem is, you only make $70 a week and you've got to pay the marshal $10 out of that. The hopeless cycle of consumer abuses goes around and around.

GHETTO FRAUD ON THE INSTALLMENT PLAN—PART II

(By Craig Karpel)

"Easy credit" installment buying means high-pressure sales tactics, junk merchandise and a sales contract with blanks that are filled in by the store after the customer signs. Often unordered goods are delivered, appear on the bill and are not accepted for return. Used merchandise is sent instead of the new stipulated in the contract; if the customer returns the goods, his deposit is not refunded; and when the bills start coming in they are for more than the amount agreed upon in the contract.

The long arm of the law is not long enough to protect the customer; in fact, it extends to help the stores. Collection agencies, for example, are not held liable for the frauds in the original contracts they buy up from the stores. And long after the junk furniture falls apart, legal devices continue to work against the consumer: "Sewer service," improper venue, default judgment and garnishment are how poor people are made to pay even when, in fact, equity and law, they do not owe.

To sue on a piece of garbage paper, a summons and a copy of your complaint has to be served on the customer. In a study he is conducting for the Office of Economic Opportunity, sociologist David Caplovitz has found that only 53 per cent of all defendants in New York County Civil Court suits say they received a summons. The phrase "sewer service" suggests one possible final destination of the remaining 47 per cent.

Caplovitz says, "The reason sewer service flourishes in New York is that this is the only state in which service of process isn't handled by some court agency. Here anybody who is over 21 can serve papers."

The Civil Court allows $2.50 in costs for serving a summons. For proof that service has been accomplished, it accepts an affidavit from the process server. So a process server has a choice of walking around hostile neighborhoods, climbing rickety stairs, standing in fetid hallways and facing contentious poor people, on the one hand, and sitting in his office, filling out perjured affidavits of service on the other. Either 47 per cent of all process servers choose the latter, or all process servers choose the latter 47 percent of the time, or somewhere in between. Of the 53 per cent who are warned they're being sued, most of them are done in by improper venue. Under New York's rules of civil practice, any county civil court has jurisdiction on a case that arose anywhere in the state. So merchants and finance companies often sue, not in the county where they reside or in the county where the defendant resides, but in some other county which is likely to be inconvenient for ghetto consumers to get to. Under the rules, the consumer can have venue changed to the county where he resides. If he is being sued in a court that is inconvenient for him to get to, all he has to do is *go to the court that is inconvenient for him to get to* and ask for a change of venue. He would also be well advised to bring his lawyer with him, because getting a venue shifted is a rather tricky procedural maneuver.

Brand Jewelers is prominent among the plaintiffs of New York County Civil Court. It is a matter of some curiosity that a larger number of the lawsuits it brings ask for relief in the amount of $112.64. In checking through the files of summonses kept by the clerk of the court, it appears that this $112.64 represents the full cost of the watches it sells—$69.95 plus various service charges. Why do so many Brand customers fail to make even a single payment? Coincidentally, Caplovitz has interviewed a number of Brand's $112.64 debtors.

"They all tell the same story," he says. "A salesman comes to where they work—on payday, naturally—and signs them up for watches. But they never get Brand's address, and never receive a payment book. The first they hear from Brand is when their wages are garnished."

Brand's offices are at 44 Court Street, near Borough Hall, Brooklyn. It sells all over the city, yet it sues in Manhattan. I called Sol H. Erstein, Brand's lawyer, who lists his address (on summonses printed with Brand's name) as 44 Court Street, and whose name is written large on the door to Brand Jewelers. I was told that Erstein "was on vacation" and was referred to a lawyer named Sidelle, his partner. I asked Sidelle why Erstein, whose office is in Brooklyn, sues Brooklyn residents in Manhattan, although Brand is in Brooklyn. Sidelle explained that this was because Erstein has an office at 15 Park Row, convenient to the Manhattan courts. I observed that his office, 44 Court Street, was no less convenient to the Brooklyn courts.

"Look," said Sidelle, "anyone who wants to change the venue to where he lives can do it, but people hardly ever do."

The poor defendant gets either no summons, or one telling him he must report to another county. The result is almost invariably the same in either case: He doesn't show up. So a "judgment in default" is entered against him by the clerk of the court.

At this point, the defendant still can get his "day in court"—a phrase which, when a lawyer says it, comes out as an ancient common-law formula, not a cliché. If he knows enough to go to Legal Aid, the judgment can be opened on grounds of failure of service or improper venue. But in order to do this he has to know not only where to go, but that a judgment has in fact been entered against him. Until recently, all he had to do to find this out was go through the minute books of the civil courts of the five counties in the city. He could start with the Manhattan books, which listed 195,011 cases in 1968. But since September 1, 1968, the law requires that the lawyer for the plaintiff send a notice by certified mail to the defendant that a judgment is pending against him.

Even if you read English, you've got to be a lawyer to understand the gibberish and to know that it isn't inevitable for the judgment to be entered, that you can still do something about it. The plaintiff's lawyers aren't obliged to take great pains to inform the defendant of his rights. What's more, most of those certified-mail letters never reach the defendant because the addresses are from the original contract and are therefore two or three years old. If the merchant or finance company has a more recent address on file—the one from the last payment, say—it doesn't have to tell the clerk of the court. So the certified letter is returned to sender, who gives the judgment to a city marshal.

The marshal hits the debtor with an "income execution," otherwise known as a garnishment, which is an order to somebody's employer to take money out of his wages and send it to a marshal. This involves the employer in a great deal of paperwork on payday, and in the past most employers were disposed to fire an employee rather than go through the rigamarole. If they kept the man on, all of his salary could go to satisfy the judgment. Now New York has a garnishment law that is, compared with other states, a model of humaneness. Thirty dollars a week is exempted, and the maximum weekly takeout is 10 per cent of wages. An employer is not allowed to fire a man for having only one garnishment, but despite the law, employers often find a pretext to dismiss men whose wages have been garnished. If a man has been retained, his second garnishment is quickly translated into a pink slip. Although the law prohibits firing a man because of one garnishment, it doesn't say anything about *not hiring* a man because of *one* garnishment. Many so-called "hard-core unemployables" in New York are unemployable primarily because of a history of garnishment. So in order to stay on the good side of employers, poor workers go directly to the marshal and promise to give, each week, more than he could legally take.

Of course, when the poor consumer hears that his wages are being attached he can still, in theory, go to court. All he needs is a lawyer to represent him, but a lawyer has to have a powerful sense of noblesse oblige or a weak head to go to bat for a poor person, however blatantly defrauded, in New York's courts.

Ghetto merchants and finance companies have the complicated process of suing in Civil Court down to a science. Samuel Kroland, house collection attorney for Coburn Corporation, one of the largest finance companies in the New York area, has its IBM System/360 computer at his disposal. Furniture stores on 125th Street go to the redoubtable Sidney Katz, Esq., of 60 Wall Street. All of Katz' furniture cases are identical—all he has to do is remember which store's rubber stamp to use on the paper. Attorney Milton Kostroff has an office 60 by 66 feet from which he is reputed to process one-fourth of the garnishments in Brooklyn, and is supposed to boast of a 100 per cent default judgment rate. These lawyers use complaint and judgment forms with all the relevant information *printed* on them—all they've got to do is fill in the amounts and send them over to the court clerk to have them filed. From that point the lawyers' service bureaus they retain (there is one that dares call itself Gett-O Claims Investigating Service at 524 East 149th Street in the Bronx) take over. The most prominent of these is American Clerical Service of 5 Beekman Street. American employs women who work full time at long tables in the civil court clerk's offices, checking the minute books for summonses that have gone unanswered, stapling "notices of proposed judgment" to the summonses and complaints, pulling copies of "judgment in default" forms to be stamped "ENTERED" by the clerk. Then the "income execution" forms go to the marshal and the poor start paying more. It should be noted that some of the characteristic features of courts as we ordinarily think of them never become involved in this assembly line: most notably, judges. Judges don't like to have anything to do with this process. It's too . . . *mechanical*. Besides, judges are for making decisions, and all the decisions in these courts have already been made. All that's needed to administer justice in the clerk's office is a strong right arm and a rubber stamp.

"Whoever dreamed," asks Caplovitz, "that the courts of this city would be perverted into becoming a collection agency for unscrupulous merchants and finance companies that prey on the poor?"

A lawyer who tries to defend a poor client against a ghetto merchant or finance company benefits from none of the economies of scale that suing thousands of people generates. Each case is entirely different, procedurally and on the merits. Personal trips to court are necessary to copy the papers. The circumstances of each fraudulent or unconscionable sale must be pieced together through investigation. Poor defendants cooperate by ignorance and default. The exploiters never cooperate. Why should they? You say your client didn't get a copy of the contract in question? You want to take a look at it? Go before a judge and make a motion for pre-trial discovery. That should keep you busy.

The Civil Rights Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York has recently demanded three reforms. The first is that service of process be a function of a public agency. The second is that suits be allowed only where the consumer lives, used to live or made the purchase. The third is that right to counsel for the poor be guaranteed in civil actions as it is in criminal cases. These proposals would require action by the legislature. But a venue bill such as the Bar Association proposes, sponsored by the Attorney General last year, never got anywhere. The legislature has shown no great concern for protecting the rights of poor consumers in the past, and there is no reason to believe that, without a welling-up of public concern, it will do anything to help in the near future. If there is going to be a change in the courts in the meantime, it is going to have to come from the courts themselves.

There is now only one attorney in New York who is bringing test cases to court designed to bring down the legal and procedural house of cards which shelters companies that cheat poor people. Phil Schrag is assistant counsel at the National Office for the Rights of the Indigent, which is part of Jack Greenberg's NAACP Legal Defense Fund.

"Lawsuits to secure the rights of consumers are phenomenally expensive," Schrag explains. "To win the landmark District of Columbia case in which two furniture contracts were voided because the prices were unconscionable, Legal Aid lawyers had to spend 210 man-hours. In one of our cases, we had to spend 72 man-hours just to defeat the finance company's motion to dismiss on the ground of improper service of process! A rich man would have to be nuts to pursue a case like that; a poor person simply can't pursue it at all.

"There are two ways to make it practical for poor consumers to go to court to secure their rights. One is by awarding punitive damages for fraud and unconscionability. Punitive damages are now available in New York where the seller engages in willful fraud as the very basis of his business. The problem is that many of the corporations which engage in consumer fraud are deliberately run on shoestring budgets while their owners reap large salaries. Hit the seller for punitive damages and you find the corporation has no assets. The courts have got to make it clear that punitive damages lie against the officers of a corporation, not just the corporate shell.

"We're bringing a case now which asks for punitive damages for inducing a poor couple to enter into a contract to buy a freezer for a total of $1,163.11—a price which a New York court has found to be unconscionable. If courts would award substantial punitive damages in this kind of situation and make them stick, lawyers would find it profitable to represent poor consumers on a contingent-fee basis, like accident cases.

"Our other case is a test of the availability of consumers' class actions in New York. Until recently, Coburn Corporation used contract forms that the plantiffs alleged had portions printed in smaller than 8-point type, contrary to Section 402 of the Personal Property Law. The plaintiffs had signed such a contract for wall-to-wall carpet in the amount of $756.92. This contract was sold to Coburn. The rug started coming apart, and when they tried to get the carpet company to service it they found it had gone out of business. So they refused to pay the balance of $266.11 and sued on behalf of themselves and every other consumer that has signed such a contract during the past three years for return of the credit service charges paid to Coburn. The court held that persons who signed these contracts do not constitute a 'class'; each had to sue separately to get relief. We're appealing the ruling.

"With class actions, one knowledgeable consumer could sue on behalf of thousands who are ignorant of their rights. If the courts won't allow class actions, how is the average poor person supposed to know his rights, let alone afford to defend them?"

Schrag may be successful in the end, but so far the lower courts have been notably inhospitable to his case. Felice K. Shea, staff attorney with the Legal Aid Society's Harlem civil branch, is not surprised.

"The lower courts," Mrs. Shea sighs, "have a small-business mentality. As far as they are concerned, the sanctity of contracts must be upheld at any cost in human suffering. The lower-court judges simply have a different way of thinking about the problems of poor consumers than the average well-meaning lay person would think they have."

"If there's one thing that stands between poor consumers and a real solution to their problems," Caplovitz says, prowling his office, furious, "it's the illusion that the consumer has a place to go."

This illusion has survived *The Poor Pay More*, whose surveys found that 64 per cent of poor people had no idea where to go with a consumer problem. Caplovitz found that the largest number who did have an idea where to go cited the Better Business Bureau.

The following exchange of letters gives a sense of how the Bureau operates.

On January 31, 1969, Sister Mary Kenny, Dean of Students at Sacred Heart Academy in Hempstead, sent a copy of a letter she had written to Attorney General Louis Lefkowitz to the Better Business Bureau. It complained that her students had been defrauded by New York. It offered a lengthy bill of particulars.

On February 17, 1969, Ward R. Williamson, Manager of the Service Department of the Bureau, sent Sister Kenny the following letter:

"This will acknowledge the receipt of your recent letter expressing dissatisfaction with your organization's dealings with ———.

"We appreciate your bringing this matter to our attention. Your letter will be made a matter of record in our files.

"This Bureau cannot intervene on your behalf as you request inasmuch as your letter indicates that you are sending copies of your letter to various governmental agencies."

On March 25, 1969, a letter was sent to the Bureau, as follows:

"I would appreciate it if you would let me know if you have any information or complaints on ———."

On April 18, 1969, Ward R. Williamson replied with a form letter:

"In response to your recent communication about the above ———:

"We have not received sufficient inquiries about this concern to justify preparation of a formal report. The company has been known to the Bureau since 12–17–60.

"The Bureau file shows no complaints.

"On behalf of the responsible business companies whose voluntary membership in the Bureau makes its services possible to the public without charge, we appreciate the opportunity to be of service to you."

On May 13, 1968, the Better Business Bureau of Metropolitan New York opened an office in Harlem. On November 18, 1968, the Better Business Bureau of Harlem opened its permanent offices in what used to be Fidel Castro's favorite New York hotel, the Theresa, at Seventh Avenue and 125th Street. I went there to speak with Miss Larrie O'Farrell, the public relations director.

"Everybody in Harlem is controlled," stage-whispered Miss O'Farrell. "The furniture stores are no exception."

"Who controls everybody in Harlem?" I asked expectantly, pen in hand.

"Who controls everybody in Harlem? I think we both know the answer."

"Oh, *them*," I said.

Miss O'Farrell went on to suggest that the reason the Better Business Bureau had not pursued the matter of *them* had something to do with not wanting bombs lobbed through its windows. In fact, Miss O'Farrell suggested that if I went too deeply into the matter of furniture stores, *they* might have me dodging bombs. I swallowed the lump in my throat and pressed on. I told Miss O'Farrell that, bombs or no, I was interested in seeing her files on some of the worst offenders. Miss O'Farrell buzzed for two files; both were fat with letters of complaint and memoranda of action taken. It was clear that the Bureau was fairly successful in settling complaints against both stores of damaged and defective merchandise, misleading advertising, and so on. Yet it seemed that neither store had actually changed its business practices as a result of Bureau action, but rather had seen fit to accommodate only purchasers who knew enough to complain, and where.

Enter at this point Woodrow Wirsig, president of the Better Business Bureau of Metropolitan New York. Miss O'Farrell told him I was interested in the problem of poor consumers being cheated by unscrupulous merchants.

"This is a very complex problem," explained Mr. Wirsig. "It is not just the businessman's fault; it is the consumer's fault, too." Wirsig flashed a glance at Larrie O'Farrell, scanning for corroboration. Finding none he continued:

"These people have to learn to moderate their wants. They are entirely too eager to believe they can afford things that they do not really need; they are entirely too . . ."

"Trusting?" offered Miss O'Farrell. A histrionic mood gelled in the room.

"Ye-e-s," said Woodrow Wirsig, raising an eyebrow, fixing a stare on Miss O'Farrell. "Too trusting."

There are other agencies where poor consumers who know enough to complain can go, but none really makes it.

The New York State attorney general runs a Bureau of Consumer Frauds and Protection in the City, but director Barnett Levy is budgeted only 10 lawyers to handle nearly 70 complaints a day. The lawyers can "mediate" by picking up the phone and trying to convince merchants not to defraud the people who complain, but they can only act against companies when there is a "pattern" of complaints against them. Then they can only seek an injunction forbidding the merchants from engaging in practices which are illegal in the first place. Levy was able to throttle 70 fraudulent operators in the city last year using this tactic, but if you're being used *this* year by one of these operators, all his lawyers can do is commiserate. The bureau has no power to put anybody in jail for fraud.

There are a number of "consumer education" storefronts in the city, funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity, to which poor people are invited to come for help. Most of the people who come are having trouble getting deposits returned or exchanging damaged and defective furniture and appliances. The storefront counselors have had some success, using the threat of a small claims court suit against recalcitrant merchants, but lately the stores have stiffened and refused to settle. They go to court and lose, on the theory that they can win by attrition: poor consumers don't actually want to sit around small claims court waiting for their cases to be called. The result is that not much use is being made of the counselors' services. One consumer education project I visited had rather meager files of recent clients. A counselor there confessed that only two, maybe three, cases come in a week. It's doubtful whether the counselor was getting as much money back for her clients as she herself was being paid out of public funds.

You can go to the Legal Aid Society or an OEO-funded "neighborhood law office" if you're being sued. There you sit in two-tone green enamel waiting rooms, part of the "caseload." The lawyers do not have the budget to open judgments and defend defrauded clients, so they call the store or the finance company and ask it to settle for, say, $50 more. It's often the store that owes money to the client, of course, but Legal Aid doesn't have the funds or manpower to bring suits on behalf of its clients. A "neighborhood lawyer," if he is able to crawl out from under the caseload avalanche, can consider suing a store or finance company, but the day after the summons goes out, the defendant's lawyer is invariably on the phone, suggesting that the poor client take a $50 settlement and forget about his suit. In the four years that Ray Narral was with Mobilization for Youth, he never had a client who could resist the temptation to settle with his persecutors.

The city's Department of Consumer Affairs was created in September, 1968 as little more than a fancy title for two old agencies, Markets and Licenses. The one addition was its Consumer Advisory Council, of which Phil Schrag is chairman. Schrag's council, the department staff and the city Corporation Counsel recently presented Bess Myerson Grant, the energetic new commissioner, with a bill that would give the department a unique and potent weapon against systematic fraudulent schemes. The Consumer Protection Act of 1969, now before the City Council, a number of whose most influential members, notably Majority Leader Thomas Cuite, Edward Sadowsky and Mario Merola, are regarded by the department as sensitive to consumer needs. It would give the department the power to bring lawsuits against fraudulent operators on behalf of all the victims who live in the city. If a company defrauded 10,000 New Yorkers of $20 each, the city could collect $200,000 from it and distribute it to the victims. If the City Council passes it, New York will be the most expensive place in the country to commit fraud, instead of one of the cheapest.

NIXON MOVING TO COUNTER CHALLENGE OF NEW ISOLATIONISTS

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, we all recall how the influence of isolationists in the late 1930's and early 1940's very nearly led this Nation down the road to disaster, disaster brought on by unpreparedness in a world that was already at war.

Now a new group of isolationists would lead us along a similar perilous course, at a time when the world tensions are as threatening as at any time in our Nation's history.

Columnist William S. White comments on this situation in an article carried in the Washington Post, Saturday, August 23, 1969. I insert that column in the RECORD:

NIXON IS MOVING TO COUNTER CHALLENGE OF NEW ISOLATIONISTS

(By William S. White)

The Nixon administration is at last mounting a carefully concerted defense system against the ever-rising challenge of liberal new isolationists in the Senate to the constitutional and traditional powers of the presidency in foreign and military high policy.

Not a moment too soon, the administration is bestirring itself to protect presidential right and prerogatives which are now under an attack, from left-wing forces in both the Democratic and Republican parties, of a severity not seen since Franklin D. Roosevelt's prewar era. This current state of affairs would be serious enough in any circumstances. It is profoundly and even desperately dangerous now, for it befalls while euphoria pervades a loud section of opinion among politicians and within public and press precisely at a time when this country's vital interests abroad are actually in rarely exceeded peril.

As to Vietnam, the simple if unpopular truth is that the war is going badly and the peace negotiations in Paris have reached a point just short of the farcical.

On and off the battlefield the Communists are reacting in increasingly hard-nosed arrogance, and the President's policy of gradual troop withdrawal has become a visible embarrassment and may indeed have to be suspended or even reversed in the long run.

As to the Middle East, the Soviet Union, far from assisting in American efforts to dampen the chronic Israeli-Arab crisis is in fact well along in a thrust of naked expansionism in Asia which already clearly threatens the anti-Communist position all over the basins of the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. That this is the way things are is widely recognized in both the Near and Far East, and it is an astonishing paradox that the American public, along with the neo-pacifist senators, seems hardly to have heard of it at all.

Yet it is a fact of life so ominous that it is discussed here with an ironic concurrence of view for once between spokesmen for Is-

rael on the one side and the more moderate of the Arab nations on the other. These two sets of ancient antagonists recognize that immense changes in the power balance in Asia are looming into plain sight—and also that whatever their own intramural enmities, Israel and the non-Communist Arab world have a world in common here to try to defend from Soviet encroachment.

A form of so-called "criticism" of the Pentagon and the military that has long since become outright vilification from the Senate new left has struck the most-wounding blow to military morale of this century.

Morale in all the intelligence agencies has concurrently been deeply shaken by the Green Beret affair, which is seen by some men who have ably served this country to suggest that soldiers doing their plain duty in "black" intelligence work can be indicted as murderers in order to please pacifist opinion here at home.

To combat all this, the administration is evolving a mosaic of rebuttal, tactful on the outside but fully resolute on the inside, whose seemingly unrelated pieces all bear one purpose in the end. The visible centerpiece here is the firm public refusal of Secretary of State William P. Rogers, speaking on the President's authority, to promise Senate critics that the White House will in any and every circumstance seek the prior consent of Congress for military measures necessary to the safety of the United States or to its honorable commitments. Rogers has promised all sorts of "consultation"—but with a vitally important qualification. It will be given only in "appropriate" circumstances.

A part of the mosaic, too, is the President's deliberately spotlighted efforts to draw closer to the man who was his Democratic predecessor, Lyndon B. Johnson. Mr. Nixon's invitation to the Johnsons to visit the California White House on Aug. 27—Mr. Johnson's birthday—is far more than a small comradely gesture. President Nixon, it may be stated authoritatively, intends to have a most-basic discussion of world issues with Mr. Johnson, with White House Assistant Henry Kissinger providing briefings in depth.

This is intended to read a lesson to the country that, while politics is politics and fun is fun, the transcendental problems before the nation are neither Republican nor Democratic and cannot be approached with small partisan and ideological motives without inadmissible peril to the whole body.

THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE NAZI INVASION OF POLAND

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, 30 years ago on September 1, 1939, the Nazi war machine invaded Poland, an act that culminated in World War II. This sombre date, therefore, ranks in significance to Poles worldwide as does December 7, 1941, to Americans.

I wish on this occasion to salute the valiant Polish people who responded so vigorously and courageously when their homeland was suddenly invaded. I wish also to salute the millions of Americans of Polish descent for the very significant role they play in the processes of democracy in America. While they have joined the so-called mainstream of American life, they have never lost their own unique heritage. Suffice to say that their love for freedom is seldom equalled and never exceeded.

Finally, I join with free Polish people everywhere in the solemn pledge to see at last a free Poland, unshackled from tyranny, and symbol of a just and open land.

DANGER SIGNS POINTING TO NATIONAL ENERGY CRISIS

HON. TOM STEED

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, it has been a popular indoor sport here of late to make the American domestic oil industry a whipping boy for tax reformers. Recent action of the House in cutting the oil-depletion allowance is only a part of the overall attack that has added problems on an industry already hard pressed to fill its mission of providing the American people with an adequate domestic supply of petroleum energy, and at the same time maintaining the domestic reserves that can mean life and death to our Nation in time of emergency.

With all its supposed tax advantages, the cold truth is that our domestic oil reserve picture has been worsening for the last 15 years and no improvement is in sight. Instead, with the political punishment currently being meted out, the situation is bound to become alarmingly much worse.

Mr. Clyde La Motte is perhaps the most informed and authoritative writer on the subject of petroleum in America today. His most recent summary of the energy situation is so thoroughly informative I am having it reprinted here in the hope many of those who have been so misled by ill-informed and ill-guided propaganda may acquire a new grasp of the seriousness of our petroleum supply problem. The article, printed in the Daily Oklahoman, Oklahoma City, on Sunday, August 31, follows:

DANGER SIGNS POINTING TO NATIONAL ENERGY CRISIS

(By Clyde La Motte)

WASHINGTON.—The United States is facing an energy crisis, including possible shortages of electric power, natural gas and other sources of energy upon which millions of consumers depend.

The crisis is not the result of some sudden calamity or unforeseen development. Rather, it stems from energy demands for normal uses exceeding immediately available supplies.

Here are some of the danger signs:

There is a serious question as to whether there is enough electric power to go around. Brownouts have developed in New York City, in Washington, D.C., Miami, Fla., and elsewhere, indicating the fact that power supplies are being strained to the breaking point. (In Washington a recent brownout was not due to any explosion or mechanical failure but simply the fact that it was a hot day and the use of air conditioners created a dangerous drain on supply.)

All segments of the natural gas industry have been warning the Federal Power Commission that an extremely tight supply situation exists, with definite prospects of shortages as early as the approaching winter. This has prompted talk of rationing gas by restricting its use as a boiler fuel or for other "inferior" purposes. But such an approach raises questions as to where those restricted users would turn for a source of energy.

The spot market for coal has virtually disappeared, meaning that it is difficult to obtain coal without a long term contract. And even some contract users reportedly are in short supply, including the Tennessee Valley Authority which is said to have only a 10-day supply on hand with which to operate its electric power generators.

Rising costs and equipment shortages have delayed many atomic-powered generating plants planned by electric utility companies, thus adding to the problem of keeping up with the rapidly increasing demand for electric power.

Petroleum remains in ample supply, but even here there are problems affecting the continued development of adequate domestic supplies. Spare crude oil producing capacity has disappeared in all states except Louisiana and Texas and even there some question exists. Alaska North Slope oil may prove a godsend but delays are cropping up there which could delay the movement of substantial quantities of that oil to markets.

The irony of the looming energy crisis is that this nation has an enormous wealth of energy resources. Experts say there is plenty of natural gas to be found and that the North Slope and U.S. offshore areas as well as many inland regions contain vast deposits of untapped oil. The supply of coal is virtually inexhaustible and there is technology at hand to produce oil and gas from coal. Oil shale has a tremendous potential, and in the nuclear field progress is being made toward development of fast "breeders" which create more fuel than they consume, thus promising a cheap source of power for generating electricity.

Why, then, is there currently a supply problem, a problem which may well get much more severe in the near future?

One big factor is the nation's concern over environment and beautification.

People expect adequate energy supplies, but they also want clean air, unpolluted rivers and coastal zones, landscapes unmarred by huge electric power transmission lines, or view of the ocean uncluttered by offshore drilling rigs.

Charles F. Luce, chairman of the board of New York's Consolidated Edison Corp., spoke of this problem recently when he told a congressional committee that citizens complain whenever and wherever Con Ed seeks to build new generating plants.

"It doesn't seem to matter where the plant is located or what kind of fuel is used, there are objections," Luce said. This has resulted in delays in constructing badly needed facilities, he pointed out.

Many communities have objected to planned construction of nuclear power plants in their areas, while others have sought to block the building of coal-fired plants because of pollution problems.

Concern over environment may also delay by a year the construction of a big-inch crude oil pipeline across the peninsula of Alaska to move North Slope oil to market. The Interior Department has held off issuing a permit for the line until it completes a study of the possible impact this would have on the permafrost of the far north, on the migration of caribou, and on other aspects of the environment.

The Santa Barbara accident earlier this year, in which oil from an offshore well blowout damaged the beaches and killed some birds, created such a furor it has caused interior to delay offshore leasing generally and to propose new restrictive measures on offshore oil development and tanker operations.

Still another factor adding to the energy supply problem has been government's extreme sensitivity to prices and profits in the energy industries, especially petroleum.

For example, the Federal Power Commission has held a tight lid on prices paid to natural gas producers and rates of returns permitted gas transmission companies, apparently fearful of being charged with failure to protect the consumer. This policy has continued in spite of the increasing evidence that a gas shortage looms.

And Congress is now in the process of reducing the percentage depletion for oil and other extractive industries at the very time the domestic producing industry is losing ground. Other oil-related tax changes are also in the works, each of which will discourage rather than encourage additional oil development.

Some state regulatory commissions have also continued to emphasize price over supply. For instance, the Public Service Commission of New York is quick to intervene in almost every price or rate hike application filed with the Federal Power Commission, but has been silent on the question of supply even though New York and New England would be hardest hit in an energy crisis.

Similarly, the New York and New England congressional delegations have played a leading role in attacks made on the petroleum industry, especially in an effort to increase oil imports.

An increase in oil imports undoubtedly would increase the nation's oil supply but it would also weaken the domestic oil industry and have adverse effects on the supplies of natural gas and coal as well as on the development of synthetic fuels such as oil and gas from coal or from shale.

It may be that a growing awareness of the danger of the pending energy crisis may cause the pendulum to swing so that further development of the nation's vast resources will be encouraged, not discouraged. That, however, is not the outlook at the moment.

THE NEW FEDERALISM

HON. EARL B. RUTH

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. RUTH. Mr. Speaker, to an ever-increasing extent over the past several years, this Nation has seen an expansion of Federal powers which has deprived our States and localities of much authority and effectiveness in dealing with their own problems.

President Nixon's New Federalism is an important reversal of this trend and a major breakthrough in giving power and initiative back to State and local governments.

An editorial in the Birmingham News of Sunday, August 17, 1969, expresses confidence in this new policy, and hopes for its expansion in the future. I insert that editorial in the RECORD:

THE "NEW FEDERALISM"

Richard Nixon, as President, faces a bevy of issues as numerous, perilous and stinging as the serpents comprising Medusa's locks. And all the iss s beg for presidential priority.

Contrary o the opinion of those who would assail the President for not changing the nation after seven months of office, he is facing issues, and by a process of cautious selectivity, moving to deal with them, as his last week's welfare message clearly revealed.

The President opened that message by telling Americans that one of his first priorities is that of repairing the "machinery of the government," putting it into shape for the '70s.

Certainly the technicalities of welfare reform are needed for this "repairing of the machinery." But underlying the President's message was a radical shift of philosophy, one that is urgently needed, and one that hopefully will underlie other reform measures. The President called it the "new federalism."

The founders of this nation constructed a highly flexible system. They anticipated sweeping shifts in the cultural fabric of the nation. But now the United States is a multicultured society whose states are not linked in the uniform pioneer psychology of the original 13. We are as diverse as Nebraska from New York, as Alabama from Maine. With increasing population, the '70s will see a continuation of this diversity.

President Nixon, in building his welfare program around the concept of the diversity of the states, is leading a quiet but real revolution against the bureaucratic hypothesis that every state functions and feels precisely as Washington thinks it functions and feels. The problem with the old welfare system was that it never realized this.

The new federalism, as presented in the welfare message, would transfer to states and localities what now are federal powers. And with the transfer of power would come federal money in the form of fiscal relief and revenue sharing.

State and local governments will thus be able to model such programs as job training—a major aspect of the Nixon welfare package—on the basis of immediate local need, rather than be governed by the impersonal, nationally uniform systems previously used.

President Nixon hopes the new federalism will accomplish a better sharing of responsibilities between federal government and state and local units, more effective rendering of services, and a system whereby choices can be made representing the varying needs of a diverse nation.

When revenue sharing would begin in the middle of 1971, the states would receive $500 million for that half-year. Five years later, the President hopes the amount going to the states would be $5 billion.

Closer to home, Alabama would receive a total of $28 million in the first full year, $16.1 million in revenue sharing, and $11.9 in welfare fiscal relief.

The new federalism, we hope, will be used as a basic philosophy in every area of federal-state relationships. It is indeed time to move to a healthy partnership of government in this nation, rather than a quarrelsome, absurdly sharp dichotomy.

TOBACCO IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

HON. WALTER B. JONES

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. JONES of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, for some time now there has been a great deal of talk concerning tobacco programs which have generated much more heat than knowledge. It is, therefore, necessary to place in proper perspective this important program and its relation to our national economy and to a great number of our farm families. The Members who have received mail on this subject will find the following statement helpful, I believe, in answering their constituencies and in better understanding the tobacco program and the impact of the tobacco trade on our national economy:

TOBACCO IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Tobacco is a major agricultural commodity upon which hundreds of thousands of growers depend for most or a significant part of their livelihood. About 2 billion pounds of tobacco are produced annually on about one million acres on about 525,000 farms in the United States. Many of these farms have more than one family depending on the income from the sale of the tobacco produced on the farm. About 625,000 farm families share in the proceeds from the sale of tobacco. Thus, tobacco is one of the few crops still profitable for cultivation on small farms and represents the strongest bastion of the diminishing family farm. Approximately 450 man hours are required in the production and marketing of an acre of tobacco. Although tobacco requires only a relatively small percentage of the Nation's cropland, it is usually the fourth or fifth ranking crop in value, accounting for about 7½ percent of cash receipts from all crops grown in the United States. Farmers receive annually about $1.3 billion from the sale of tobacco.

The United States not only leads the world in tobacco production but in its exportation. Tobacco usually ranks fourth among our agricultural commodities exported. During the 1968 calendar year, 732 million pounds (farm-sales weight) of U.S. tobacco were exported—about nine-tenths in leaf form and one-tenth in manufactured products. The value of our tobacco exports in 1968 was $686 million. About 95 percent of U.S. tobacco exports are for dollar sales. Tobacco exports make a sizable contribution to our balance-of-payments position.

An export payment program designed to regain and expand foreign markets for U.S. tobacco was initiated during the second half of 1966. The expenditure for this program during the 1968 fiscal year approximated $28 million.

The U.S. also imports large quantities of tobacco. In 1968, our imports of leaf and manufactured tobacco totaled 277 million pounds (declared weight) with a value (not including duty) of $152 million. These imports are used for blending with U.S. leaf in the manufacture of cigarettes and cigars. The supplying countries are principally Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia, for cigarette leaf, and the Philippine Republic, Dominican Republic, Colombia, Brazil and Paraguay for cigar leaf.

During 1968, the manufacturing industry in the U.S. produced 580 billion cigarettes, 8.2 billion cigars and cigarillos, 523 million small cigars, 66 million pounds of smoking tobacco, 65 million pounds of chewing tobacco and 27 million pounds of snuff. U.S. consumers spent an estimated $9.94 billion on tobacco products in 1968—of which about $4.4 billion were received by Federal, State and local Governments as excise tax revenue. Thus, taxes represent about 44 percent of consumer expenditures for tobacco products, and are three times the amount U.S. farmers receive from the tobacco they produce.

The demand for tobacco by many millions of people will continue even though confronted with health issues and other repressive influences. The tobacco industry will obviously strive to satisfy this demand and will obtain its requirements of tobacco either from domestic producers or from suppliers of foreign grown leaf.

For many years, the Department of Agriculture has administered programs to stabilize tobacco production and assure fair prices for growers. Marketing quotas are in effect for most types of tobacco grown in the U.S.

In most referendums, more than 90 percent of the growers voting have favored marketing quotas. It is generally agreed that because of the production control program, less tobacco is produced in the United States than would likely be the case if there were no Government programs.

When growers of a kind of tobacco have approved marketing quotas, price supports are mandatory under existing legislation. Under the price support program for tobacco, Commodity Credit Corporation loans are made available through producer associations. Tobacco handled and stored by producer associations represents collateral for the loans. Most loans are repaid with interest. The realized cost of the tobacco price support program during the 1968 fiscal year was $1.8 million, which represented about one-tenth of one percent of the cost of price support for all commodities. The costs, which the Government has sustained in the operation of the price support program for tobacco from 1933 to date, have been about one-fourth of one percent of the cost for all farm commodity price support and related operations.

The Department of Agriculture conducts major research on tobacco in cooperation with the Land Grant Colleges and other agencies. In fiscal year 1969, $5.6 million were programmed for tobacco research. Following the issuance of the Surgeon General's Report on "Smoking and Health" in 1964, the Department expanded and redirected its research in an effort to ascertain what, if any, element in tobacco or its smoke, may be injurious to health.

The following table shows the cash receipts from tobacco, percentages of all crops and all farm commodities, the number of tobacco farms and the number of farm families producing tobacco in the 16 leading tobacco producing States in 1967:

State	Cash receipts from tobacco, 1967 (million dollars)	Tobacco cash receipts as proportion of those from— All crops (percent)	Crops, livestock, and livestock products (percent)	Number of tobacco farms	Number of families associated with tobacco farms
North Carolina	535	65	42	132,200	186,000
Kentucky	343	78	42	150,500	169,000
South Carolina	107	38	25	23,600	33,000
Tennessee	83	34	14	96,800	97,000
Virginia	83	35	16	45,400	51,000
Georgia	101	22	10	25,700	31,000
Florida	32	4	3	7,100	8,500
Maryland	17	16	5	5,800	8,000
Connecticut	30	45	19	600	2,000
Pennsylvania	10	4	1	4,000	5,000
Ohio	16	3	1	11,800	12,000
Indiana	12	2	1	9,400	9,400
Massachusetts	11	16	7	300	800
Wisconsin	5	2	(1)	5,400	5,600
Missouri	3	1	(1)	1,500	1,700
West Virginia	3	14	3	4,400	4,400

[1] Less than half of 1 percent.

NOW IS THE TIME TO CUT ARMS FUNDS

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, the dangers of military unpreparedness, in a world torn by tensions, seem to have been ignored or forgotten by many Americans today.

A realistic examination of conditions throughout the world, however, shows that threats to peace come from many sides, any one of which if we are unprepared could result in a "second Pearl Harbor," infinitely more threatening in this atomic age.

Columnist David Lawrence presented a warning which we cannot afford to ignore, in a recent column in the Washington Evening Star. I insert this column in the RECORD.

NOW IS NO TIME TO CUT OUT ARMS FUNDS

Anyone who watched Congress prior to World War II, when dangerous situations were arising and the United States failed to increase its defense forces, can only be deeply concerned over what is happening today.

Congressional pressure has forced the secretary of defense, Melvin Laird, to announce a reduction in the armed forces as well as in military expenditures. He frankly declared in a news conference yesterday that "it is clear our defense readiness will be weakened."

What has happened, of course, is that Congress has told the Defense Department that its appropriations will be diminished, and the big question is where and how the cuts shall be made. Laird expressed regrets that the curtailment which he reluctantly plans to make "will reduce our capability to meet current commitments."

This comes at a time, Laird stated, when Soviet military strength is increasing, and "it is important that the American public be informed about stepped-up Soviet activities in strategic offensive and defensive fields."

So much emphasis has been placed on the Vietnam war that many citizens forget that the defense apparatus of the United States is designed to protect this country against attack from any side, and that conflicts can arise in Asia or Europe or the Middle East which might involve us. North Korea, as the "Pueblo" incident recently emphasized, can be a source of trouble, and it is to be noted that more than 50,000 American troops are still stationed in South Korea.

Just about 28 years ago, when World War II had been raging in Europe for two years, the Congress was asked to extend the draft law which had been enacted in 1940. The struggle was close, and it was by a margin of only one vote in the House in August 1941 that the Selective Service System was maintained and the draft was continued in effect. Within the next four months, the Nazi regime had influenced the militaristic government in Japan to attack Pearl Harbor on Dec. 7, 1941.

This illustrates how suddenly the United States can be plunged into war and what preparedness can really mean.

Several areas of potential involvement of the United States exist today, and there is need not only for a large Army and Air Force but also for an adequate Navy. Yet the budget is forcing more than 100 naval vessels to be put out of commission, including the battleship New Jersey, recommissioned last year after a costly renovation. Moreover, the Air Force is to be required to limit its training program.

All this, it is admitted, involves risks. Attention has been focused mostly on Vietnam, and the recent announcement that American troops would be gradually withdrawn has given the impression that the United States can sharply cut down its defense forces. But Sen. John Stennis, D-Miss., chairman of the Armed Services Committee, does not see any "apparent end" to the conflict. He says that, while he favors a gradual troop withdrawal as a signal to the enemy that the United States is sincere in its desire to end the war, he is doubtful about the outcome. He adds:

"I am not too encouraged that a quick end is in sight, nor am I persuaded that we should rush out of Vietnam unilaterally in such a way to give the impression of defeat. Such an action will certainly invite trouble elsewhere in the world for us."

Meanwhile, the Russians are building up their armed services and seemingly are preparing for a large war. They are, to be sure, concerned about the hostile attitude of the Red Chinese and have deployed some rocket and nuclear forces on the border between the two countries. If the Russians and Red Chinese get into a war, this will affect Japan and the smaller countries of Asia.

There are signs of increasing trouble in the Middle East, too, and the Soviet navy in the Mediterranean has recently been substantially enlarged.

In the face of such danger signals, it is surprising that Congress is reducing the military budget just as if peace were in sight. Unfortunately, however, the situation around the world contains many threats of war, and it is hardly a time to cut America's military appropriations in any way that would, as officially stated, "impair our defense readiness."

ROAD TAX RELIEF PROPOSED

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the following column, "Road Tax Relief Proposal," by one of my constituents, Mrs. Jo Hindman, involves a subject of great interest. I insert it in the RECORD at this point:

ROAD TAX RELIEF PROPOSED

(By Jo Hindman)

Now you have the chance to get better city and county roads at no extra cost. In fact, you can get new roads and improve the old ones with possibly your taxes reduced.

There is no catch. The program merely amounts to plugging a chronic leak which diverts about $2 billion dollars each year, preventing the tax sum from reaching the federal Highway Trust Fund.

The HTF is composed of the excise taxes you pay when buying motor vehicles, tires, tubes, gasoline, diesel fuel, lubricating oil and automotive accessories. The money is collected and sent from the states to Washington, D.C., but the leak diverts a part, $2 billion annually, into the General Fund for spending on everything but roads and highways.

Federal legislation is pending which provides that all the automotive tax money shall be channeled into the HTF to be spent on roads only, the purpose for which the tax was levied and collected.

Under the new law, if enacted: Motorists will get the roads they are paying for, but are not getting; workers will benefit from hundreds of thousands of job openings in road construction, in the building trades and allied industries; property owners will benefit from enhanced real estate values from improved streets and roads; the present state and local road tax burden could be eased and future road taxes forestalled.

Check the arithmetic: At present, the states tax their citizens to collect funds to match (buy back) the federal HTF money, quaintly called "federal aid highway assistance." The proposed law will do away with that buy-back-your-own-money gimmick.

Next, Section 215 of the pending legislation would salvage the $2 billion annual leak, return it to the givers to spend on state and local highways and roads, fifty-fifty. Beauty of the arrangement, according to an interested county commissioner, is that local government can construct its roads according to its own standards, unhampered by red tape spun by absentee bureaucrats.

The local payments would be made April 1 and Oct. 1 of each year. No state would receive less than $25 million annually and some would receive eight times that amount. A table showing the salvaged $2 billion, divided among the states and local governments is available upon request from 300 Ruskin Dr., Altoona, Pa. 16602, address of the citizen organization, Pennsylvania Home Rule Assn., long-time sponsor of the subject national home rule road program.

Not an appeal for federal aid; rather, a long overdue correction, program is embodied in two pending identical bills in Congress, HR 10697 and HR 11880. Introduced by Congressmen Irving Whalley (R) and John H. Dent (D), the bills insure support from both Democrats and Republicans.

Tax payers are insisting on tax relief. Also, the motorists among them are becoming aware that they are paying, in state and federal taxes, more than enough now to take care of all highway costs. The real culprit is the unfair distribution system, the malappropriation of funds earmarked for road spending only. The proposed legislation will remedy that.

When all of the true information reaches members of the Congress, by mail, wire, or through their friends back home, the national road program should have a good chance of being enacted. Let your elected representative in Congress hear from you.

WHEN YOU RIDE TOMORROW'S AIRPLANES, YOU WILL THANK DICK WHITCOMB

HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, the August 31, 1969, issue of Potomac, the Sunday magazine of the Washington Post, had a cover photograph of one of our Nation's leading aeronautical scientists, accompanied by a cut line which read, "When You Ride Tomorrow's Airplanes, You Will Say Thanks to Richard Whitcomb."

The magazine featured a splended article on Dr. Richard Whitcomb of Hampton, Va.

Regionally, we who reside in the First Congressional District of Virginia, and nationally, all of us who are concerned with man's quest as he attempts to find practical solutions to the many problems of flight, take significant pride in the accomplishments of Dick Whitcomb. We, therefore, feel greatly honored to see such a fine publication do him this honor.

Since most of us in the Congress were away from the Capital when the article appeared, I include it herewith in order that more of us might have an opportunity to get to know Dr. Whitcomb a little better and thereby gain a greater appreciation for what he has done and is continuing to do for all mankind.

The article follows:

WHEN YOU RIDE TOMMORROW'S AIRPLANES, YOU'LL THANK DICK WHITCOMB

(By Barbara Rowes)

Dick Whitcomb drives up from Hampton, Va. to Washington maybe once a month ("I stay at the Hamilton, 'cause it's nice and cheap' "), in his 7-year-old red Volvo, to do business with his bosses at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration headquarters.

Sometimes he comes to see a lawyer, because Dick Whitcomb is in the middle of a 10-year span of patent litigation with giant General Dynamics over the alleged use of his "inverted canoe" design in the Convair 990 transport fuselages (the case is presently before a federal district judge in Norfolk).

But the trips are rare because at age 48 Richard Travis Whitcomb is too busy doing what most every youngster who disappears for hours on end into the family basement to build model airplanes dreams of doing someday—changing the shapes and looks of American aviation to his own private design dreams.

Dick Whitcomb has been singularly successful at this singular vocation. He has made two aeronautical design discoveries which have helped push the American airframe industry towards supersonic superiority for generations to come.

He is one of those fortunate enthusiasts who has to be chased away from weeks on end of 16-hour days in his $8 million transonic wind tunnel at the NASA Langley Research Center, where he is in charge of 50 employes. He is one of the few U.S. aeronautical scientists who has nearly carte blanche on letting his design ideas take him where they want to go. ("We have to turn off the electricity to get him out of there," says one friend).

Although his friends think of him as a New Englander, Dick Whitcomb is a native of Evanston, Ill. He was influenced early by a grandfather who left farming to become a manufacturer of vending machines.

Whitcomb admired the old man's independence and drive—plus the fact he was acquainted with Thomas A. Edison. "I used to sit around," Dick Whitcomb recalls, "and hear stories about Edison. He sort of developed into my idol. But the days of independent inventors are just about past. With wind tunnels costing $8 million to build it's impossible to do anything completely on your own."

"I decided early in life, that I didn't want to work on someone else's problems. I could do that now and make twice my salary in industry. But here at NASA they pretty much consider me a creative person. So they leave me alone to create."

In 1943, on graduation with honors in mechanical engineering from Worcester (Mass.) Polytechnical Institute, Dick Whitcomb was intrigued by a *Fortune* magazine article extolling the research facilities at Langley Field. He soon found himself working on design of the B-29 bomber and other wartime planes at Langley. He has been there ever since.

He is a handsome man who enjoys that kind of intellectual solitude that outsiders sometimes mistake for loneliness.

In recent years, his increasing fame and the industry-wide respect he has gained for his intuitive genius in transonic studies have tended to draw him out socially, though he cheerfully admits he'll never be mistaken for a Rotary or Kiwanis enthusiast.

In 1954, according to his longtime friend and boss, Laurence Loftin (assistant director of the Center), Whitcomb, on intuition alone, applied a mathematical curiosity called "the area rule" in wind tunnel tests he was conducting—without ever having heard of the area rule.

As a result, he devised a fuselage configuration that enabled high-speed planes to pass through Mach 1 with a considerable increase of power. The design has become know as the "coke bottle" fuselage and is in use on all supersonic planes today.

"I had the idea," recalls Whitcomb, "as early as 1951. It was like a bulb lighting up but it wasn't out of the blue. I put the fundamental transonic theories of Adolph Buesman (one of the German scientists who came to America after World War II) to work and experimented by testing my streamlined models in the transonic wind tunnel at Langley. It was like "Archimedes shouting Eureka when Buesman said 'This is it!' But it was really only the beginning. In most cases I had to convince top management that my discovery was worth changes involving billions of dollars in aircraft design. For example, before the F-105 was approved, a vice president of Republic Aircraft came down to examine all available data. We spent the whole day together discussing the area rule concept's application. It's rough getting management to change anything that involves so much money. But this is all part of my job as a modern day inventor."

That discovery won him the 1954 Collier Trophy, the highest industry award. Over the years the Collier has gone to people like Glenn H. Curtiss and Orville Wright and Elmer Sperry and Glenn L. Martin and Howard Hughes and William P. Lear and astronaut teams.

This year, 15 years later, Whitcomb devised the "supercritical wing," a design which would enable present sub-sonic jets to reach nearly Mach 1, instead of the 85 per cent efficiency they now operate on. This means cutting nearly an hour out of the present 5-hour transcontinental flights should commercial liners adopt the new wing (unlikely until new models are born, his NASA co-workers say).

In most years, this second major discovery would put him in line for a nomination for a unique second Collier trophy. But this is the year man walked on the moon and few in the industry think it will happen—though many are sure Dick Whitcomb will receive one of the 50 or so annual nominations from his peers in the airframe industry.

Recalls Whitcomb: "The Collier Committee met me at the airport in Washington and set me up in the finest room—all expenses paid. The aviation industry's banquet, involving about two thousand people, was held at the Sheraton-Park Hotel, and I was a guest of honor along with ambassadors and ministers from foreign countries. It was the highest point in my life, except that I had forgotten my suspenders at home so I had to pin my shirt to my pants—and that's how I faced Vice President Nixon as he introduced me to the world."

Whitcomb also received the Exceptional Service award from the Air Force (its highest civilian award); a Distinguished Service Medal from the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (NACA was NASA's pre-Sputnik predecessor); some lines in Who's Who; and an honorary degree from Worces-

ter Tech which permits Dick Whitcomb to call himself "Doctor" at those interminable industry conventions where people who invent coke bottle fuselages find themselves. "It depends on who you're talking to," he says. "I don't use it with my friends."

He also remembers wryly that he received an increase in dinner invitations "from neighbors I had never even met and have never seen again."

Says Loftin: "Dick is not a mathematical theoretician in the accepted sense. He is much more intuitive, which is very unusual in scientists. And it has paid off handsomely. He has a new idea every day. I'd say he's one of the most fertile innovators in the business."

Adds Ed Cortright, the research center director: "One of the great differences about Dick is that he not only gets a bright idea but pursues it with a great persistence. In our business most publish an idea and let it disappear. Dick's working in transonics, which is an area where theories just break down. So you have to think of him as something of an artist. He injects some of the elements of art." (Loftin remembers that in the supercritical wing work, Whitcomb often spent days with a file and other instruments working on the wing edges along with the model makers.)

Sometimes, to an outsider, it seems that one of America's leading aeronautical scientists has paid considerable dues for his astounding success by defining his life in terms of his work.

"People are always saying that I ought to have 'more fun'." says Dick Whitcomb. "What they don't understand is that I am having fun. My work is my fun. Can't they understand that?"

He rises at 7 a.m. five mornings a week and reads the local newspaper as he traditionally breakfasts on orange juice and toast.

"I have sugar and cream in my coffee in the morning because I need the energy," he explains. "Later in the day I'll have two more cups of coffee black because I need it as a pick-me-up."

He has never, he says, missed a day of work because of illness or the unforeseen.

Dick Whitcomb does most of his work right in his office, which resembles a metallic wasteland. His desk is crowded with manufacturers' models of the F-105, F-111, F-4. He doesn't believe in decorating: "It's strictly for work."

"When I came to NACA, (fresh out of Worcester) I started proposing new ideas right off. My boss was very understanding; he listened. But he never found the time to get my ideas tested. Now I'm the head and the difference is that my ideas get tested."

There's also a difference in the amount of his paperwork, the number of his meetings and the bureaucratic tape which accompanies new ideas.

"My desk is filled with stuff that's accumulated over the last week. The most current stuff is on top, the rest I throw into drawers," he says.

His days vary according to the progress of his tests. When he has a model in the Langley wind tunnel, he stays with it for a 16-hour stretch, getting his hands dirty with the mechanics who often play sly practical jokes on him. (An example: a dead bird placed on his desk by a mechanic to depict a supercritical wing that didn't work).

After winning the Collier Trophy in 1954, he became deeply involved in a national effort to build a supersonic transport airplane which would travel 1,500 miles an hour. He also had a private research laboratory in which he worked nights and weekends, after putting in 8 to 10 hours in his office, in order to invent something outside of aerospace. But he was unable to sell the automobile industry a more efficient exhaust system for their engines. He would like to see application of aerodynamic principles used in the problem of car air-pollution—and Dick Whitcomb intends to get busy on this idea any day now.

He did develop a means of making sailboats go faster, though he's sold his own 20-foot "Battery Park" model boat.

Finally, this year, Whitcomb directed a committee of 13 scientists who developed the supercritical wing (in which the cross-sectional shape of the wing has been redesigned for smoother air flow and faster speeds).

"I modified the shape of the wing myself as we tested it," he says. "It's just plain easier this way. In fact my reputation for filing the wing's shape has become so notorious that the people at North American (which will build a test plane next year for it) have threatened to provide me with a 10-foot file to work on the real airplane also."

But the most astonishing reaction to the new invention came from a group of fourth graders who had read about Whitcomb in their *Weekly Reader*. They wrote so many letters that the NASA office finally had to compose a form letter which answered all their questions about the wing. One of the children even phoned Whitcomb directly.

Right now he's very busy wrapping up the business end of his wing. He spends hours in staff meetings preparing to face management with proof of the invention's worth. "There's a lot of detail work and persistence required to get these inventions on the planes. That's the business. No one meets me at the airports in Los Angeles or Washington. I have to regulate my schedules to commercial flights and management's convenience. There's nothing glamorous about the selling end of this business. But it's necessary to wrap things up."

In the last few months he's been very busy wrapping up the supercritical wing by proving that it affects every aspect of in-flight performance. But he was not too busy to interrupt the meetings and detail plans to throw his secretary Annie a 21st birthday party in the Officer's Club.

"He'd always promised me a champagne party, if I weren't married by the time I was 21. Well, I'm not married, and he didn't forget," she says.

Otherwise, his work comes first. "When I find a problem, I need the solution," says Dick Whitcomb, "I sense it's there and I have to get at it. Although I'll have other things to worry about, I always have this uneasy, irritating feeling. It's a nagging sense that I've got to solve the problem—no matter what."

He sits with his feet up on the desk and continually thinks of work asking "Why? Why?" Insights don't simply spring into his mind. He has to feed it first.

He can't quit work at 4:30 p.m. and relax by watching television or sailing. He is somewhat bitter that other people can put in eight hours and walk away from an office free of concern. He simply cannot turn off his mind through a clock.

"There's been a continual drive in me ever since I was a teenager to find a better way to do everything. A lot of very intelligent people are willing to adapt, but only to a certain extent. If a human mind can figure out a better way to do something, let's do it. I can't just sit around. I have to think."

Dr. Whitcomb dresses for his own comfort in sports jackets, gray pants and colored shirts. He is ignorant of current fashion because he says he wants to be. Appearance doesn't really interest him much.

He doesn't cook for himself anymore. He just got tired of cleaning up. He eats all of his meals out, or at the invitation of friends. At home he just stocks his refrigerator full of snacks.

As a bachelor in the upper reaches of the government pay scale (about $25,000 yearly as a GS-16) he would seem to have both the money and the five-week vacation benefits to travel. He has done so only 3 times: twice to Europe and once to Bermuda. In plain fact, says Dick Whitcomb, the long drawn-out patent suit has cut considerably into his take-home pay.

The first time he went to Europe, he took the conventional Cook's Tour and was appalled by the high tension lines and steel structures throughout Switzerland. The next time he returned to England and France to visit a girl studying over there, and spent much of his vacation touring the aeronautical research centers and examining the scientist Cavendish's laboratory in Cambridge.

"I take very few structured vacations," says Dick Whitcomb. "Actually I prefer weekend trips to Washington and New York, and I'm out on the West Coast a lot for business. I also try to visit my sister with her seven daughters at least once a year in Brockton, Mass. It's not that I don't do anything but work. It's just that I don't take the conventional vacation very much—although I am dying to visit India where the culture is different. I want to see something different. Europe has too many American signs."

Dick Whitcomb has become so busy, in fact, that he has had to lessen his community involvements in the local Peninsula Community Theater association for which he was vice president for business affairs, and the Peninsula Civic Opera Assn. where he was drafted onto the board. His friends are by and large, artists, musicians and from among top NASA management.

He also occasionally wonders why he didn't follow a long ago impulse to enter the field of rocketry in the footsteps of onetime Worcester Tech instructor Robert Goddard.

"Of course," he says, "it would be very romantic to abandon aviation and begin a doctorate in another field. But that's not terribly pragmatic. I can probably do more good by applying my knowledge right where I am."

Says Dr. Whitcomb: "I guess I think differently from most people because I live differently.

"My mind's always racing ahead with another project, searching for the new. Sometimes I get mad that I'm made this way. But most of the time my work is just really fun."

AMERICA: THE LAND OF THE SALESMAN

HON. JAMES KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. KEE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to share with the Members of the House, and to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for all to see, the most interesting, informative, and timely message that I have ever heard delivered during my entire career in public life.

I attended an executive institute class at Madison, Wis., during the week of August 18–22, which was conducted by Mr. Zig Ziglar, Vice President, Sales Training for Automotive Performance, Inc., of Dallas, Tex. The class was conducted primarily for the benefit of a large number of independent businessmen who are associated with Automotive Performance.

Mr. Speaker, Automotive Performance, Inc., is one of the fastest growing industries in the United States and I have every confidence that within a period of 5 years, Automotive Performance, Inc., will be one of the giants of American industry.

Mr. Ziglar, in addition to his duties as Vice President in charge of training for Automotive Performance, is also founder of The Zigmanship Institute, a nationally recognized sales training organization.

During this fascinating period of American history, with all of the grave problems which we are facing, it was most refreshing to hear the outstanding address, "America: The Land of the Salesman." In essence, Mr. Ziglar calls to our attention a message that should be read in every school—high school, college, or university—and to all citizens of the land we love who are interested in the future of America. The simple fact is that each and everyone—man or woman—regardless of race, creed, or color, has an opportunity from within to achieve a richly rewarding contribution to all others who are interested enough and have the initiative to work.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Ziglar reveals the true and relatively unknown stature of the profession of salesmanship.

His unsurpassed speech records the contribution that the salesman has made, and continues to do more than his part to "make us the greatest land of them all." I fully agree with him when he states, "I am persuaded beyond any reasonable doubt that we are the greatest" land ever conceived by the mind of man "because we are the land of the salesman." In his remarks, Mr. Ziglar stresses the fact that Christopher Columbus, the man who discovered our land, was a salesman in the truest sense of the word. Because his remarks are so timely and so vital to the future of America, I include his address at this point in the RECORD.

AMERICA: THE LAND OF THE SALESMAN

America was discovered by a Salesman. Not by any stretch of imagination could you accuse Christopher Columbus of being a navigator. He was looking for India when he "discovered" America, thus making the most profitable "mistake" since the beginning of recorded history. But was he really a Salesman? The answer, by any standards of evaluation, has got to be an emphatic—Yes. First he toured the Courts of Europe making "call" after "call" telling his story to any "prospect" who would listen. He demonstrated many of the traits of the successful salesman when he kept "selling" after the prospect had said no. When he missed on one call he went to another prospect and told his story again. He got a lot of no's but he finally got the right answer and started on his trip ostensibly to India. Even then he still had his toughest "sales" job ahead of him. He had to sell for his "life" because the mutinous sailors wanted to throw him overboard. Finally the glad cry came: "land ho"—and the most profitable sales call in history was over.

America was colonized because of a Salesman. Sir Walter Raleigh toured the pubs of London "selling" this vast new uncharted wilderness. He "sold" fearful men—hope—and persuaded them to leave the relative security of England and go to the savage new undeveloped land.

Thomas Paine continued the "sales" job. He "sold" liberty—freedom—the dignity of man and the idea that man should be free.

George Washington was a Salesman. He sold those frontier farmers, and sophisticated plantation owners the idea of leaving their farms and loved ones to do battle with the British. He sold the idea that we could be a great nation—and he did it in the face of unbelievable odds. Consider what he had to do. He had to persuade those patriots that they should leave their homes—bring their own weapons and supplies with them so they could face the best trained—best equipped army in the world—supplied by the greatest Navy the world had ever seen. He could promise nothing—not even decent quarters or a tattered blanket to face the bitter cold. And he had to honestly admit that there would probably be no pay whether we won or lost. He also had to tell them that if we lost they would be hung as traitors. In addition to this the Colonies were anything but united, with many families divided as to which course to take. Yes sir, George Washington was a tremendous salesman with all of the virtues of the truly professional salesman of today. He was honest, dedicated, enthusiastic, sincere, knowledgeable and persistent because of his great belief in the product he was selling. Once the initial sales job was over Washington proved to be a master at the all important task of "post selling". He sold the American people the idea that they had within them the makings of a truly great nation. He also proved the Norwegian definition of the word "sell" which is "selge" or "to serve".

Horace Greeley was a Salesman. When things had started to slow down a bit and part of our great Western areas were under attack both from within and from the outside, he took pen in hand and did a "sales" job. Who can forget his ringing admonition to "go West young man"? And go West they did in ever increasing numbers until we had literally covered this great continent and discouraged our enemies from within as well as a couple of jealous powers who were casting covetous eyes in our direction.

We are the greatest land because we are a land of salesmen. You certainly can't say we're the greatest because of our size because until we added Alaska there were Brazil, China, Canada and Russia who were all bigger. We are not the greatest because of our population because India, Russia and China all have considerably more people than we have. Nor can you lay it on our superiority in natural resources because we have known for a long time of the extreme natural wealth of Brazil and just recently there have been discoveries of incalculable value in the frozen north of Canada. Even China and Soviet Russia surpass us in some natural areas in this department. You can't say we're the greatest because of our technological superiority because in many departments the Japanese are our masters, in others the Russians surpass us, in others the Germans best us and in still others the Swiss and the English are our masters. I'm persuaded beyond any reasonable doubt that we're the greatest because we're the land of the salesman.

So let's take a look at some heretofore unknown facts about this much maligned creature who has made us the greatest land of them all. To begin with, we will need to establish a few ground rules and identifications. Just because a man answers an ad in the paper and is hired and given a "brief" case he is not a "salesman". If he were then you could just as easily give a man a stethoscope and he would be a "Doctor", or give another a slide rule and he would be an "engineer", etc. Yet the average man on the streets persists in his belief that a "salesman" is "born", and that all you have to do to be a salesman is to dress neatly, smile, learn a couple of "smooth" lines and bang—you're a salesman. My answer here is pretty simple—I've traveled all over this continent and read newspapers in literally hundreds of cities. I've seen where women have given birth to boys—I've seen where they gave birth to girls—but I've never seen where one gave birth to a "salesman". Now I have seen where salesmen have died, so if they are not "born" but they do "die" then obviously they became Salesmen in the same manner one becomes a Doctor or a Lawyer or any other professional man. In this discussion I'm not talking about the "reject" from the other professions who drifted into selling because it was so "easy" (all you have to do is talk—and I'm a good talker). I'm talking about the guy or gal who chose to sell as a profession and then set about learning how to sell in the professional manner.

How does this Profession stack up with the other professions? Quite well—thank you. For instance, the average salesman has a life span of productive work that is nearly ten years longer than *any other* profession. Perhaps even more amazing is the fact that those last ten years could well be the most productive of them all and in many cases they are definitely the most profitable per hour worked. As the salesman gets older he gets more knowledgeable—and he has built his clients so that he now is truly in a "service" profession. Income-wise he stands at the top of the list. Slightly less than 3% of our population hit the $20,000.00 per year bracket. Of these 3% almost 80% of the 3% are directly or indirectly connected with sales. Again, I'm not talking about the job jumper who just picked up a brief case or the clerk at the dime store. I'm talking about the "trained" professional who stays in "training" all of his life as a Salesman.

Perhaps the most surprising statistic of them all is the fact that the professional salesman has one of the lowest—if not the lowest—divorce rate of any of the professions. Now this could be because we are "salesmen" and can "sell" the good wife on sticking around. But this doesn't alter the "fact", now does it? The professional salesman has one of the lowest rates of nervous breakdown and mental disturbances of any of the professions. Psychologists maintain that job satisfaction is one of the most important facts as far as mental health is concerned and here the salesman is truly the happiest guy around.

Nearly 75% of the owners of businesses and Presidents of Corporations in America today got their start as salesmen. One of the most interesting facts of life in America today is that the average professional salesman is directly or indirectly responsible for 27 people being gainfully employed.

And yet—A recent survey of 122 leading colleges and universities revealed that only about 2% of the graduating seniors were interested in going into the field of selling. Many claimed that it was either too "prostituting" or too "frustrating". Obviously we have not done a very good job of selling the profession of selling. We've sold goods and services but we've failed to sell what might well be the last frontier here in America. The result is clear. Many people in America today still think in terms of the old "Yankee Peddler". They think that selling is either "making people want something they don't really need" or "making them buy something they don't really want". They think of the salesman as being a "hail fellow, well met"—an extrovert with a large assortment of "off color" stories. Nothing could be further from the truth. Any major corporation in America today will quickly tell you that in a sales contest—with all other things being equal—that a group of 100 introverts will outsell a group of 100 extroverts 100 times out of 100. And the reason is two-fold. First, the extrovert—as a group—will rely on personality and charm to get the job done. Second, he is not as likely to be as interested in the "other" person. The first rule of selling is that people buy for "their" reasons and not "yours". They buy for what the product will do for them—not for what the product is. In these areas the introvert excels. He relies on training and knowledge and not personality. He is more likely to be "other people" centered. In short, he has

"empathy" and selling is really a transference of feelings. If the salesman can make you feel about his product—like he feels about his product—then you will want to own his product. The introvert is more likely to be better organized and a harder worker and less likely to rely on "charm" and "personality". The successful salesman is in reality an "assistant buyer". He sits on the prospect's side of the table and acts in the prospect's interest. He knows that anybody with a smooth line can "get" a customer, but that it takes more than a smooth line to keep him. And the successful salesman knows that to be successful he must "keep" his customers. He does this through service, by going the extra mile and helping his clients successfully buy.

So what's the problem? Well, the problem is *not* the profession. The problem is twofold. First, the salesman of yesteryear who was short on ethics and long on promises. Even this man was blown out of all proportions and depicted as a stumbling, bumbling ne'er do well in that absurd monstrosity, "Death Of A Salesman". The second problem is the fact that the profession of selling has not sold—the "Profession" of selling.

For an example, our country for the first 250 years of our existence as a Nation, we sold ourselves to the world and in the process, became the most respected Nation on earth. Since 1945, we quit selling as a Nation and started trying to buy friends around the world. You know what happened.

Fortunately we are on the way in the latter department—and in a big way. Through education and training. Through the numerous organizations around the country and through a more careful selection of personnel which keeps the obviously unsuited out of the profession we are upgrading our profession.

We've come a long way and most important, we are headed in the right direction. In the meantime—the next time you meet a professional salesman be nice to him—after all—he might be the one responsible for *you* having *your* job.

DEFENSE OF AMERICA'S MALIGNED MIDDLE CLASS

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, during the last year or two, examinations of our domestic difficulties have inevitably focused upon the purported malfeasance of middle-class Americans. No one is without fault but a more balanced assessment is needed. I have found such a reassessment in an article by Martin L. Gross which appeared in the August 27, 1969, edition of the Worcester, Mass., Gazette. Mr. Gross' article is captioned "Defense of America's Maligned Middle Class."

It follows:

DEFENSE OF AMERICA'S MALIGNED MIDDLE CLASS

(By Martin L. Gross)

The middle class has borne the brunt of massive criticism for generations.

In the twenties, they were pilloried in Sinclair Lewis' "Main Street." In the following decades, the kid-next-door Andy Hardy movies and the family TV frolics of "Father Knows Best" became—among anti-middle class enthusiasts—classic examples of self-incrimination illustrating the "shallowness" of the bourgeoisie. In the 1950's, "The Man in the Grey Flannel Suit" and "The Organization Man" delineated the middle class's non-virtue in the confines of the business world.

The attacks on the middle class are age-old, always entertaining and sometimes accurate, especially when the middle class caricature themselves through excess. I am reminded of my own disquieting suburban memories, including the chilling comment from an otherwise normal neighbor, who once boasted: "I am devoting my life to my lawn."

The excesses of some middle class citizens have been grist for authors in every tongue, providing raw material for satire through their rigidity, conformity and provincialism. Traditionally, the fashionably rich, the "creative" (and would-be creative) class and the revolutionaries have entered into an alliance against the middle class, seeking to undermine its strength. Critics should rightly expose any excess, but in America today that alliance has been so vigorous and successful in its game of "Down With The Middle Class" that the American ethic it defends may well be in danger.

WAR CRY

The new target is generally defined as "middle class values," and the anti-middle class war cry is the nebulous but ringing euphemism: "the quality of life." The inference is clear: "life quality" is destroyed by these "middle class values."

According to these detractors, America's middle class values encourage bigotry; enslave the female in the home; over-ennoble work; promote excessive nationalism; stimulate nerve-wracking competition; weaken the arts. They blame middle class values for the failure of the urban poor, for the generation gap. When pressed, critics even blame middle class values for such diverse ills as air pollution and ulcers.

The attack had been subtle for some time, but now that it is staunchly supported by segments of the mass media, it is making rapid headway among the vulnerable. Increasingly, America's giant middle class have become defensive about their way of life, including their homes, their families, the way they speak, earn their living and raise their families.

That insecurity had best be checked if our democratic culture is to survive. For every successful creative exception to the "middle class values," there are thousands of citizens who maintain family and democracy with it. The astronauts returning from the moon symbolized in their person and accomplishment, the power of the American middle class ethic.

The taxes of the hard-pressed middle class support both the rich and the poor, one through taxation loopholes, the other through taxation. The middle class maintains the central core of the American Protestant ethic, which freed man as an individual for the first time in history.

They sustain democracy, for the rich and the poor are historically prone to totalitarianism, one out of privilege and style, the other out of fear. To maintain their freedom, the American middle class ennoble egalitarianism, offering those below a chance to join them by absorbing their values of work, study and family. That upward mobility, which creates the ever-growing world middle class, is the key to democratic power.

WHAT ALTERNATIVE?

Those who would condemn the middle class as declasse, have not offered a viable alternative life style. Men of genius do not need the middle class ethic, but most people are not geniuses and deviate badly. The "quality" of life that some romantically seek as an alternative has thus far been a false dream expressed mainly in negative terms. If American middle class democratic life is drab and old-fashioned, what is modern? Is nihilism, despondency, drug addiction, poverty, disorder and jetset wealth the antidote of "quality" for the ostensible boredom of middle-class civilization?

"Middle class" is a socio-economic term and should not conjure up images of conformity. Within the freedom of democracy and sufficient money to survive, there is option to escape the rigidity of "Main Street" and "The Organization Man," the excesses of "Goodbye Columbus," or the nihilism of the false "quality" offered by detractors.

QUESTION OF GUILT

Increasingly one hears sensitive people deprecate themselves as "ordinary middle-class Americans," confessing the guilt placed there by sophists. Are they guilty of having defeated poverty for millions, maintained stability in a chaotic world; for having absorbed scores of ethnic groups into their collective midst, for having encouraged science and technology, for having educated themselves and their children, for having saved the world from totalitarianism?

The Soviet strains to emulate our middle class. The world blinks before its vast achievements, yet we increasingly snipe at it as if it were some psychologically infectious disease that can be cured by an injection of a mythical "quality." True quality is a classless term, and thus far, the stodgy Howard Johnson-Holiday Inn variety of middle-class America has shown that he understands more of its ingredients than do the detractors of the middle class.

AS PROMISED

HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, last fall, when he was campaigning for the Presidency, Richard Nixon made it clear to the American people that, as President, he would appoint to the Supreme Court men who felt it was their duty to interpret the Constitution, not to rewrite it.

Such an attitude is inconceivable to some who find that the Constitution gets in the way of what they think is best. Now that the President is carrying out his commitment they are making clear their unhappiness with him.

However, the Dallas Morning News in the attached editorial recently put the matter into perspective:

[From the Dallas (Tex.) Morning News, Aug. 20, 1969]

AS PROMISED

The Nation's pundits, commentators and columnists have had a high old time the past six months using each statement or action by Richard Nixon as evidence that he is turning liberal. One day they say he's zigging to the left; the next day, they declare he's taking a sharp zag to the right.

But long after most of the Nixon speeches and minor appointments are forgotten, the effects of his two appointments to the Supreme Court will be affecting the life of this country. Indeed, his choices may change the course of the nation more than any other he makes during his administration.

In recent years the high court has often seemed to be more inclined to make new law of its own than to interpret existing law. Not only has it moved to usurp Congress' constitutional responsibility for making the laws that govern society, but its liberal members have praised this trend as "creative."

But to most Americans, the high court's legislating activities are not so much creative as unconstitutional, a flagrant attempt

to undermine the separation of powers between the branches of government.

A major principle of democratic government holds that the people are ruled by laws formulated by their elected representatives. The justices of the high court, appointed for life, are neither elected by the people nor responsive to the wishes of the majority.

That is why Richard Nixon found in 1968 that the public agreed with him when he said, "The question is whether a judge in the Supreme Court should consider it his function to interpret the law or to make the law . . . I believe we need a court which looks upon its function as being that of interpretation rather than of breaking through into new areas that are really the prerogative of the Congress."

Nixon promised the voters that, if elected, he would make appointments designed to lead the court back from the wilderness of ideological improvisation to its fundamental role of interpreting the law. In addition to choosing men qualified to act as judges, he said, he would consider two main factors in each appointment.

"First, since I believe in a strict interpretation of the Supreme Court's role, I would appoint a man of similar philosophical persuasion. Second, recent court decisions have tended to weaken the peace forces, as against the criminal forces, in this country. I would therefore want to select a man who was thoroughly experienced and versed in criminal law and its problems."

President Nixon has, in the two high court appointments, done exactly as he said he would do. He has chosen experienced federal judges, not ideologues or political cronies. On their records, both must be judged to be much closer to the strict-interpretation view than the anything-goes philosophy of the past court.

It is true that past records are not always a good indication of the course a justice will take, once he is on the court. President Roosevelt appointed the liberal Felix Frankfurter, who eventually became the leader of the conservatives on the bench, President Eisenhower named Earl Warren, chief of the creativity crowd.

Lacking a crystal ball, we cannot say that the new appointees will hew to the conservative philosophy throughout their terms on the Supreme Court.

But there can be no doubt that at this point, their records indicate that the President has kept his promise to the voters and the results should benefit both the court and the country.

SMALL BUSINESS COMMITTEE NEVER TOO BUSY TO HELP

HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, it has been said that the committees of Congress are the working arms of our National Legislature. I am sure that all of us would agree with this characterization. Each of us in working as a member of individual committees each day learns much, acquires both broader interest and knowledge in depth in our individual areas of specialized interest.

I was highly pleased when you, Mr. Speaker, appointed me several Congresses ago as a member of the Select Committee on Small Business in addition to the assignment I had already received as a member of the Committee on Public Works. Since that time, my pride in being a member of the Small Business Committee has continued to grow. I have admired the vigorous and enlightened leadership of our chairman, JOE L. EVINS, and the interest and dedication of my colleagues on the committee. I have been particularly impressed by the willingness of the chairman, members, and the staff of the committee who always somehow find the time to deal with individual small businessmen's problems from throughout the Nation.

Recently, the National Association of Wholesalers bestowed a special award upon the committee recognizing this aspect of its work.

The Biddle survey, a prominent wholesalers' publication, on August 26 published an editorial aptly entitled "Never Too Busy," an excellent description of our distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Tennessee, Representative EVINS.

At the conclusion of these remarks I place the full text of this editorial in the RECORD:

NEVER TOO BUSY

(NOTE.—A committee of the House gets a tribute from distribution trades leaders.)

Writing in his journal, around the middle of the 19th century, Henry Thoreau, the American naturalist, once observed that nobody ever erects a statue to a committee. He was a strong advocate of individuality, of action by personal initiative rather than by conference. Yet in our complex society, with its intricate political structures, businessmen have been pretty well forced to put increasing dependence on group action.

One active business group, the National Association of Wholesalers, has recently tossed a bouquet into the lap of a committee: The Select Committee on Small Business of the House of Representatives. This committee is headed by Rep. Joe L. Evins of Tennessee.

The association gave it a Certificate of Appreciation for "distinguished service to the wholesale distribution industry." It cited the fact that the records of hearngs held by this Committee on Small Business "are often used by the Executive Departments and regulatory agencies as the starting point for *corrective or remedial* action." The NAW added that without such a forum as the House committee, there would have developed no remedy.

The wholesalers said that despite the committee's heavy schedule, it was "never too busy to give us its valuable attention." Congress and many of its committees are frequently in the line of flying brickbats; it is reassuring to learn of this recognition of group action for business which fulfills its purpose.

HOW VULNERABLE IS THE U.S.S.R.?

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recognizing the continued debate over foreign policy goals and actions of the Russian Communist dictators, I was pleased to note a review reproduced in the Ukrainian Bulletin, August 1969, of a book review of the Reverend Denis Dirscherl, S.J. of "The Vulnerable Russians," written by Dr. Lev. E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University.

In view of the timeliness of the book and the review, I insert the review into the RECORD at this point.

HOW VULNERABLE IS THE U.S.S.R.? (REVIEW OF "FLAWS IN RED RUSSIA'S ARMOR," BY REV. DENIS DIRSCHERL, S.J.[1])

It's time to zero in on the weakness of the Russian bear. That's the theme of *The Vulnerable Russians*, by Professor Lev Dobriansky, of Georgetown University. In an age of computerized analysis and mass-research facilities, books which do not make the headlines at once or do not have the backing of a publicity bonanza are often relegated to the dusty shelves of the publisher and the libraries.

The Vulnerable Russians warrants some special considerations. The volume merits attention not because it has any startling facts or new appraisals of the Russian scene but because of the peculiar concepts that the author develops in presenting his account of the Soviet grip on the political and economic fate of the various peoples and nationalities officially living under the banner of the hammer and sickle.

The notion of the "captive nations" provides the superstructure of this volume. The substance of the book is explained by way of this concept.

Professor Dobriansky originated the idea of Captive Nations Week in the late '50s and, each year in July, this week is commemorated in the United States as a result of an Act of Congress in 1959.

The response of the Soviets to this annual event is particularly enlightening and informative of the ideological makeup of the Soviet camp. In July, 1965, for instance, Michael Suslov, chief Party theoretician, commented on the observance of Captive Nations Week:

"Especially disgusting is the villainous demagogy of the imperialistic chieftains of the United States. Each year they organize the so-called Captive Nations Week, hypocritically pretending to be defenders of nations that have escaped from their yoke. These international gendarmes, stranglers of freedom and independence, would like again to enslave the free nations of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. But this will never happen."

This response, a typical Soviet approach, means to accuse others of what the Communists either are perpetrating themselves or planning to put into practice.

One of the major emphasis of the Captive Nations concept is to bring out into bold relief the gun barrel philosophy of the Soviet and its allied powers.

Unquestionably much of the Communist success in the past has been achieved because of this old philosophy. As Mao Tse-tung once said, "Every communist must grasp the truth that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun . . . in fact we can say that the whole world can be remolded only with the gun."

The bulk of Soviet and other Communist acquisitions and annexations have resulted from a three-pronged attack: by force through overwhelming military superiority, internal infiltration, and political blackmail.

Soviet imperialism started in the early 20's with the Outer Mongolia area. Poland was partitioned in 1939; Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and a portion of Finland followed in 1940; Bulgaria and Albania in 1944; Hungary, Yugoslavia, Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands in 1945; Rumania in 1947; Czechoslovakia in 1948; East Germany in 1949, followed by North Korea, North Vietnam, and Cuba in the 50's.

Paradoxically, it is interesting to note that though the Soviets base their world outlook on Marx's philosophy, Marx himself held Rus-

[1] Father Denis Dirscherl, S.J., has an M.A. in Russian studies and is a veteran of the U.S. Air Force security service, where he began his study of the Russian language. He has written for a variety of local and national publications, both religious and secular.

sia in low esteem, chiefly in military and diplomatic matters. According to Marx, the only way to deal with Russia was the fearless way.

Writing for the *New York Tribune*, April 19, 1853, Marx says: "What had to happen? The ignorance, the laziness, the pusilanimity, the perpetual fickelness and the credulousness of Western Governments enabled Russia to achieve successively every one of her aims."

According to Marx, Russia's coveteous power-policies have a long tradition. "In the first place the policy of Russia is changeless, according to the admission of its official historian, the Muscovite Karamzin.

"Its methods, its tactics, its maneuvers may change, but the polar star of its policy—world domination—is a fixed star."

Marx called Russia "decidedly a conquering nation." Marx summarized Russia's spirit of aggrandizement under the categories of Imperialism, Pan-Slavism, and Oriental Despotism.

The nationality question also has a major function in the Captive Nations concept. Here it is important to recall that the words "Russia" and "Russian" have been bandied about in the past with little care for necessary distinctions and explanations. The Soviet Empire is made up of many different nationalities. These other nationalities play an important factor in the character of the Soviet Empire.

Professor Dobriansky elaborates on this fact. He says, "I repeat, Russia itself would be only a second or third-rate power. Economic parasitism and exploitation enable it to bluff diplomatically a great power status, and most amazing is the degree to which Free World powers have fallen for this."

Dobriansky then highlights the advantages which Soviet power has reaped from these countries that have been swept forcefully into the Soviet orbit and used as buffer zones to the West and as objects of exploitation.

Other crucial notions suggested or brought out in "The Vulnerable Russians" include the role of wordsmanship and propaganda, Russification, the emasculation of Marx and Marxism, and the general cold war apparatus that the Soviets have built since the Bolshevik take-over.

In his book, except for excessive repetition, Professor Dobriansky has done well in attacking the weakness of the Soviet power machine.

From time to time we need to recall that the opposition is not an almighty force in spite of the facade that the Soviets have often erected. All the concrete walls, war zones, barbed wire fences, guard towers, trenches, empty wastes, and no man's lands betray the rapacious nature of the Soviet Empire.

OWNERSHIP OF HANDGUNS

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, Prof. James W. Vining, of Western Illinois University, has recently written me regarding proposals to restrict or prohibit the ownership of handguns and other weapons. Drawing upon his own personal experience while living in a South American country which did not permit its citizens to possess weapons, Professor Vining tells of the potentially grave situation which awaits the nation which attempts to curb the symptoms of crime rather than its causes.

I include Professor Vinings' letter in the RECORD so that others may read and ponder his grim warning:

AUGUST 2, 1969.

Hon. PAUL FINDLEY,
U.S. House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE FINDLEY: Like most, I too seldom take advantage of the opportunity to express my opinion on crucial issues to my elected government officials. Recent news, however, prompts me to this action.

Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower, chairman of the National Committee on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, has reported to the President, as you know, that "ownership of handguns by individual citizens is so dangerous that is must be national policy to eliminate them." The suggestion of such a policy understandably causes alarm to millions of Americans who keep hand guns in their homes for protection of family and property. My wife, alone much of the time, feels a certain sense of security knowing that there is a gun in the house with which she could defend herself against would-be robbers or rapists.

Home defense, however, does not necessitate hand guns, as I am sure Dr. Eisenhower is quick to point out. Shotguns and rifles would suffice almost equally as well. What frightens me, however, is the possibility, no, probability, that the elimination of hand guns would be only the first step in the disarmament of the population. Does not the Constitution grant all citizens the right to bear arms? Though the Supreme Court might uphold the constitutionality of the elimination of hand guns, such elimination would obviously be a violation of constitutional intent.

I have had recent research experience in a South American country with a disarmed population: Guyana. Crime is rampant; honest people stand by defenseless and watch the criminals, who are armed, of course, steal their crops and cattle. Because I thought my personal safety would be in jeopardy, I violated Guyanese law by carrying a concealed weapon. It was lucky for me that I did, for with it I foiled a plot to rob (and possibly murder) me.

So when self-preservation is at stake, you see, the honest citizen may become a lawbreaker. Outlaw hand guns—and tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of honest citizens will become lawbreakers as they retain and secret their guns.

If there should be anything you can do to prevent such a development, I urge you to do so.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES W. VINING,
Professor, Western Illinois University.

DO NOT LET THEM BE FORGOTTEN

HON. JOHN N. HAPPY CAMP

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. CAMP. Mr. Speaker, I welcome this opportunity to awaken the interest of my colleagues to the plight of our servicemen who have either been captured by the North Vietnamese, and are now prisoners of war, or are simply listed as missing in action.

Human decency demands that something be done in behalf of these men and their families. This is not a partisan cause. This is not a subject that divides us into hawks or doves. Regardless of your beliefs regarding our involvement in Vietnam, no matter what your views on how to best terminate this conflict, we must all stand united in the support of these men and their families.

The parents, children, sweethearts, and friends of these brave men listed as either POW's or missing in action are enduring a veritable Gethsemane. Many of them have loved ones who have been missing for over 3 years, and their anxious hearts wait daily for some news—good or bad—but some news. This is the cruelest sort of punishment, and we must never cease in our efforts to relieve them of this heavy and wearisome burden.

Hanoi stubbornly refuses to even so much as publish a list of our men held as prisoners of war. Thus we are unable to determine with any degree of accuracy the exact number or the names of the prisoners being held. Also, our peace negotiators have been unable to learn anything concerning their physical or mental well-being. We do not know, but more important, the families and loved ones of these men do not know, which of those men listed as missing in action are now prisoners of war, or were killed in action. And, of course, no one knows the present condition of those who are prisoners. The ordeals of the *Pueblo* crew, however, raises the worst of fears in our minds.

I have in my office, as I am sure all of you have in yours, a picture of a handsome little boy, 2½ years old. He has never seen his daddy, who was shot down over North Vietnam. He does not know if he is a POW or if he was killed in action. This terrible doubt must be put to rest. The anxious vigil must be mercifully ended for those many thousands if all hope is truly gone. This oppressive fear of the unknown must be speedily removed in order for thousands of anxious hearts to beat afresh if hope still remains.

Words alone avail nothing. We must act. I propose that we, as Representatives of all the people of this Nation, embark on a massive communication to the Hanoi delegation in Paris, expressing our dissatisfaction and urgent concern on this matter. Hanoi has capitalized on the division of American public opinion on this war, stalling and delaying peace talks in the hope of winning at the peace table what she has failed to take by military action. It is clearly manifest, therefore, that Hanoi is very much responsive to American public opinion. We can utilize this to the advantage of the men now being held captive.

I urge each of you to immediately send a telegram or letter to the Hanoi delegation at Paris. Let the North Vietnamese know, let all the world know, that we are over 200 millions of people, as one voice, demanding humanitarian treatment of our servicemen captured in battle. We must also emphatically demand that the list of prisoners be published. Public opinion of all mankind the world over will sustain us. We ask only for what millions of people of all nations throughout history have agreed is a basic and fundamental right of all men. Let us make all the world see that if Hanoi sincerely believes that she is fighting for a cause that is just and right, she must prove it by waging that war in a manner that is just and right.

We have summoned these fine young men to battle; they responded willingly and marched bravely to the conflict pre-

pared to lay down their lives for this Nation, for you and me. If a merciful God has spared them, we must sustain them. We can do no other.

MAY WE CONTINUE TO LAND?

HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, I invite the attention of my colleagues to these thoughtful and inspirational remarks by President Clair T. Blikre of the North Dakota School of Science, Wahpeton, N. Dak., at the International War Veterans' Alliance Banquet in Fargo, August 2, 1969:

Officers, Directors, Other Platform Guests, Fellow Veterans, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is indeed a real privilege to visit with you wonderful people tonight, for without question you are the *kind* of people who have proved your willingness to pay the *supreme sacrifice*. In addition, as exemplified by this Alliance and your Annual Meetings, you readily understand that "As a man thinketh in his heart, so he is, and that a common bondage perpetuates good-will and friendship!"

It is most obvious these days that "man's relationship to man" is the greatest problem facing man. Thus, this Annual Meeting, between the Veterans of two great countries, stands as a *symbol* of what can be achieved where there is a *will!*

As I visit you tonight, I am mindful that a few short months ago one of the greatest *military* men of all time passed from the scene, and while his military record will always stand as a symbol of greatness, his personal attributes will forever remain as a symbol of that for which America stands! Here was a man who exemplified, throughout his entire life, by his every act, that "As we aspire, so must we help to achieve."

On that day in which the newscasters recalled the heroic deeds of this General, my mind also focused on the great progress that has been made throughout the world and in particular in the U.S. (and Canada) between this man's early days at Abilene and until his final return!

On that day I also reflected about this country, and could have included Canada, too:

What a glorious country;

What an opportunity for man if he wills it;

How blessed we are;

Will man get hold of himself before it is too late and really understand that life is to be used, for good, not only for ourselves but for others; not only in a materialistic way, but in a truly SOCIAL, MORAL, and SPIRITUAL manner; and

Will we, finally, use the great scientific and technological advancement for a "better way of life" for all—or will we continue to misconstrue the "good life" with material wants only?

While we have witnessed much in our day, climaxed by Apollo 11 successfully landing on the moon from the Planet Earth, the future will:

Become ever—increasingly scientific, technical—It will be:

Characterized by speed—*computer* will play ever important role;

Crowded with people, who must have a *skill or trade* to secure a job;

Considerable *free* time.

Thus, the implications are clear: We must prepare ourselves for the world of work, but equally as important—"to do unto others as we would have them do unto us."

Well, what do we see today? We see a land of "unlimited potential" that: literally rebuilt Europe; installed mechanical hearts, and circled the moon; then landed.

A land SOME SAY, that sets its priorities on the military, on science and technology, but at the expense of human and social needs!

As we study the pages of history, we are mindful that most great civilizations of the past have succumbed to deterioration from within rather than to attack from without! The problems of the ghettoes, crime, and domestic unrest are so critical that they justify "going to war," not in the literal sense, but to direct our skill, resources, and energy, to mobilize and generate a "new will,"

To affirm in minds of all men the *equality* of races;

To provide for equality of opportunity;

To provide for educational opportunity; and,

To ultimately end poverty by providing: relevant education, applicable jobs, livable homes, individual respect—(worth, dignity as human beings), and care for those who cannot care for themselves.

Is this possible? Yes, have we not proved in this country that we can achieve about anything?

1. We must rise above the purely personal, local self-interests and be as equally concerned and involved with the problems of State and Nation.

2. We must be helpful partners, not barriers to reform.

3. The Nation must use its power for *creative* rather than destructive ends; however, it must also maintain its military strength so that it can continue to negotiate from *strength—not fear!*

4. The Nation must use its *material* wealth to ease the material needs of others.

5. We must re-new among the young and old, a real understanding and appreciation of the American way of life.

We become so enmeshed in our own lives, in our times of tribulation and struggle, that we are prone to forget the Price that has been paid to bring our country(ies) to its present state.

We are prone to forget that each generation has either had to resolve anew the abiding issue of our free society, or has had to reaffirm with *blood* and *national treasure* the depth of our commitment to the ideals we profess.

We have all inherited so much from those who went before us, but as we travel through the fortunes of life, we tend to take all this for granted. It is well for us to be aware of the price that was paid and to emphasize to each new generation the fundamentals upon which our country(ies) is founded.

Daniel Webster expressed it well when he said, "That past is at least secure."

But, is the past secure in the minds and hearts of all our people? To the extent that the memory of a great and glorious heritage becomes dim, so are our efforts to secure the blessings of freedom for our children crippled.

Our nation does, in fact, grant so much freedom to the individual and leaves so much to his own individual judgment and self-discipline that it depends more than other governments upon the willing allegiance of its citizens.

If our people ever lose their implicit faith in our country, its ideals and its goals, we shall no longer be able to act as a Nation; we shall have broken faith with the tens of thousands of Americans who have died to preserve our freedoms; and we shall know that the American people have lost their conviction in their great destiny. Thus, we must *understand* and *remember* the fundamentals and uphold this practice against all comers so that we do not betray our past or sacrifice the present!

You might ask—"Well, what are the elements of this "great and glorious heritage?" What is it that all should understand so *all* are truly protectors of the faith and defenders of the freedom, so that those who are here today or who come tomorrow will have that *solid foundation* to withstand the winds of strife?

In our Nation's history, there are tales of great men who surmounted great odds; of awesome battles won with terrific sacrifice. And, there are certain documents that tell the real story, that constitute the undisputed creed of our country; that should make us all proud, and commit our lives, as so many have also done before us—to defend, to uphold, and to help develop for those who follow. I am sure that Canada has a corollary for each document discussed.

Let us look at selected documents that we should all understand, and that we should use as our *inspiration*; namely:

1. *Mayflower Compact:*

A. Here was a unanimous and personal assent by all the individuals of the community to the Association by which they became a Nation;

B. The colonists pledged to enact *just* and equal laws and to obey these laws with all due submission and obedience;

C. Planted the first permanent independent settlement in the New World (Pilgrims):

D. Pointed way to equal rights and common duties.

2. *Declaration of Independence:* (drafted by Tom Jefferson at 33).

A. It marked our people's escape from a repressive power which would not allow us to govern ourselves;

B. It united colonists as they had never been united;

C. It knocked the fence-walkers off their fences and inspired average men to face uncommon dangers and hardships for the cause of liberty;

D. It remains single most influential document in the world for it signaled the concept that governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed, and that supposedly, the government is the servant of the people.

3. *Bill of Rights:* (Counterpart, the Ten Commandments)

A. Commanded that the government shall not infringe certain rights which belong to the people.

B. Laid down the rules on a vast range of matters of highest important and complexity.

C. *Laid down four basic Principles:*

(1) Representative government—people rule themselves by choosing their representatives.

(2) Dual form of government—*U.S. Citizen* and of a *state*—states make laws in harmony with Constitution.

(3) Guarantee liberty through limitations on powers of government.

(4) Independent judiciary closely linked to doctrines of limitations on and separation of governmental powers.

(5) Implied: "God governs in the affairs of men."

4. *Farewell Address of George Washington:*

A. Warned against all influences toward disunion.

B. Counseled to respect legitimate authority of the Union and for laws enacted.

C. Signaled need for *respect* for authority, *compliance* with laws, *acquiescence* for measures of Constitution.

D. Felt that nothing was secure if people failed to be sincerely *religious*. He believed that *God* ruled in affairs of men, and that prayer, joined with determined effort, is answered.

5. *Star-Spangled Banner:* (official National Anthem—Mar. 3, 1931).

A. Words inspired by valiant defense of our own shores.

B. Exalted flag which represents in plainest form those freedoms we deem God-given, the heritage of our people, the foundations of our institutions, and the motivations of our government.

C. Has no other character than we give it from generation to generation.

D. Signifies the spirit of a people set on defending their homes, their loved ones, and their freedom from the tyrant's hand.

6. *Abraham Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address:*

A. Gospel of true Americanism, given during last weeks of tragic Civil War.

B. Asked God for strength and courage for right to prevail, to finish work we are in, to bind up Nation's wounds, and secure a just and lasting peace.

C. Here was a man, who in the worst times which have ever afflicted this land, beset by *hate* and fear, bigotry and intolerance, terror and death, kept his head, a man who returned to the fundamentals, who turned to God:—so

Think of Lincoln, and take heart!

7. *Woodrow Wilson's document—"The Road Away from Revolution":*

A. Warned against selfishness and materialism.

B. Challenged our churches, political organizations, and men in all walks to cultivate a *spirit of service* and to *cooperate in understanding* and *meeting* the *needs of the people.*

C. "Our civilization cannot survive *materially* unless it is redeemed *spiritually.*"

8. *General MacArthur's address to his countrymen on occasion of Japanese surrender in Tokyo Bay, Sept. 2, 1945:*

A. "Today guns are silent; a great tragedy has ended, a great victory has been won—the Holy Mission has been completed."

B. He said, "We have had our last chance to achieve a lasting peace—we must *improve human character that will synchronize with our matchless advances in science, art, literature and all material and cultural developments.*—It must be the *spirit* if we are to save the flesh, for military alliances, balance of power, even League of Nations has failed."

The central thread prevailing throughout is that our "Republic and democracy does not constitute merely a mechanism of government, but rather the *Concept* 'that it is man's nature to be *free* and it is the purpose of government, which is organized only because of society's needs, to serve man's freedom!' "

"Keep the faith, and God willing, we shall not lose the future; but let us ever bear in mind that 'our government will endure only as long as the ideas of the men who founded it continue dominant.' "

But, has not each generation questioned the older? Thus, we who are pegged as the older generation must hear out our youth if we expect them to hear us! We must talk with them as well as to them. We need to *demonstrate* to our young *men* and *women* a steadfastness to those enduring and persisting ideals that have made our country great!

1. We need courage to say "No" and the fortitude to make it stick.

2. We must set by example and word that we do not have rights that supersede duties; that we must defend our country, not destroy it; and that we cannot, outside the framework of our government, be ourselves the arbiters of our laws; that ours is a government of *consent*, not *dissent*. Our young tend not so much to defy as to emulate their elders!

3. We need to understand that: "Men are men before they are lawyers or physicians or manufacturers; and if you make them capable and sensible men they will make themselves capable and sensible lawyers and physicians." (John Stuart Mill)

It is right to ask then, "What kind of citizens do we need to continue to build our great country(ies)?"

We must develop citizens who:

1. Understand and can live, cope with world of change;

2. Sense the emerging environment;

3. Understand, respect, and appreciate self and others;

4. Be a Great Citizen—with proper appearance, attitude, attendance, and application.

I am fully aware that each of you is a *concerned* and *involved citizen* of our respective countries! However, we must proceed as involved leaders, because an increasing number of quality leadership must prevail. These kinds of qualities will determine not only the destiny of man but the destiny of our great countries.

Surely, if man can reach the moon, he can conquer the material problems on planet Earth. Surely, man who can do all this can learn to live with man! It is merely a question of priorities! However, we must understand that it will be a difficult task, for man can control machines—they are cold, unemotional, and predictable for they do as they are prepared to do! Whereas man is emotional, has feelings, and is sometimes unpredictable!

And, so I commend you—the membership of the International War Veterans' Alliance, who fully understands that while we are not immune from strife and turmoil, we can assure our position by *alliance*, by partnership, by co-existence.

As I look out among this wonderful audience, I see in you, and in the vast majority in our countries like you, the kind of people so necessary in our day!

Thus, I see a day when we will walk out of the tunnels of tyranny into the bright lights of freedom for all—a day when all men will be judged on their ability and desire, when men will realize that it is time to re-kindle the allegiance and commitment of our people and a day when most men will fully realize that without people we can do nothing, but with people we can do everything!

The International War Veteran's Alliance is an outstanding example of what can be achieved! May we continue to set that kind of an example for all to follow, so that all understand that we build from a solid foundation, and that by hard work, service, and fellowship we can build for a better tomorrow—but, we *must* all understand that:

"It's not what you do when you are old,
Tomorrow, next week, or next year;
But it's what you accomplish or finish
Before night's shadows draw near.
"For nothing is gained on the morrow,
For work then no one draws pay;
So we should accomplish or finish
All that we can do every day."

A REAPPRAISAL OF THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL EDUCATIONAL DOCUMENT OF OUR TIME

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives recently voted 293 to 120 to add $1.1 billion to the education budget requested by President Nixon. This action was taken on the grounds that the quality of our educational system is directly proportional to the amount of money we spend on it.

This assumption, which seems reasonable enough on the surface, has been the subject of a considerable body of scholarly criticism. It was first challenged in a study under the auspices of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, headed by James S. Coleman, a distinguished member of the faculty of Johns Hopkins University.

The Coleman report of 1966 concluded that there is little correlation between the imput of money and manpower into the schools and the output in terms of educational achievement. Needless to say, this novel conclusion has been extensively debated in academic circles since that time.

Christopher Jencks, of the Harvard Graduate School of Education faculty, has reassessed the soundness of the Coleman report in light of the developments and discussions of the last 3 years. He concluded in a recent issue of the New York Times Magazine:

> Variations in schools' fiscal and human resources have very little effect on student achievement—probably even *less* than the Coleman report originally implied.

Mr. Jencks also states that his conclusions, and those of the Coleman report "deny that the achievement levels of large numbers of disadvantaged children can be appreciably enhanced by spending more money, hiring better teachers, buying new textbooks or making any of the other changes that reformers normally advocate."

This is a startling conclusion. While I am not in complete agreement with the points raised in the 737-page Coleman report or, for that matter, Mr. Jencks' article, I think that Congress cannot continue to appropriate virtually unlimited funds for education without at least an awareness of what a responsible body of educators have to say about the cause and effect relationship between money and educational quality. I commend Mr. Jencks' article to those interested in learning of some rather surprising yet responsible observations concerning our educational system, as follows:

A REAPPRAISAL OF THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL EDUCATIONAL DOCUMENT OF OUR TIME

(By Christopher Jencks)

Three years have passed since James Coleman and his colleagues issued their now famous report on "Equality of Educational Opportunity." Virtually unnoticed at the time of its publication, this 737-page monograph has since become the best-known and most controversial piece of educational research of our time.

Like a veritable Bible, the "Coleman Report" is cited today on almost every side of every major educational controversy, usually by people who have not read it and almost always by people who have not understood what the authors meant when they wrote it. It has been used to support arguments for increasing integration in the schools—and to buttress the position of those who would accept segregated schools with community control. It has been cited as evidence that what black children need is good teachers—and as proof that such increases in per pupil expenditure will not close the educational gap between black and white.

The report has also inspired a growing body of scholarly exegesis, interpretation and criticism, so that anyone who wants to know what the report "really" proves must now plow through not only the baffling charts and tables of the original document but dozens of subsequent critiques and reanalyses, most of which are available only in mimeographed

form to the cognoscenti. The time has clearly come for a reappraisal.

The Coleman Report was a political football from its very inception. Like much American social science, it was initiated in order to avoid confronting a difficult political problem. In the summer of 1964 Congress had decided to pass a civil-rights law which was expected to end *de jure* school segregation in the South by cutting off Federal funds from segregated systems. The question inevitably arose: what about *de facto* segregation in the North? The expedient answer was that the Commissioner of Education should investigate the problem and report back in two years.

After nearly a year of bureaucratic squabbling and indecision in the U.S. Office of Education, Commissioner Frank Keppel decided to conduct an "Equality of Educational Opportunity" survey. The survey, theoretically covering nearly a million pupils in 6,000 different schools across the nation, was carried out in the fall of 1965. Prime responsibility for planning and analyzing it fell on James Coleman, a distinguished sociologist from Johns Hopkins University with a long record of interest in both education and survey research.

Coleman expected the survey to demonstrate three rather conventional propositions:

1. Nonwhite pupils, North and South, usually attend different schools from white pupils.

2. Nonwhite schools usually have less adequate facilities, inferior curriculums and worse teachers, as well as less affluent and academically adept student bodies.

3. Because they attend those inferior schools, nonwhite pupils learn less than white pupils.

The survey confirmed the first proposition. Black and white pupils are seldom in the same schools, even in the North. Not only that, but the black pupils do learn much less than the white pupils, at least judging by standardized tests of verbal and nonverbal skill, reading comprehension, arithmetic skill and general information. The typical black first grader scores below about 85 per cent of white first graders. This relative disparity persists throughout elementary and secondary school, and thus the absolute difference between black and white children grows wider as they grow older. A 6-year-old who scores below 85 per cent of his classmates is about one year behind, while a 16-year-old is more than two years behind.

The survey did not support the second proposition, that black schools spend significantly less money per pupil than white ones, have substantially larger classes, get worse trained and less experienced teachers, operate in more antiquated and crowded facilities, rely on less adequate textbooks and equipment and so forth. On the contrary, the survey uncovered only one major measurable difference in these items between black and white schools: the black schools had more black teachers. This means that the black children's teachers also come from poorer homes and do worse on tests of academic ability. Black schools in the urban North also tended to have somewhat older buildings and smaller play areas. In other respects, however, black and white schools proved surprisingly similar. Later analyses, while largely confined to Northern urban elementary schools, have shown that schools which serve rich and poor children also have quite similar facilities, curriculums and teachers.

How could the conventional wisdom have been so wrong? The apparent answer is that claims of discrimination have usually been based on the obvious contrast between Northern ghetto schools and white schools in a few affluent nearby suburbs or in the city itself. In most (but not all) cities, the black schools get short-changed. What all such comparisons evidently ignore, however, is the fact that most white Americans live in smaller (and poorer) cities and towns, where the school facilities, curriculum and teachers evidently leave almost as much to be desired as they do in the big-city ghettos, where most blacks live.

More important, even, was the report's conclusion on the third proposition, the expected cause-and-effect relationship between inadequate school resources and low student achievement. In fact, neither black nor white children of a given family background did significantly better in schools with high expenditures, large libraries, accelerated curriculums and so forth. Coleman and his colleagues believed that pupils did slightly better in schools with experienced and articulate teachers, but even this difference was surprisingly small—and the evidence supporting their belief has subsequently proved to be rather shaky.

The report suggests—though it does not state in so many words—that black children clearly get less satisfactory schooling than white children in only one major respect. If a child happens to have a black skin, the odds are very strong that he or she will end up with classmates from impoverished homes and a plethora of learning and behavior problems. A child who attends such a school may be short-changed even if it has first-rate facilities and teachers. Most black sixth-graders, for example, attend schools in which the majority of their classmates are reading at the fourth- or fifth-grade level. This means that even if a black child has the ability to read at sixth-grade level, he will probably not be pushed to do so. The instruction in his classroom will be aimed not at him but at the laggard majority. Furthermore, there is reason to believe that children learn more from one another than from their teachers. If black children attend schools where this "informal curriculum" is based on a vocabulary half as large and on concepts far less abstract than in a white school, their chance of developing academic skills is reduced.

Coleman and his colleagues were extremely anxious to determine whether individual achievement was dependent on a school's social composition. After analyzing their data, they concluded that it was, but that a child was influenced by his classmates' social class background and aspirations rather than by their race. This implied that a poor black child would *not* benefit from attending school with poor white children, but that he *would* benefit from attending with middle-class children, black or white. Coleman and his colleagues also tentatively concluded that black children were more sensitive to peer influences than white children. This implied that a black child would benefit substantially from integration, while a white child would suffer very little. The apparent effects of integration were always small, however, relative to over-all differences in achievement between races, socio-economic groups and individuals.

If differences between schools do not account for most of the observed differences in achievement, what does? By far the most important factor measured in the survey was the ethnic and socio-economic background of the individual child. In addition, there is a strong association between children's achievement levels and their attitudes. Among black children in particular, there is a marked relationship between their achievement and their personal sense of control over their own destinies. Yet even when family background and attitudes are taken into account, more than half the variations in individual achievement remain completely unexplained. Whether this reflects unmeasured genetic differences in aptitude or unmeasured differences in environmental influence is a matter for speculation. One thing it did not seem to represent, however, was unmeasured effects of differences between school environments. The survey showed that the differences between the best and the worst pupils in the same school are invariably far larger than the differences between the best and the worst schools. Indeed, eliminating all school-to-school differences would only reduce the total variation in achievement by about 20 per cent. This does not definitely prove that schools have no role in generating inequality, since there could theoretically be systematic discrimination against certain kinds of pupils within most schools. Still, it is hard to believe that within-school differences play a large role in inequality when between-school differences play such a small role. Coleman and his colleagues therefore concluded that the major reasons for unequal academic achievement must lie outside the school.

This brief summary of the Coleman Report's major findings hardly does justice to the voluminous text, but it does suggest why the report became a major focus of political debate. The report was published at a time when America was vacillating between two different strategies for helping the disadvantaged. Some people advocated racial and socio-economic integration of the schools—and of the larger society. Others argued that integration was unattainable, undesirable or both; the only realistic strategy was to accept segregation and make black schools as good as white ones. The Coleman Report implied—though it did not say explicitly—that *neither* strategy would help achievement much. But insofar as anything was likely to work, the report seemed to indicate that integration was a better bet than what had come to be called "compensatory" education. Yet at the same time the finding that parental interest and pupil attitudes were strongly associated with achievement seemed to give oblique support to those who believed that parental participation and/or control over all-black schools might make a critical difference to student achievement.

The report's conclusions were inevitably subjected to stringent and sometimes extravagant criticism. The report had been prepared in great haste to meet the Congressional deadline, and the authors had had no time to examine many obvious objections to their tentative conclusions. Skeptics have been able to offer a variety of speculative reasons why the report's conclusions might be wrong, and those who have political reasons for wanting to discredit or ignore the report have naturally found such speculations very persuasive. For the past two years I have been part of a group of Harvard social scientists trying to determine whether any of the hypothetical objections to the report's conclusions are actually correct. My judgment is that the report's broad conclusions were sound, even though many of its specific methods and findings were wrong.

One common criticism of the survey has been that more than 10 per cent of the school districts in the original sample refused to cooperate, including such major cities as Chicago and Los Angeles. Some districts evidently feared that the Federal Government would use the survey to prove they were discriminating against minority groups. Other districts—especially those being sued for *de facto* segregation—feared that minority groups would get hold of the survey results and use them in court or in the press. Some districts also feared that simply asking questions about sensitive racial issues might stir up trouble in the schools. In addition, many schools in nominally cooperative districts failed to return data because it was too much bother or perhaps—a more serious matter—because they had something to hide. As a result, complete returns were

received from only about 60 per cent of the schools in the original sample.

There were clearly some small differences between participating and nonparticipating schools, and selective participation may well have led to a slight underestimate of the qualitative differences between black and white schools. But there is no reason to suppose that nonparticipation led to an underestimate of the relationship between school quality and student achievement. It hardly seems likely, for example, that the dynamics of education in Chicago and Los Angeles, which refused to participate, differ significantly from Detroit and San Francisco, which agreed to do so. On the contrary, the dynamics of education are probably much the same in one big city as in another. The problem of nonparticipation is therefore probably a nonproblem.

A second criticism of the survey has been that the information provided by the superintendents, principals, teachers and pupils in the sample schools may not have been accurate. This criticism arose largely because of doubt that black children's teachers and facilities could really be the equal of those given white children. Since the Office of Education made no site visits to check up on the accuracy of replies given by principals and teachers, no definite answer to this charge is possible. Data supplied by state departments of education suggest, however, that the principals' replies about facilities were probably fairly accurate. Direct interviewing of parents in two communities likewise showed that most (though not all) of the pupils' responses were reasonably accurate. And the replies of principals, teachers and students to similar questions show a fairly high level of internal consistency for most "objective" items. On the other hand, questions which involved subjective judgment of any kind did *not* elicit internally consistent answers. The results of such subjective "attitude" questions must therefore be treated with great caution.

A third criticism of the report has been that the authors should not have concentrated on the determinants of verbal ability to the exclusion of reading, mathematics and general information. Those who believe that black people are peculiarly "nonverbal" have even argued that the decision to stress verbal ability was fundamentally racist. Unfortunately, black children did as badly on the tests of other abilities as on the verbal tests. Furthermore, while some individual children did well on one test and badly on another, schools as a whole either did well on them all or badly on them all. A Northern urban elementary school's mean verbal score, for example, correlated almost perfectly with its mean reading and math scores. Under these circumstances it hardly matters which test we use to measure overall school achievement.

A fourth line of attack on the report has been more technical. The authors of the report employed a number of dubious statistical techniques and made a variety of mechanical errors in handling and labeling their data. But they also recognized that such errors were likely, given the extreme haste with which they worked, and they were generous in helping others reanalyze the data more meticulously. These analyses have shown that while the report's broadest conclusions were correct, many important details were wrong. In particular, and contrary to what some critics have argued, the net effect of the report's various errors was to *under*-estimate the importance of family background and *over*-estimate the importance of school in determining achievement.

A fifth criticism of the report has been that the authors made unwarranted causal inferences from their one-shot survey, which by its very nature could reveal only patterns of association rather than prove causation. Two examples illustrate the problem.

The report uncovered a strong association between teacher verbal ability and student achievement in secondary schools. Though they listed a number of qualifications, the authors concluded that able high school teachers probably boosted student achievement. Yet the report's data could equally well lead to the conclusion that school systems were assigning able students to schools with able teachers, or that they were assigning able teachers to schools with able pupils. Since we know from experience that both practices are widespread at the secondary level, it seems rash to assume that there need be any direct causal link between teacher ability and student achievement to explain the observed association between the two.

Fortunately, these problems are far less serious at the elementary level. Students are allocated to elementary schools largely on the basis of residence, race and social status, all of which were measured in the survey. With luck and ingenuity the effects of such allocation can be discounted and the effects of various school characteristics can then be estimated. Since there is little evidence that student transfers at the elementary school level are based on ability (as distinct from family background), the mean achievement of first graders entering a given elementary school can also be used to estimate the mean initial ability of sixth graders in the same school. With these precautions, causal inferences are considerably safer than at the secondary level; and when these precautions are taken, it turns out that facilities, curriculum and teacher characteristics are even less important than Coleman and his colleagues supposed. A student's peers may, however, have a modest effect on his achievement.

Another instance of ambiguous causation was the association between attitudes and achievement. The survey showed, for example, that students who did well on achievement tests were more likely to say that their parents expected them to go to college. The authors concluded that parental expectations probably had an important influence on children's achievement. Yet it would be equally reasonable to conclude that children's achievement had an important influence on their parents' expectations. Most parents know that if their child cannot read competently, he is unlikely to attend college, and the child is likely to be aware of this attitude and report it when asked. This same difficulty arises with all the report's inferences about the effects of attitudes on achievement.

What, then, is the present consensus about the policy implications of Coleman's survey? The answer is that no consensus exists, even among experts. My own judgments are as follows:

(1) The resources—both fiscal and human—devoted to black and white children's schooling are not dramatically different, except perhaps in certain parts of the South. Nor do we devote substantially greater resources to educating middle-class children than to educating lower-class children.

(2) Variations in schools' fiscal and human resources have very little effect on student achievement—probably even less than the Coleman Report originally implied.

(3) The report's assertion that peers have a consistent effect on achievement may or may not be correct. My guess, based on available data, is that peers do have an effect, but that it is relatively small.

None of this denies that unusually dedicated and talented individuals can create schools in which initially disadvantaged children learn a remarkable amount. But it does deny that the achievement levels of large numbers of disadvantaged children can be appreciably enhanced by spending more money, hiring better teachers, buying new textbooks or making any of the other changes that reformers normally advocate.

If improved student achievement is our goal, the Coleman Report's implication is obvious: we must alter the whole social system rather than just tinker with the schools. There is plenty of evidence that major changes in a child's social and cultural environment will affect his intellectual development, often dramatically. Bruno Bettelheim and others have chronicled the impact of the Israeli kibbutz on hitherto deprived North African and Yemenite Jews. Here in America we know that children raised on Long Island do far better, even in first grade, than those raised in Appalachia. Similarly, children raised in Jewish homes do better than those raised in Christian homes, even in the same city. And the World War II draftees who grew up in the America of 1917–1941 did far better on standard tests than the World War I draftees who grew up in the America of 1900–1917. Intellectual skills are, therefore, not just a function of genetic differences. But neither are they a function of school differences. If the Coleman survey convinces us of that basic truth, it will have served its purpose.

Does this mean that we should simply let inferior schools rot? I think not. Good schools can make a difference—if we know what kind of a difference we want them to make.

Underlying the comments of most people who discuss the Coleman Report is the assumption that academic achievement is the most important objective of schooling, and that if school reform does not affect achievement, it is worthless. Yet despite much popular rhetoric, there is little evidence that academic competence is critically important to adults in most walks of life.

If you ask employers why they won't hire dropouts, for example, or why they promote certain kinds of people and not others, they seldom complain that dropouts can't read. Instead, they complain that dropouts don't get to work on time, can't be counted on to do a careful job, don't get along with others in the plant or office, can't be trusted to keep their hands out of the till and so on. Nor do the available survey data suggest that the adult success of people from disadvantaged backgrounds depends primarily on their intellectual skills. If you compare black men who do well on the Armed Forces Qualifications Test to those who do badly, for example, you find that a black man who scores as high as the average white still earns only about two-thirds what the average white earns. Not only that, he hardly earns more than the average black. Even for whites, the mental abilities measured by the A.F.Q.T. account for less than a tenth of the variation in earnings.

With these observations in mind, go visit a slum school and ask yourself what the school is actually doing. You will usually find that it seems to share the employers' priorities. It devotes very little time to academic skills. Instead, the teachers spend their days in a vain effort to teach the children to behave in what they (and probably most employers) regard as the proper way. The teachers' ideas about proper behavior are silly in some respects. Nonetheless, they are probably right in feeling that what their children need first and foremost is not academic skill but such "middle-class" virtues as self-discipline and self-respect. It is the school's failure to develop these personal characteristics, not its failure to teach history or physics or verbal skill, that lies behind the present upheavals in the schools. And it is this failure to which reformers should be addressing themselves.

From this perspective the best index of a school's success or failure may not be reading scores but the number of rocks thrown through its windows in an average month.

The Coleman survey does not speak to this question.

CUBAN-AMERICAN SOLIDARITY

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the spirit of liberty which actuates our Independence Day ceremonies each year is shared by many nations and peoples of the world. An example of this common desire for freedom and national independence was evidenced in the splendid address by Dr. Jose Ramon Gutierrez on the recent Independence Day ceremonies of the Cuban-American Solidarity group in Miami.

Dr. Gutierrez is an outstanding Cuban-American and has a message which I think will be of interest to our colleagues. I insert his eloquent Fourth of July address in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY DR. JOSE RAMON GUTIERREZ

Ladies and Gentlemen: In the course of civilization there are dates so outstanding and historically symbolic that they move us to recall them with deep emotion and reverence, even when not all belong directly to our own country's heritage.

The first of all, the greatest of all for those of us who follow Our Lord, Jesus Christ, is the Fest of the Nativity, which for us marks the beginning of our Christian civilization.

In the course of time, specially for us of the Americas, there are two other great dates: October 12th 1492 marks the discovery of our lands by Christopher Columbus, an event which gave our Western Christian civilization the glory of this New Continent; and the 4th of July, 1776, when this civilization began to evolve the American fruits of independence and liberty, offering examples of a new political life and the prodigy of this great nation.

Solidaridad Cubano-Americana and all who have been so kind as to join us for this great occasion—to honor this Fourth of July, 1776 and its valuable reminders for—as we all know—the most deeply venerated date in the history of the United States of America is "Independence Day" by which the Nation each year pays homage to the Declaration of Independence adopted by the Congress of the thirteen English colonies established in this country, which thus freed themselves from Great Britain and became the United States of America.

The Declaration of Independence is not only an inspiring political document drawn up by that great young lawyer Thomas Jefferson, only 33 years old, and unanimously approved by said Congress, but also the vigorous expression of the yearning for liberty felt by men most representative of the ideals and convictions of the said Colonies. And as Jefferson himself declared with sincere modesty "I did not consider it as any part of my charge to invent new ideas altogether, and to offer sentiments which had never been expressed before."

There is no doubt that the ideological seeds of the Declaration of Independence are to be found in the natural rights and social contract which were launched by European philosophers, but we must recognize also that it was men preponderantly born in America, who created and established, by their own initiatives a definitive political philosophy and marked the principles which led thirteen English colonies to constitute a union of states as a Federal Republic.

For this they began to gather at the Continental Congress and worked towards their objective determined to succeed. At the same time they had a great feeling of responsibility in the eyes of History and before all nations of the world.

The 2nd of July, 1776, they approved a resolution establishing that:

". . . The United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states . . . and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be totally dissolved."

This resolution entailed, of itself, a definite Declaration of Independence; its transcendency demanded an explanation fully justifying it to the world.

They were going to face the most powerful nation in the world, which exercised its power at that time by the force of its Army and its Fleet. Hence the document stating such a daring decision had to be equal to its enormous responsibility.

In a meeting such as ours, tonight, destined to honor the decision expressed by such a Declaration, on its anniversary day, allow us to quote from its initial words and some of their outstanding pronouncements, in a deserved homage to those who created and approved it:

"When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for a people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station . . . a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation."

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness . . . when a long train of abuses and usurpations pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such governments, and provide new guards for their future security."

After a long and detailed account of the abuses and usurpations by Great Britain, the North American patriots ended their famous document with an Invocation to the Supreme Judge of all Beings and stated:

"That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent states . . . absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain . . . And for the support of this Declaration, with firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

Thus—193 years ago—the political creed which created this great nation, a creed which spread as a noble affirmation of political relief to countries of the Old World as well as the American Continent, was made known;

In England, as expected, the Declaration was severely criticized, but Thomas Paine ardently defended it in London, as he had done in the United States of America. In France De Condorcet praised it saying that it was a brief and sublime exposition of rights "as sacred as they are forgotten"; while Lafayette placed a copy in a prominent place in his home, leaving beside it an empty space to be filled with a similar declaration of rights to be pronounced in his own country.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man which Emmanuel Sieyés drew up and which figured in the preamble to the French Constitution in 1791 gathered together the principles of the North American Declaration of Independence which, fifteen years before, had been recognized and pronounced "urbi et orbi" on the sovereignty of the people, the equality of men and their inalienable right to the enjoyment of liberty.

The great Simón Bolívar, inspired by those documents, launched his great work as Liberator; Antonio Nariño, the great Columbian patriot, thought the best service he could contribute for the liberation of his country was to translate and distribute in Bogotá in 1795 the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which as we all know found one of its sources of inspiration in the American Declaration of Independence.

Our Cuban Apostle of Liberation, our own great José Martí, more than a century after the date we are today commemorating, in an article published in 1884 in "La Nación" the Buenos Aires, Argentina daily, proclaimed: "The Declaration of Independence was the genuine expression of the great spirit which animates the heroes and the spokesmen of Freedom".

For us Cubans—and, of course, for Cuban American Solidarity (Solidaridad Cubano-Americana) the Declaration of Independence is a document much venerated, the stone upon which the Liberty of our America was built; the initial thrust to make it, and may it always be, the Continent of Freedom.

It has been well known to Cuban patriots who since the beginning of the last century nurtured the same ideals of Independence.

It suffices to go back to the Cuban Act of Independence signed by sixteen patriots headed by Carlos Manuel de Cespedes on October 6th 1868 at the "El Rosario" estate, Manzanillo, Oriente Province, in which their agreement is made manifest starting the first Cuban war against Spain—coinciding with the ideology and the form of expression of the American Declaration of Independence, as you may well judge from the following brief and definitive statements:

"In open revolt against the tyranny of Spain we wish to inform the world of the reasons which determine our resolution . . . Spain rules us with blood and iron . . . So we have no other recourse save to take up arms in defence of our rights and to save our honor . . . We appeal to God, who guides our conscience and to the verdicts of all civilized nations. We aim at national sovereignty and universal suffrage. We want to enjoy that freedom for whose enjoyment God made man . . . We want to abolish slavery . . . We desire freedom of assembly, freedom of the press and freedom of conscience . . . respect for the inalienable rights of man . . . shaking off forever the yoke of Spanish rule and constituting ourselves a free and independent nation".

Patriotic documents of similar design follow the initial Cuban Act of Independence and are: the Manifiesto signed by Carlos Manuel de Céspedes as head of the revolutionary action which began on October 10th 1868, the Montecristi Manifiesto signed by José Martí and Máximo Gómez on March 25th 1895, explaining the causes and purposes guiding Cubans in both 1868 and 1895 in military action and exponents of the same

prime mover, the same ideals as the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America.

Such was not a chance coincidence nor due entirely to the geographical proximity of Cuba and the United States. It was the result of political thinking by the best men of both countries. In the course of time their histories made them peoples united by a common bond in yearning for liberty.

What is now transitionally taking place in our country, today enslaved by Russian imperialism and—already evident in America—does not refute our statement: for Cuba is not, nor can she ever be represented by this treacherous, noxious and ignorant mob rule in power today. Cuba besides the well-beloved land of our birth is tradition, religious faith and the patriotic zeal of a noble people now living in subjection but—whether in Cuba or in exile—a people undefeated and awaiting the propitious moment to deliver to our homeland new courage and our own lives, in a holocaust for the freedom and the reconstruction of our Nation.

In an annual act of homage to an event of such great historical importance Cuban-American Solidarity renews our recognition of the people and the authorities of the United States of America, their humanitarian and generous assistance shown all Cubans obliged to flee our distressed country; the reaffirming of our hope for the liberation of Cuba, stimulating Cuban faith in it and thus revitalizing devotion to work for our return; the proclamation of our indestructible ties binding peoples who have marched side by side a long time in their search for the establishment of common ideals, the attainment and enjoyment of liberty, a democratic system of government and respect for the full dignity of man, declaring that Divine Providence is creating in the pages of history circumstances in the lives of men and peoples confirming "the just laws of destiny."

In consequence with these postulates, we are heartened by the fact that Cubans and Americans alike once suffered and shook off the barbarous rigors of colonialism; that on the 11th of April, 1898, the U.S. House of Representatives and the Senate, in support of our War of Independence declared in full solemnity that "Cuba is and by right shall be free and independent"; that on October 3rd 1962 the Congress of this great Country, by a Joint Resolution, proclaimed the decision of the United States "to work for the organization of the American States and Cubans who love freedom in support of the aspirations and self-determination of the Cuban people"; and the now President of the United States, Mr. Richard M. Nixon, has already declared that Cuba is today a conglomerate of poverty, a police state which denies the people their basic rights with Castro converting one of the most prosperous nations of the Hemisphere into a center of economic destruction, having practically delivered his country entirely to foreign communism and made it the focus for outside aggressions, exporting revolution to the Hemisphere. President Nixon has declared that the United States will not accept as permanent the existence of Cuba as a Caribbean colony of Soviet imperialism.

Such renewed statements, recognizing Cuba's basic right of self-determination, are not vain words but firm conviction rooted in the consciences of free men, free people who are determining the future of mankind and they should be an adequate postulate with which to confirm our optimism.

The case of Cuba, urgently in need of a transcendent solution, is a procession which follows its most recent steps towards favorable and prompt decisions.

Following the men of the American Declaration of Independence and the Cuban Act of Independence, we trust in Divine Providence, in that Supreme Being who guides our conscience and sets the course for our lives . . . To those doubting our optimism, to those who deny our Faith or oppose the resurgence of liberty in our Country, we must always answer with the closing words of the National Anthem of the United States of America: Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just and this be our motto "In God Is Our Trust".

WATER POLLUTION ENFORCEMENT MOVE EMPHASIZES NEED FOR SUPPLEMENTARY FINANCING OF SEWAGE TREATMENT WORKS CALLED FOR IN MY BILL

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, the Secretary of Interior has announced vigorous action against large-scale alleged polluters of interstate waters in Kansas, Oklahoma, Ohio, and the Lake Erie Basin.

I believe that this emphasizes once again the need for Congress to take vigorous action to provide supplementary methods of financing the construction of treatment works as set forth in my bills H.R. 12913, H.R. 13358, H.R. 13374, and H.R. 13562, which would make additional funds available if the appropriation for treatment work construction grants does not equal the full authorization and would further encourage the States to contribute to the construction of treatment works. For fiscal year 1970 my bill would make available the difference between appropriation for grants and $1 billion to be used as an additional contract authority for the construction of treatment works. This would make the full $1 billion available for the combined contract and grant program. The enactment of this financing provision into law would certainly help to alleviate some of the conditions leading to the type of pollution against which the Secretary of Interior is acting. The following is the text of Secretary Hickel's communication:

INTERIOR SECRETARY HICKEL MOVES AGAINST SPECIFIC VIOLATORS OF WATER QUALITY STANDARDS

Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel today declared the Government intends to "prosecute those who pollute," as he ordered hearings on charges against a municipality, four steel companies and a mining firm accused of polluting inter-state waters in Kansas, Oklahoma, Ohio and the Lake Erie Basin.

"The people of America have made it abundantly clear that they will no longer tolerate pollution of their environment," the Secretary said.

"This administration believes this is a reasonable demand, and we have a mandate to satisfy it quickly and thoroughly. We will do this through court action if necessary, and through tough, new legislation which we will seek from Congress."

Secretary Hickel directed the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration to schedule hearings September 23 in Joplin, Mo., October 7–8 in Cleveland, Ohio, and October 9 in Toledo, Ohio, to consider evidence gathered by Department of the Interior's Task Force on Pollution Enforcement, which was created by the Secretary in July.

The Joplin hearing will review charges against Eagle-Picher Industries, Inc., a Baxter Springs, Kansas, mining firm that it is violating water quality standards for the Spring River in Kansas and Oklahoma.

The Cleveland and Toledo hearings will review charges of violations by the City of Toledo and Interlake Steel Company, on the Maumee River, and Republic Steel Corp., United States Steel Corp., and Jones and Laughlin Steel Company on the Cuyahoga River.

Both the Maumee and Cuyahoga are tributaries of Lake Erie, "one of the nation's most important bodies of water," Secretary Hickel said, "but one doomed to become a 'dead sea' if immediate and massive steps are not taken to clean it up."

"These will be the first in a series of actions to be taken against firms and municipalities charged with violating applicable water quality standards," the Secretary added.

"This is just a beginning. We intend to continue the identification of polluters all over the nation, followed by the enforcement of schedules for prompt cleanup and pollution elimination."

"Particular attention will be paid in the immediate future," Secretary Hickel said, "to identifying other sources of pollution around the perimeter of Lake Erie."

The Secretary noted that the upcoming hearings will be conducted on an informal, voluntary basis. However, if those found violating water quality standards have not taken steps within 180 days after the hearings to eliminate pollution, the Secretary is empowered to go directly to the Attorney General for the filing of court actions by the U.S. Justice Department.

In a report to Secretary Hickel, Carl L. Klein, Interior's Assistant Secretary for Water Quality and Research, and David D. Dominick, Commissioner of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, produced monitoring data from the Spring River and a tributary Willow Creek, indicating that interstate pollution is occurring as the result of the discharge of excessive concentrations of zinc and iron from Eagle-Picher's Paxson and Swalley mines.

"These pollutants pose a serious threat to the continued domestic uses and the aquatic life of both the river and creek," the Secretary said.

In Cleveland, investigations by the Interior task force indicate excessive discharges of pollutants into the Cuyahoga River by Republic Steel Corp., United States Steel Corp., and Jones and Laughlin Steel Company, with these discharges constituting a violation of the water quality standards for Lake Erie.

The task force also found that inadequately treated wastes discharged by the city of Toledo and Interlake Steel in the Maumee River contribute to Lake Erie pollution.

The September 23 Kansas-Oklahoma hearing will begin at 9:30 a.m. at the Holiday Inn, 2600 Range Line, Joplin. It will be conducted by the FWPCA's chief enforcement officer, Assistant Commissioner Murray Stein.

The Cleveland hearings will be held at the Sheraton-Cleveland Hotel, with Republic Steel officials to testify at 9:30 a.m., October 7; United States Steel at 1:30 p.m. the same day, and Jones-Laughlin at 9:30 a.m., October 8.

Stein will meet with officials of the city of Toledo at 9:30 a.m., October 9, and at 1:30 p.m. with Interlake Steel representatives, with both of those hearings scheduled at Toledo's Commodore Perry Motor Inn, 505 Jefferson Avenue.

CHARLES PALMER, A QUIET LEADER

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, because I know young people like Charlie Palmer, I have great faith in the future of our country.

Last week, Charles Palmer was elected the new president of the National Students Association, a position he will hold at the same time as he enters the Yale Law School. Lawrence Freinberg of the Washington Post was present at the El Paso NSA convention, and I insert his profile of Charlie into the RECORD at this point:

NEW NSA CHIEF SEEN AS FACTIONAL BROKER

(By Lawrence Freinberg)

EL PASO, TEX., August 31.—"I couldn't personally commit violence against any person," said Charles Palmer, the newly elected 22-year-old president of the National Student Association.

"But I will not come out with a blanket statement on what kind of tactics are acceptable for students to use and what are not."

"Actually, for white students," he continued, "I think the tactics that are going to work out best are those which do not alienate people but that does not mean that we'll lie down and play dead. Frankly, even if the leaders advocated lying down, I think students wouldn't allow it."

With these somewhat ambiguous statements and a call for moderates to stay united with the student left, Palmer was swept into NSA's presidency at the group's tempestuous 22d annual convention last week.

Palmer was surprised by his victory. But in retrospect it seemed to be the only logical outcome of the decisions the convention made.

For the NSA meeting, like many of the universities which its delegates attend, was disrupted by a small militant minority—about 30 black students who seized the platform to stop the presidential election.

ARE ACCOMMODATED

NSA responded by accommodation, voting the blacks $50,000 to set up a new student organization of their own. And Palmer, essentially, was a candidate of the accommodation. Neither a left wing militant nor black himself, he "worked well" with both groups.

One friend who knew Palmer well at the University of California at Berkeley, explained, "He was a pragmatist in a radical environment—sort of a broker between the activist and the rest of us."

As student body president at Berkeley, Palmer was not at first involved with the controversial People's Park or in the protest against the withdrawal of academic credit from a course taught by Eldridge Cleaver. But when the causes were beginning to pick up wide backing Palmer stepped into support them.

"Students felt strongly about these issues," he explained. "I felt that if student government was to mean anything, it had to take a leadership role."

Since 1967, when it repudiated its ties with the Central Intelligence Agency, the NSA has been in somewhat the same position. Composed of student government organizations, it has led in none of the movements—anti-militarism, student power, drugs and black power—which have changed the nation's campuses in the past few years.

But the organization, which now has 420 member colleges, has been a crucial means of spreading change. As one of its leaders noted last week, "we've been sort of a transmission belt, carrying things from universities where things happen to places where they haven't yet."

At last week's convention most of the 11,000 delegates, alternates and student observers sounded conservative or at least nonviolently liberal before the disruption by the black militants.

Most of the 200 colleges they represented are small schools or middle-rank state universities. And few have been centers of major protest.

In fact, the only school sending delegates which had been at the center of campus ferment was the University of Wisconsin.

CAME BY HIMSELF

Palmer came by himself, without a delegation from Berkeley. There were no delegates from Harvard, which dropped out of NSA in the spring. Others missing from the convention were Cornell, Howard, San Francisco State, and City College of New York.

On Monday night before the disruption delegates seemed set to choose as NSA president Clinton E. Deveaux, a liberal Negro from New York City who is a conscientious objector to the draft but an articulate opponent of campus violence.

But after the disruption, along with fear and uncertainty, there was also considerable rethinking, and Palmer won the election by a wide margin.

"What happened Monday was an educational experience for many students," Palmer said afterward. "A lot of them were forced to stop and think. I don't believe we were operating under coercion. That's Ronald Reagan's logic. We couldn't react like the university presidents did."

Palmer also takes a tolerant attitude toward the Students For A Democratic Society. Although he is critical of their Marxism and their belief in violence, he said he would "refuse to denounce them."

"They might take a position that is right, and I might support them," Palmer explained.

"Some of my best friends are in SDS," he said, but then he quickly added, "I have friends in fraternities, too."

I have been acquainted with the Palmer family for many years; until they moved a few years ago, Charlie's parents, John and Selma Palmer, were outstanding residents of the El Sereno area of the 29th Congressional District, and I worked closely with them on numerous occasions.

Two summers ago, Charlie was a congressional intern in my Washington office, and I came to know him as a warm, extraordinarily talented, and dedicated young man.

Charlie Palmer is a quiet leader. As student body president at the University of California this past year, Charlie was faced with an almost incredible series of entanglements. Yet, not only was he able to bring a calming influence into the turmoil, but, in addition, Charlie was a major factor in uniting and coalescing the divers factions at the Berkeley campus in a force moving for positive change.

Now, as Charlie Palmer moves on to law school at Yale, and as he assumes the NSA leadership, I would like to offer my good wishes and congratulations to this outstanding young leader. It is because of young men such as Charlie Palmer that I retain optimism for our future.

BARRATT O'HARA, A COURAGEOUS LEADER

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, my former colleague, Barratt O'Hara, was a brave and brilliant man. In his earlier career—as a writer, soldier, lawyer, film executive and radio commentator—Barratt O'Hara displayed the same courage and intelligence that he later brought to Capitol Hill. I had the privilege to know him and to serve with him. Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD. I can think of no eulogy more fitting than this glowing tribute to Barratt O'Hara which recently appeared in the Washington Post:

EX-CONGRESSMAN O'HARA DIES AT 87

Former Rep. Barratt O'Hara (D-Ill.), dean of the House of Representatives until he lost his bid in June, 1968, died yesterday at Georgetown University Hospital.

Mr. O'Hara, first elected to Congress at the age of 66 in 1948, was turned down last year by Illinois Democratic slatemakers despite his plea for "just one more term." Instead, the party backed Rep. Abner J. Mikva in the Second Congressional District primary. Mr. O'Hara, who had beaten Rep. Mikva in 1966 for the nomination, lost the primary by 13,000 votes.

He was a champion of liberal causes and the emergence of new African nations. He was chairman of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Africa at the time of his defeat.

A small man with a full mane of white hair, he padded quietly around the Capitol grounds to the nearby Congressional Hotel, where he lived alone, until he was admitted to Georgetown Hospital on July 13 suffering from congestive heart failure. The immediate cause of death has not yet been determined.

He was the last congressional veteran of the Spanish-American War and he always spoke of it on the anniversary of the sinking of the *Maine* that set off the war.

In 1895, at 13, Mr. O'Hara went to Nicaragua with his father and accompanied an expedition marking the route of a proposed canal. A Panama route was chosen later.

At 15 he ran away from home to enlist in the 33d Michigan Brigade, which followed Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders as the second American force into Cuba. He became chief scout for the brigade and was awarded the Order of Military Merit by Cuba.

He attended the University of Missouri, became sports editor of the St. Louis Chronicle at 20, then moved to Chicago where he was sports editor of the American and later Sunday editor of the Examiner.

He went to law school, edited and published "Chicago Magazine", wrote a history of boxing "From Figg to Johnson" and at 30 became the youngest lieutenant governor in Illinois history. In this job he attracted attention with his investigation of substandard wages being paid women. A brief stint as president of a Hollywood movie company followed, then Army service in World War I, and finally law practice.

"I always wanted to be a lawyer," said Mr. O'Hara later. "There just were some detours."

As defense attorney, he tried nearly 300 homicide cases and won acquittals for more than 90 per cent of his clients. None was executed.

PRAISED BY DARROW

He was a man of great physical and moral courage. The legendary trial lawyer, Clarence Darrow, was quoted as saying, "I am envious of only one thing in the world—I wish I had Barratt O'Hara's courage."

During the depression, Mr. O'Hara did a daily radio commentary trying to help people. Once he announced that if a woman about to be evicted would meet him at a certain place he would try to help, and 20,000 people showed up, equally in need of help.

Elected to the House in 1948, he was defeated for reelection, but came back in 1952 and stayed, through the 89th Congress. Unlike many older members who prefer to sit back and listen and then vote no, Mr. O'Hara had a zest for debate and new ideas.

Once, when past 80, he leaped up so fast to answer a young speaker that he tripped over a colleague's feet and gashed his head. He was back next day with a bandage.

Mr. O'Hara was very proud of the fact that for years he had not missed a roll-call vote. His record was broken when he left town for a day when he understood there were to be no roll calls.

There was a roll call, but somehow his name appeared as being present. Rather than keep his record that way, Mr. O'Hara missed the next roll call on purpose. He missed more in 1965 when he was a member of the United States delegation to the United Nations General Assembly.

Mr. O'Hara is survived by three sons, Barratt Jr., and Lorence, both of Chicago, and Howard, of Guam, and three grandchildren. His wife, Florence, died in 1948.

A. M. CAUSEY, SPANISH WAR VETERAN NEARS 99

HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, today I include in the RECORD for perusal by the Members the account of remembrances of A. M. Causey, one of the oldest Spanish-American War veterans in Kentucky and in the United States.

Mr. Causey, who will be 99 years old this fall, presently lives in Bowling Green, Ky. He has contributed many years to public service; and a record of such service to one's country is greatly admired and serves as an example to be followed by all. Mr. Causey's life truly portrays the spirit which has preserved our country.

The article follows:

OLDEST SPANISH WAR VETERAN NEARING 99—MEMORIAL DAY BRINGS MEMORIES TO A. M. CAUSEY OF WAR 71 YEARS AGO

(By Larry Wilkerson)

A. M. Causey sat in the kitchen of his Tenth Street home today and talked about the pleasant May weather outside as he prepared to attend Memorial Day ceremonies at the Davis-Hoffman Cemetery to honor the nation's war dead.

As he talked, his voice trailed off, he slowly bowed his head, and behind the dimming eyes, the memory of the sight and sound and smell of war in a foreign land raced through his mind like a movie seen long ago and nearly forgotten.

Causey, born Oct. 5, 1870 while wounds of a war that had split his country in half were slowly healing, is the oldest living veteran of the Spanish-American War, and the affairs of the world around him mean just as much to him now as they did over 70 years ago when he went to war.

Though his hearing is bad and a hip fracture several years ago prompts him to use a wheel chair in the house, Causey's mind is as alert as ever, and his opinions are as sharp as his tongue can be when he voices them.

He recalls the spring of 1898 vividly. In February of that year, tension was growing taut between the United States and Spain over disagreements in Cuba. On Feb. 15, the battleship Maine was blown up while on a goodwill tour to Cuba. American losses were 264 men and two officers. The explosion helped light the fuse that would explode in April, when the war was declared and President McKinley called for 400,000 volunteers to go to Cuba.

A. M. Causey was one of more than a million patriots who volunteered.

"When McKinley called, 458,157 men were put in uniform, every one of them volunteers," Causey recollects, "it was the only 100 percent volunteer army in all history."

As a member of the Third Kentucky Volunteer Infantry, Causey disembarked at Matanzas, Cuba, to begin living through nearly 13 months of that singular plague that has followed mankind since time began—war.

As an infantryman, Causey's job was to fight. He keeps no flags or medals or decorations or other mementos of the Spanish-American encounter on display in his home.

"I commanded a high position as a private," he chucked.

When the war ended, Causey returned to Bowling Green to attend the Business University and then managed the Western Union Office here for over 50 years. He retired, and went to work as proprietor of the Federal Collection Agency, which he ran until he turned 95 in 1965.

Though A. M. Causey had made his mark as a soldier and a businessman, he never sat down to rest.

His son, Dr. Kenneth Causey, recalls a tennis match with his dad on Causey's 75th birthday.

As he has aged, he has grown, perhaps, more active. Now closer to 99 than 98, Causey attends Sunday School every Sunday, Rotary every Wednesday and Senior Citizens every Thursday.

"In April of this year, I had 41 years perfect attendance at Rotary," Causey notes, the pride in his voice undisguised.

Regular attendance at meetings and a refusal to sit down and be still, however, aren't what makes Causey something of a legend in his own time.

Causey reads anything he can find to read. "I read all the time," he admits. On his kitchen table are copies of the Daily News, the Courier-Journal, Reader's Digest, National Geographic and Human Events, a Washington publication.

He frequently voices his opinions on current events in the letters to the editor columns of newspapers and, if he feels strongly about something, he'll write to the man responsible, as he did to Charles De Gaulle of France when De Gaulle ordered the withdrawal of NATO forces from France two years ago.

"I got a letter from him and a copy of a speech," Causey said.

Causey says he is "very dissatisfied" with America today.

"About two per cent of this country's young people are causing all the trouble today," he said, "and they should be punished for violating any laws that we have."

However, Causey says he thinks the trouble on campus and the "youth rebellion" are "at a peak."

"Law and order will eventually come back," he said.

Causey has his opinions on the Vietnam war and is not ambiguous in voicing them: "I think there's been no real effort to win that war. War should have been declared. The harbor of Haiphong should have been blockaded and Communist supplies stopped . . . if that had been done, the war would have been over in a few months."

If he were to be labeled by one of the two popular descriptions of those who express an opinion on Vietnam, Causey would be a hawk, who remembers declared wars and all-out fighting and victory.

"In World Wars I and II, the civilian population was given little consideration . . . no instruction has been given to destroy the cities of North Vietnam."

Commenting on the country's leadership since Vietnam has been a major issue, Causey said of former president Lyndon Johnson, "He was an honest man—but he was badly advised by Communist sympathizers in the state and other departments."

The life-long Republican, whose father voted for Abraham Lincoln, has quick praise for President Richard Nixon: "He's making the grandest president we've ever had, up to now," points out Causey, who has lived under the administrations of 18 presidents.

In spite of campus unrest, and undeclared war that still drags on, the generation gap, high taxes and inflation, Causey is not giving up on America.

"We've got the grandest country on the face of the earth," he said.

Causey was asked if he felt the country was worth fighting for as much as it ever was.

"Yes," he said, as the clock chimed, reminding him of his planned trip to the memorial services, "I really do."

The veteran paused and frowned slightly, as if he had almost forgotten what he was going to say.

"Freedom," he remembered, as the final chime rang out.

SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF NEW YORK OPINION POLL

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, this year, as in the past, I have undertaken to poll my constituents on a number of issues vital to our great country on the national and international level. The questions, necessarily, were limited in number, and for the greatest accuracy in tabulation this year, the poll was electronically computed. I am pleased to report to the House the results of this questionnaire in which over 16,000 residents of New York's Second Congressional District expressed their opinion. Thousands of those responding wrote excellent letters with interesting comments and suggestions on the questionnaire and its issues, and on a wide variety of other matters of mutual concern.

Generally, my constituents applaud this effort to communicate with them. Some criticize it constructively, and only a few thought it of little value. In my experience, Mr. Speaker, perhaps the most important byproduct of such an opinion poll is its prompting a dialog and exchange of views between me, as the Representative, and thousands of citizens whom I represent. I am sure the question card also gave rise to serious and perhaps controversial discussion of its critical issues in many more than the 16,000 homes which returned a card to

me for tabulation. This is a healthy happening for our democratic process.

I shall not at this point, Mr. Speaker, try to interpret the overtones or meanings of the varying percentages in the results of the poll, but will rather leave it in its objectively computerized form for the further comment and interest of my alert and enlightened constituency.

The results are as follows:

OPINION POLL FROM SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

1. Do you favor legislation limiting the number and type of questions to be asked in taking the 1970 census?

Yes	59.6
No	26.3
Undecided	10.0
No Response	4.1

2. Do you favor lowering the voting age to 18?

Yes	31.4
No	62.8
Undecided	2.0
No Response	3.8

3. Do you favor renewal of the 10 percent tax surcharge—viewing the economy as it is today?

Yes	35.0
No	54.6
Undecided	5.9
No Response	4.5

4. Do you believe the Federal Government should guarantee an annual income to heads of families, whether or not they are working?

Yes	11.9
No	79.5
Undecided	4.7
No Response	3.9

5. Do you support the proposal to convert the Post Office Department into a government-owned corporation?

Yes	57.3
No	21.4
Undecided	16.4
No Response	4.9

6. Do you favor expulsion of students who violently disrupt the academic life of colleges and universities?

Yes	88.8
No	6.0
Undecided	1.5
No Response	3.7

7. Regarding the method by which we elect our President and Vice President should the electoral college system be (A) abolished in favor of a direct popular vote, (B) modified, (C) kept the way it is?

A	64.9
B	21.1
C	9.5
No Response	4.5

8. Should the Paris Peace Conference not produce meaningful peace negotiations, would you favor (A) resuming and intensifying full scale air attacks on North Vietnam, (B) increasing the U.S. commitment to insure military victory in South Vietnam, (C) gradually decreasing U.S. troops and shifting responsibility to South Vietnamese forces, (D) immediate withdrawal, (E) none of the foregoing answers reflect my views, (F) undecided.

A	18.4
B	7.4
C	51.4
D	13.5
E	3.2
F	3.3
No Response	2.7

9. Regarding America's missile defense, should the Congress (A) authorize President Nixon's "Safeguard" plan to build Anti-Ballistic Missiles (ABM) protecting offensive missile sites and command centers, (B) authorize a "thin" ABM system to protect certain cities and missile sites, (C) authorize a "thick" ABM system protecting all vital targets, (D) oppose deployment of any ABM system, (E) undecided?

A	37.9
B	6.7
C	14.7
D	19.9
E	17.2
No Response	3.5

10. Which one of the following factors do you consider to be contributing the most to the increase in crime, and is most seriously hampering adequate crime control (A) widespread use of drugs and narcotics, (B) flood of pornographic material, violence and obscenity in the entertainment media, (C) failure of the courts to deal promptly and toughly with criminals, (D) ready availability of firearms to everybody, (E) inadequacy or inefficiency of police forces, (F) none of the foregoing answers reflects my views.

A	13.2
B	3.6
C	64.4
D	3.0
E	3.0
F	9.3
No response	3.4

WHAT IT TAKES TO RUN THE WESTERN WHITE HOUSE

HON. BILL NICHOLS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, some of my constituents have written to me expressing their disapproval of the use of the western White House by President Nixon. Certainly no one would begrudge the President a vacation, especially with the tremendous burden he has on him. However, I believe that some of the criticism might be warranted, particularly since the President asked for and Congress passed a continuation of the 10 percent surtax. Taxpayers find it difficult to understand why the Government needed more money to operate, then find the President spending several thousand dollars a day to operate the executive branch of Government on the west coast.

Even though the cost of operating the White House here in Washington has been reduced for the summer, there are still many duplicated costs. Among these are the tremendous costs involved in setting up duplicate communications systems in California, and the constant travel between Washington and California by Government officials.

At a time when Americans are being asked to pull in their belts, it seems that the President might take the lead in reducing costs instead of increasing them. I would hope that President Nixon might give this matter serious consideration before making another wholesale move in the future.

My constituents have called to my attention the following article concerning the costs of the western White House which appeared in the September 1 issue of U.S. News & World Report:

WHAT IT TAKES TO RUN THE WESTERN WHITE HOUSE

SAN CLEMENTE, CALIF.—Something new in presidential operations is in full swing here—a working White House 2,500 miles from the nation's capital, involving transcontinental movement of a substantial part of the top echelon of the U.S. Government.

Almost all Presidents have had vacation retreats—such as Lyndon Johnson's LBJ Ranch in Texas, John Kennedy's compound on Cape Cod, Dwight Eisenhower's villa at Palm Desert, Harry Truman's bungalow at the Key West naval station, Franklin Roosevelt's cottage at Warm Springs. These were essentially rest-and-recreation quarters. But the Western White House here at San Clemente is different—a business headquarters with all the personnel and panoply a Chief Executive requires.

President Nixon's August stay at the Western White House on the shore of the Pacific is geared to a plan that necessitates the presence of some of his Cabinet members and much of the White House staff. Besides those housed in this area, many other officials and aides are flying in and out, using a "jet shuttle" service of Government planes as well as regular commercial airliners.

PROBLEM IN LOGISTICS

The White House routine here in California, as in Washington, includes Cabinet sessions, meetings of the National Security Council, the Council for Urban Affairs and other key groups in the executive branch. Day-to-day activities call for personal appearances by batteries of experts in every field of government. It is a massive problem in logistics.

At a time of almost explosive discontent among voters about tax burdens and government spending generally, people are asking about costs of the West Coast White House which the President plans to use six to eight weeks a year—what it all means to taxpayers.

Ronald Ziegler, White House press secretary, says that "the total cost would be difficult to figure" because so many budgets are affected. Among agencies from which support funds are drawn are the White House itself, the State, Defense and Treasury Departments, the General Services Administration, the Department of Transportation, the Department of Justice and the National Park Service.

In the past, according to Administration sources, the "rule of thumb" was that a presidential vacation cost the taxpayers about $10,000 a day, including per diem expenses and transportation for aides but not such items as the extra buildings being used at San Clemente and the communications facilities installed here.

EVEN THE "HOT LINE"

One Government source said that "the total cost of operating the Western White House will run into the millions." He cited communications expenses, which are "running into the hundreds of thousands of dollars." Some 900 telephone circuits have been installed in the complex of executive offices newly erected on the grounds of the Coast Guard station that adjoins Mr. Nixon's $340,000 mansion. The "hot line" to Moscow was one of the facilities installed.

The office complex itself is to cost the Government about $130,000 a year. It will be partially staffed even when Mr. Nixon is not in residence.

According to Mr. Ziegler, about 100 persons are on hand on a full-time basis. Another official said, however, that "at least 300" are involved "in one way or another" in supporting the summer White House. This figure includes not only office aides but air-

craft pilots and maintenance men, chauffeurs for the fleet of White House cars driven to the West Coast, and 75 Secret Service men.

Per diem allowance for most of those performing routine work is $12 a day plus housing. In this area, even at "special rates," hotel rooms come to upward of $25 a day.

EXPENSIVE FOR AIDES

Houses have been leased by a number of Mr. Nixon's top associates, including Secretary of State William Rogers, Attorney General John Mitchell, and Henry Kissinger, the President's special assistant for national security affairs.

Mr. Ziegler says that "a great portion of the cost" of leasing the houses is being paid by the officials themselves. A "slight adjustment" has been approved by the President for those who are here for the full month's stay.

A San Clemente real estate man says that Secretary Rogers is paying $1,000 for a one-month lease on a three-bedroom home. Other houses leased by Government executives rent for from $800 to $1,500 a month—the latter being the rate for dwellings comparable to the ocean-front home, with swimming pool, occupied by Dr. Kissinger.

A comment from the real estate man:

"We've got places for $500 a month. They are cute little houses, but the Government people don't like that kind. I guess they need plenty of room for entertaining."

Air transportation back and forth across the continent is a big item of expense. Some officials use the White House "courier planes"—Lockheed Jetstars—which make at least three round trips a week between Washington and San Clemente. Operating costs—exclusive of crew salaries and maintenance—are $7,500 a week for these planes. When any of the three White House Boeing 707 jet transports are used the round-trip tab to the Government is $8,000 per plane.

Many presidential visitors use commercial air service. For example, in mid-August, six newly appointed U.S. ambassadors and five members of the Advisory Council on Executive Organization flew by commercial jetliners from various points for meetings with Mr. Nixon. First-class air travel is customary in such cases.

Wives of Cabinet officers are to accompany their husbands to San Clemente for a post-Labor Day visit.

Budgets of news media, as well as the Government, feel the effects of the Western White House operation. For instance, cost of the chartered airplane used by 55 newsmen and photographers for the round trip, coast to coast, is $25,000. Side trips will add $20,000 to the charter bill. Newsmen report that their expenses aside from transportation average $500 a week per individual.

In Washington, some agencies are complaining about funds being drained from their coffers by the President's stay in California.

An example given by one Government official was the state dinner in Los Angeles at which the President honored the moon-voyaging astronauts. Most of the expense of that dinner—estimated at $75,000—was assigned to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. In addition, NASA underwrote bills totaling about $25,000 for air-ferrying legislators and space-agency officials from Washington and Houston to Los Angeles for the dinner.

"If that event had been held in Washington," said one disgruntled bureaucrat, "it would have cost only a fraction of what the taxpayers are having to pay."

Foreign diplomats invited to Los Angeles for the salute to the astronauts paid their own way—and some were reported to be resentful at having to spend as much as $1,500 each for air fare, hotel bills and incidentals.

The State Department defrayed expenses for the 250-plate dinner given at the St. Francis Hotel in San Francisco on August 21 by the President and Mrs. Nixon for South Korean President Park Chung Hee.

"That one would have cost a lot less in Washington, too," a Government official commented. "For one thing, such dinners at the Washington White House are attended by only about 100 guests, not 250."

Besides his salary of $200,000 a year, an expense allowance of $50,000 and a travel allowance of $40,000, Mr. Nixon has at his disposal a special-projects fund of 1.5 million dollars.

But officials say that the West Coast activities are putting no strain on White House funds because so many of the costs are "farmed out" to other areas of the Government.

MORE EFFICIENT THIS WAY

The rationale for the Western White House was described by Mr. Ziegler:

"By this particular setup, we have been able to co-ordinate everything, keep everything together, and we feel that the whole operation will be more efficient and effective this way."

Other members of the White House staff point out that the San Clemente enterprise did not involve any such expensive improvement as the fully equipped jet runway which was built on the LBJ Ranch.

One Government official observed that, while the costs of running the Western White House are high, "it's cheaper for the taxpayers to pay for a President's working vacation than for round-the-world presidential diplomacy." This official estimated the tab for Mr. Nixon's recent global trip at between 5 million and 10 million dollars.

Historically, Presidents have been eager to get away from Washington. Mr. Nixon now has three change-of-scene possibilities—Camp David, his winter home at Key Biscayne and San Clemente, which he, himself, has designated the "Western White House."

THE SOVIET OCCUPATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HON. CHARLES S. JOELSON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. JOELSON. Mr. Speaker, all of my colleagues will recall the events of August 21, 1968, when Czechoslovakia was occupied by forces of the Soviet Union. Americans of Slovak and Czech descent feel that the first anniversary of this occupation should not go by unrecorded. I, therefore, insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a story published in the Morning Call of Paterson, N.J., on August 2, 1969, expressing the feelings of those who want their kin in Czechoslovakia to lead tranquil, happy, and useful lives. The article, written by Tony Suchon, follows:

CZECHS RALLY IN NEW YORK

(By Tony Suchon)

NEW YORK.—Czechs and Slovaks from Passaic and Bergen counties plan to demonstrate unity with the freedom-fighters of their native land.

On the first anniversary of the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, Aug. 21, they will join others from the metropolitan area in a rally at the Soviet Union offices in New York.

Throughout Czechoslovakia that day in a "Day of Shame", underground leaders plan a mass boycott of public services to honor their countrymen killed opposing the occupation.

John C. Sciranka, press director of the Slovak Catholic Federation of America, said last night the New York rally is not aimed at provoking the Russians.

"We want to let the world know that American Czechs and Slovaks haven't forgotten the people in their homeland," he said.

"There is a certain tension among the people that the Russians may surprise them with the use of force," he said, "and the Aug. 21 memorial is drawing much interest from both sides."

Sciranka said some of the leaders fear that veteran Stalinists may try to start a clash between the troops and the underground on that day.

According to reports from inside Czechoslovakia and from Americans who have visited, the "liberal" communism supported by former Communist party secretary Alexander Dubcek is a reality, Sciranka said.

Dubcek's plans to bring "socialism with a human face" to the country were thought to be smashed with the occupation.

But Sciranka said all those who return from Czechoslovakia have nothing but praise for Dubcek and the reforms he started.

Dubcek stepped down from his job last April to become chairman of the Czech Parliament. He said he decided to give his post to Gustav Husak, a more conservative Communist, as an appeasement to party leaders.

Sciranka said Dubcek intends to continue his struggle for political and economic reforms in Czechoslovakia even though his action program cost him his post.

Despite the occupation, Sciranka said the predominantly Catholic population of Czechoslovakia is free to worship. Many have gone to Rome where Pope Paul VI has assured them of his interest in their nation and its struggle.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROGRAM FOR THE OEO

HON. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to comment on the President's message of August 11 in which he discussed the reorganization and reorientation of OEO under its new Director, our ex-colleague, Don Rumsfeld.

I believe the President's program for OEO is precisely on target.

It makes sense to use the OEO as the special research and development arm of the Government's social action programs. It likewise makes sense to divide the management responsibilities, separating the thinkers and innovators from the program managers.

The cycle in this incubator agency will flow from a research stage to a testing stage, where the merit of an idea or concept can be discovered without developing a full program. If ideas prove to be worthwhile, they can be put into a program that can be perfected, and, at the proper time, could be transferred to another Government agency or private group. This will keep the research element where it will be most effective in developing new ways to help the Nation's poor.

It is particularly impressive that the President and Director Rumsfeld have concluded that the OEO should concentrate on the causes rather than the symptoms of the inequality of economic

opportunity, that bold experimentation will be continued, creative risks taken and the agency's management streamlined to set up a variety of demonstration projects, carefully test their effectiveness, and systematically assess the results.

Those charged with conceiving and testing an experimental social concept will not be hampered by having to operate a conglomerate of new and old programs at the same time.

The Office of Operations will provide greater field and technical support to Community Action Agencies, and we should see a greatly improved field operation as a result. And I am delighted to learn that grants by the OEO have been getting and will continue to get a more careful review before this new organization commits its tax dollars.

Altogether the reorganization seems to be entirely a positive move. As the President has suggested, the OEO must martial the most creative minds in the country. In Don Rumsfeld he has already succeeded in obtaining one of the most creative Members of Congress, and I think under his leadership we can look forward to participation with OEO of every segment of American private enterprise and government. All of the specific changes in OEO, announced by the President, were constructive; all of them lend hope that we can indeed solve some of the most pressing problems which have ever faced any nation.

ORANGE COUNTY, CALIF.

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the RECORD a series of four brief articles which appeared in the Santa Ana, Calif., Register, commencing August 4.

Orange County, Calif., has been the subject of many attacks by the liberal press, and surely we in Orange County are entitled to a rebuttal. This rebuttal will be found in the following series of articles, written by Archie Shamblin:

OC NO LONGER A STANDOUT: CONSERVATISM SWEEPS UNITED STATES

(By Archie Shamblin)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Election victories by "conservative" candidates from California to New York has sparked a national interest in conservatism. In Orange County, where conservatism has been almost a way of life for many years, things are the same—yet are changing. The following is the first in a series of four articles examining conservatism in Orange County.)

A historically conservative Orange County can look on the symptoms of growing conservatism across the United States with a certain amount of satisfaction and, perhaps, a bit of amusement.

For years this county has beer subjected to ridicule from the national communications media for its "covered wagon" politics.

Orange Countians were depicted as "John Birchers" and "reactionary nuts" because of their politically conservative attitudes.

But a funny thing happened on the way to the polls.

Conservatives are thumping liberals from California to New York and everyone is talking about the "conservative wave" sweeping the nation.

The so-called "experts" sagely classify these voting patterns as a surge in conservative attitudes caused by the instability of the times.

When Orange Countians were voting conservative in years gone by, the experts weren't so generous.

A typical reference to Orange County was the comment several years ago by a syndicated columnist who called it, "The land of smudge pots and John Birchers."

And, just before last fall's election, Fortune magazine ran an extensive article on the county, calling it a "stronghold of far-out conservative thought and action—the place one immediately thinks of on hearing the phrase 'Nut Country'."

The magazine said, "Orange County is said to be where little old men in tennis shoes fulminate against the Supreme Court, the United Nations and the disappearance of God from the public schools."

To cap off their observations, the magazine repeated the tired prediction about conservatism folding its tent and stealing away:

"The strength of conservatism in Orange County is gradually being diluted by the forces of growth and change."

A month after that article appeared, U.S. Rep. James Utt of Tustin, Orange County's most conservative legislator, pulled three times as many votes as his nearest competitor to win his ninth trip to Washington.

And county Republican voters—most of whom are considered conservative—cast more than twice as many votes as did the Democrats.

The margin of GOP ballots over the Democrats was the greatest ever.

The swinging of the pendulum across the nation toward conservatism provides the majority to say "I told you so" to the critics of the past who have been predicting for years that progress would move the county away from conservatism.

Not only has the county moved even more solidly into the conservative camp, but now it appears voters across the nation are finding out what residents here have been espousing for years.

It is beginning to look like Orange County was ahead of its time, instead of living in the past.

This parallels the thoughts on conservatism—expressed by one of Orange County's best known conservatives, Walter Knott, owner of Knott's Berry Farm.

"We think the conservative is the most progressive person of any along the political spectrum," Knott said. "He believes in the idea that people can govern themselves, which was a progressive experiment when this country was formed and is still a progressive experiment.

"A conservative believes there is much good in the past that must be conserved, and that he must use this good to lay a foundation for a solid future.

"A conservative believes the best government is the least government and that what can be done at the local level should be done there.

"And I think the nation is coming around to our way of thinking," he said.

But the nation, if it really is moving toward conservatism, is moving slowly and only after many years of plodding in the other direction.

Orange County, over the years, has stuck out like a sore thumb in its adherence to the principles of conservatism.

The reasons for this almost dogmatic resistance to the flow of national politics and in the face of a constant stream of ridicule are not clear.

Years ago, when the county was basically rural in nature, it was said that residents here were conservative because they were resisting change.

But the county exploded in riotous growth in the 1950s and for years has been the fastest growing county in the nation.

Now there are about 1.4 million persons in the county, a major metropolitan area.

In political attitudes, however, the story is the same—conservatism prevails.

A current edition of Newsweek magazine contains an article written by internationally known political writer Stewart Alsop who talks about "the Orange County Bug" sweeping the nation.

Alsop, a noted liberal, simplifies "the Bug" into terms of "white racism."

That analysis, of course, displays a total ignorance of the complexities of Orange County conservatism.

HOME OWNERSHIP CALLED KEY TO OC CONSERVATION

"People come to Orange County and buy a home. They then have a little piece of America and begin to think a lot differently about their government."

This assessment of conservatism in Orange County, provided by Walter Knott, is one of myriad answers to the question of why this area has long been one of the most politically conservative in the nation.

Knott, owner and operator of Knott's Berry Farm here since 1920, and a leader in conservative politics, offers the high rate of home ownership as part of the answer.

"When the great population increase hit Orange County 10 to 15 years ago, so many people moved in who had traditionally voted liberal and Democrat that for a time, the registration changed until there were more registered Democrats than Republicans.

"As these people bought homes and became landowners (capitalists), they became more conservative and changed their registration," he said.

Knott listed several other factors including the presence of newspapers with editorial policies leaning away from liberal politics.

"Orange County has had newspapers whose editorial policy has been conservative. Even though most of them would not endorse candidates or openly take political sides, they did endorse conservative economics year in and year out."

Politicians polled on the question, both Democrat and Republican, generally went along with Knott's answers.

U.S. Rep. Richard Hanna, one of only two Democrat legislators from Orange County at present, had three reasons for conservatism in the county.

"Perhaps some of the reasons for Orange County's over-all voting conservatively would include (1) registration figures, (2) the large base of private home ownership and, (3) perhaps most importantly, the conservatively oriented mass media."

Hanna, whose home base is the northern and western parts of Orange County, added that the western portion of the county "has demonstrated moderation in its voting habits."

Assemblyman Robert Badham feels the economics of Orange County is the prime factor in the voting patterns of its residents.

"The suburban aspect of the growth of Orange County gives rise to light industrial, research and development, and a highly sophisticated defense industry.

"This lends itself to habitation by people of greater than average wealth and income who generally tend to vote more conservatively to conserve their resources.

"And I believe the great natural beauty of the coastline here attracts persons who can afford the high cost of living along the water front. These people, also, vote more conservatively.

"All in all, I would say because of young, affluent, suburbanite executives and the older agriculturists that the county will con-

tinue in more conservative patterns" Badham said.

Sen. John Schmitz, former college political science teacher and a member of the John Birch Society, lists conservative newspapers, the type of people attracted to Orange County, and a favorable environment for the continuing strength of conservatism here.

He said the "consistently pro-freedom editorial position" of The Register and other newspapers in Orange County is "the primary explanation."

Schmitz, who has been elected twice to the state Senate despite public pronouncements on his membership in the Birch Society, also attributes conservatism here to the type of person who would move to Orange County.

"A majority of all residents move to Orange County from elsewhere in the nation to work, not to retire or go on welfare.

"The population is young and ambitious. The type of person that would leave his native state and come here seeking a better way of life during his productive years is the type of person who will be least interested in government as the father-image and nursemaid, and most attracted to laissez-faire concepts."

Schmitz said conservatism in this county has now reached the point where it has picked up its own momentum and will continue to grow.

Sen. Schmitz also touches on a factor that hasn't been explored to any extent by the oldline Orange County conservatives.

While the county has not shifted away from conservatism, it has changed somewhat in the type of conservatism that is now most popular here.

The days of the fiery Communist-hunting conservative are fading, to be replaced by a newer, younger conservative who is more fearful of Social Security than communism.

The new conservative lays the problems of today not as the tomb of Joseph Stalin, but at the fireside of Franklin Roosevelt.

He is a staunch opponent of Communist collectivism, but he sees that threat as remote. More pressing in his mind is the threat of indoctrination of the young in the tax-supported system and court decisions that "coddle criminals."

And, most important, he sees the spread of government power into the home, his job and the future of his children, as a threat to his basic freedoms.

ORANGE COUNTY CONSERVATISM SHOWS SPLIT PERSONALITY

Orange County conservatism has developed a case of split personality over the last two or three years.

Old-line conservatives are still the official leaders of the Republican party in the county.

They control the purse strings, run the county machinery and generally decide who is going where on the political highway.

But the new conservatives are reaching ever deeper into the fountainhead of political power and promise eventually to be the face this county turns to the world.

The philosophies of the "old" and the "new" are parallel in many ways, just as an offspring resembles his parent. But there are some major—and growing—differences between the two.

The older conservative in Orange County views international events as a battle between communism and capitalism. At home, the struggle is against taxes, socialists and immorality.

Young conservatives have more complex views, and they let the world know about them in fresh, strident voices.

Dana Rohrabacher, head of the county Young Americans for Freedom, is typical of the new conservative.

Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) was formed several years ago and had a tradition of being the kiddie corps for the John Birch Society.

Not anymore. At least, not in Orange County.

Rohrabacher launched the Orange County group in January with 20 members. He now claims more than 300 members with the number going up every day.

"We are conservatives, but not the traditional conservative," Rohrabacher said. "Our thing isn't Communists, although we are diametrically opposed to communism.

"Our thing is a free market, free people and a free country. We don't come on strong against ideas or philosophies. It's easy to be against everything.

"We take the positive approach, stressing what we favor. Instead of censuring opposing philosophies, we hit them with a better idea."

That "better idea" is liberty and freedom—especially economic freedom. The YAF members here wear a medallion around their necks bearing the words, "Sons of Liberty."

"We are for a free market, the rights of private property and freedom from force, threats of force and coercion of any kind," Rohrabacher said.

"But most of all, we favor the freedom of the individual. Anything the individual wants to do should be allowed as long as he isn't hurting someone else."

Rohrabacher said his organization fills a large void among younger people who don't like the standard conservative's tendency to dictate morals and the standard liberal's desire to bring government into every facet of their lives.

"We had a young man come into the organization recently who was an avowed Democrat. He was a guitar player and had found out that his freedom to make a living in music was regulated by the unions and the coercive force of union leaders.

"Needless to say, he was ripe for an organization that stood for his right to play his guitar whenever and wherever he wanted for whatever amount of money he was worth."

Rohrabacher, who said his group considers itself "libertarian," is also against a number of things.

"We are against taxation of any kind. We are against the draft because it is not in the tradition of our country to force an individual into circumstances he does not want. And we are against public schools because they use force to get students to attend and they use force to get their financing."

Rohrabacher said the state should sell the University of California system and the state college system and use the money for low interest loans to students who can't afford to pay tuition to private schools.

"You can bet that would bring an end to campus violence," he said. "Private owners of colleges don't have to put up with what taxpayers do."

Rohrabacher said the biggest problem of his sprouting young organization is getting operating funds.

"The old established conservative organizations control the funds so we are on our own. Right now we are trying to get out of our small office in Seal Beach and get a larger place in the central part of the county to take care of our growth. It's going to take money to do this."

Rohrabacher and his group probably speak the language of most of Orange County's young conservatives.

And, with the average age in the county dropping from 31.7 to 25.5 since 1950, the number of persons in the "young conservative" bracket probably is larger than those who still subscribe to the old line.

The bulk of the conservatives, however, are those whose political activity begins and ends in the voting booth. And most of these probably fit somewhere between the old and the new conservative.

Typical of this conservative is the young Garden Grove man who was interviewed on his political philosophy.

"You might call my philosophy a selfish one," the 30-year-old office worker said.

"I feel I have certain capabilities that will make me and my family well off some day. The biggest roadblock I can see is the federal government. It takes my money and passes laws that makes it useless for a young man to work hard and excel. It wants to equalize me. I don't want to be equal. I want to be better."

And another young man from Santa Ana said he is conservative simply because he wants to be left alone.

"It's a matter of personal freedom with me," he said. "Government nowadays pokes its long nose into my life and it just plain irritates hell out of me.

"So I do what I can to support conservative candidates who stand for a little less government and a little more individual."

CONSERVATIVES VENT WRATH ON STATE, FEDERAL AGENCIES

There are those who suggest the Indians who occupied the territory of Orange County before the Spaniards probably were conservatives.

Jesting or not, it is true that the county has been counted in the conservative camp for as long as most people can remember.

Criticism of "big government" and "creeping socialism" has been way of life for a great many native Orange Countians.

Strangely, however, the wrath of the conservative here has been directed almost exclusively at state and national governmental agencies while local government seems to be nearly immune to the criticism.

City and county governments have grown and prospered as well in this county as in other areas.

There has been scattered opposition to this growth, but conservatives never have mounted a solid front against local government as they have against the federal government.

Taxing and spending, the absolute gauge on growth of government, goes on in city halls, school districts and the county seat here with unstinted monotony.

However, comparative figures show Orange County cities, and the county government, spend less than governments in other counties.

Among the cities here, Garden Grove spending habits would seem most to represent a conservative government. It spent $60.61 per capita on city government in the 1967–68 fiscal year.

Santa Ana spent $87.45 and Anaheim $109.88. The state average for that year was $111.01 for the 20 largest cities.

The county government, during the same year, spent $104 for each citizen in the county. San Bernardino spent $101 and Los Angeles $142.

The spending levels of local government in Orange County were among the lowest in the state, but if there were a scale to compare political attitudes with actual spending, conservatives here would be made to look like all talk and no action.

Walter Knott, one of Orange County's leading conservatives, said he has no explanation for this curious pattern in the county.

"I would suspect that most of our politically active conservatives concentrate their energies on electing candidates to state and national offices," he said.

Knott also said that conservatives are strongly in favor of local government over regional or national government and may tend to forgive some extravagances in the name of local control.

There are some situations locally, however, where conservative philosophy has been a dominating factor.

Students for Democratic Society have found the ground in Orange County none too fertile. They have established chapters at the

two four-year colleges in the county, but have been rejected at most of the junior colleges.

And the prime target of conservatives—federal aid—met with almost immovable resistance here until the last few years when the dam was broken by the so-called war on poverty.

Now the conservatives are focused on the "law and order" theme which apparently is the prime factor in the swing toward conservatism around the country.

It is a natural rallying point for conservatives who are strong on constitutional law and who find their opponents in the fracas to be their familiar old foe—the liberals.

But this time the conservatives have an issue the nonpolitical public can be caught up in and it appears considerable political hay is being made.

Not only are conservative candidates finding a receptive public, but liberals are suffering from a growing stigma that may prove disastrous.

And the conservatives have been capitalizing on the swing in sentiment brought about by the "law and order" theme to sell other aspects of their philosophy previously ignored by much of the public.

In the same breath they are talking to the public about such old standbys as the "welfare state" and "liberal courts" that "coddle and encourage" the lazy and the criminal.

The success of this new crusade by conservatives is vouched for by recent elections in Los Angeles, New York and other metropolitan areas where the more conservative candidates have knocked off formidable opponents.

Whether this new conservative strength is part of a major change in the country or just a passing whim remains to be seen.

But Orange County conservatives can take heart that their revered ideology may take hold outside the county.

ROCKY MARCIANO

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I want to take a moment to pay tribute to one of the greatest sportsmen who ever lived. Rocky Marciano, the undefeated heavyweight champion of the world, is dead and the sports world is greatly diminished by his passing.

They held a funeral service in Brockton, Mass., today and many were there, the famous and the unknown. Celebrities from all walks of life came because they had gotten to know Marciano after he became that most unique of sports heroes, the heavyweight champion. And they found after meeting him that he was more than just a sports hero. He was warm and likable and it was good to be with him.

The others came because they knew Rocky way back in the days when his name was Marchegiano. They knew the family and they knew the young kid who, without ever learning to be a stylist, fought his way on sheer guts, raw power, and stamina into the single top position in the boxing world.

I was very fortunate in counting Rocky as one of my good friends. When the news of his death came I thought immediately of a day, just a couple of years ago, when Rocky was at my home in Pittsfield for dinner following his appearance at a communion breakfast. My late mother, who loved to cook big meals, was made a Marciano fan for life because Rocky ate everything on the table.

Rocky flew out to Pittsfield that day to address the breakfast because he had promised a friend he would. Later, he hopped in a small plane and flew back to Boston to take part in a testimonial for another friend. That was the way he was. Friendships meant a lot to Rocky Marciano.

"The Brockton Strongman" was a magnificent fighter, a warm and modest man, and a great example for our youth. I join with the millions throughout the world who mourn the death of such a fine man.

MORE SPEED ON AUTO POLLUTION

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, this week we will be extending for 1 year the authority of section 104 of the Clean Air Act which relates to research and development in the prevention of air pollution resulting from the combustion of fuels. It is this program that has the responsibility for finding the formula which will relieve our cities of that strangulating pollution caused by auto emissions.

The work done under this section, as well as the total Clean Air Act, will be very important in providing a healthy environment for the decades to come and for succeeding generations. I support this program and I support the intentions of H.R. 12085 which will give this administration greater flexibility in conducting its research programs.

But, I think that this opportunity should be used by the Congress to stress the urgency of the auto pollution problem and the need for dramatic change, indeed even if necessary, the abolition of the air polluting internal combustion engine. Today, the automobile is responsible for dumping more than 90 million tons of pollutants into the atmosphere each year, more than twice as much as any other single pollutant. The automobile accounts for 91 percent of all carbon monoxide, 63 percent of the unburned hydrocarbons, and 48 percent of the oxides of nitrogen emitted from all sources.

Los Angeles County, most notorious for its pollution problems, in January 1967 found 25 million pounds of contaminents in its atmosphere, 85 percent of which was caused by auto emissions. And in 1 year doctors in that city advised 10,000 persons to move away because their lives would otherwise be jeopardized by the exhaust emissions of the 3.5 million automobiles.

One cannot overrate the problem that exists and the forecasts for the next decade. The President last week in one of his most unimaginative statements to date set 1990 as the target date for a low pollution vehicle. We cannot wait until 1990. Indeed there are experts in this field who predict that by 1990 pollution in some cities will be so heavy that they will be uninhabitable.

I urge the National Pollution Control Administration to act now and with far greater speed and commitment than has been evidenced in pursuing its program for finding better internal combustion control devices and in the development of unconventional engines and that it not approach the problem as though it had until 1990.

Surely, if our country can engineer its way to the moon and back, we should be able to devise ways to measurably reduce auto pollution.

Detroit has been very reluctant to pursue the development of other than gasoline engines—such as steam or electrically driven systems. But, it is in these unconventional engines that the greatest hope for pollution free, or low pollution vehicles, lies. And while understandably there are some who wonder how steam engines compare in providing the power of conventional gasoline powered vehicles, prototype tests actually show that these unconventional engines can deliver twice the power of conventional engines.

Detroit has also been reluctant to pursue the development of more customary automotive air pollution control devices. While spending over a billion dollars for model changes, this industry spends but a mere million dollars for pollution control. And, now there is a civil case filed by the Justice Department against the Automobile Manufacturers Association and its principal members for a 15-year conspiracy to suppress research, development and application of automotive air pollution control devices.

Today I am joining with 18 other Congressmen in sending a letter to Attorney General John Mitchell urging that a full trial be pursued in this matter so that the facts on pollution might be made public and further so that if the auto industry is indeed guilty of such reprehensible collusion, running contrary to the public's good health, it should be held responsible just like any other law violator.

A LANDMARK IN SCHOOL RACIAL INTEGRATION: BERKELEY, CALIF.

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, as the 1969–70 school year begins, we are reminded of both the successes and the failures in implementing school integration.

I have noted in the news media in the past few weeks that many of the school districts in this country, both North and South, have delayed or refused to implement court-ordered integration plans. These districts continually raise the ob-

jection that not enough time has been allowed to carry out these plans for racially balanced schools.

For the information of my colleagues, I wish to insert in the RECORD a study written by Mike M. Milstein and Dean E. Hoch. Mr. Milstein is assistant professor of education at the State University of New York at Buffalo, and Mr. Hoch is a doctoral student in the School of Education at the University of California at Berkeley.

This study clearly shows that integration can, and does, provide quality education for all students and can be gained with a degree of cooperation and educational statesmanship.

The Berkeley experience should be an example to all the many who have blocked the opportunity for many of our young citizens to enjoy the education which is rightfully theirs.

At this point I would like to have this study placed in the RECORD:

A LANDMARK IN SCHOOL RACIAL INTEGRATION: BERKELEY, CALIF.

(By Mike M. Milstein and Dean E. Hoch*)

This is a rare success story, but it reports no miracles. Vision, planning, hard work, and educational statesmanship were the essential ingredients.

After an agonizing period of educational decision making, a new era has begun in Berkeley, California. With the integration of its elementary schools in the fall of 1968, Berkeley became the first city with a population of 100,000 or more to integrate its public schools fully from kindergarten through high school. The U.S. Commissioner of Education wired Neil V. Sullivan, superintendent of the Berkeley Public Schools (who has since become Commissioner of Education in Massachusetts), saying, "You have struck a blow for justice that will have an impact far beyond the limits of Berkeley." Other school districts across the country have experimented with integration, but never before has a major community assured *that all schools will approximate the racial composition of the total school student body.*

In the short span of one decade the Berkeley district has changed from one which could be characterized as tranquil and nonprogressive to one which is capturing educational headlines because of its exciting innovativeness. Between 1958 and 1968 the district was shaken by the battle waged between pro- and anti-integration community groups. It has emerged from this conflict as a leader among school districts pursuing integration.

Tremendous pressure has been mobilized to achieve integration across the nation. Such demands have often been challenged by school boards and community leaders who have not been particularly sympathetic. Such was the case in Berkeley. Certainly the Berkeley school integration story holds meaning for other communities struggling to establish peaceful school integration. The extensive integration program in Berkeley is the product of much the same kind of controversy, debate, and study being carried on by both citizens and educators in many other districts today.

NAACP DEMAND, SCHOOL RESPONSE

As with most major public policy modifications, school integration is the result of specific demands for action. This happened in Berkeley in January, 1958, when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Berkeley branch, told the Berkeley Board of Education that ". . . the racially separated schools in the Negro community run the risk, because of peculiar problems of cultural or educational unreadiness, of being considered inferior." The NAACP petitioned the board for action in the predominantly Negro schools, which, it said, were characterized by a "high degree of transiency, cultural unreadiness, latent prejudice, teacher inadequacies, and disciplinary problems." [1]

This first thrust for change, culminating in the NAACP demand, led to a board-appointed study committee of 14 lay persons which became known, after its chairman, as the Staats Committee. The board charged the Staats Committee with studying in-service programs dealing with minority groups and with exploring possible avenues of cooperation in racial relations among school, home, and community. In October, 1959, the Staats Committee reported that school segregation closely followed housing patterns; curriculum was uniform in the schools, but grouping patterns tended to segregate Negroes academically *within* the schools; the curriculum did not cover minority contributions adequately; the level of performance of minority groups in the elementary grades was not as high as it should have been; and, finally, these matters were not being discussed freely. The committee recommended that inter-school projects, including exchange visits, should be initiated, counselors should not arbitrarily place lower socioeconomic children in "job orientation" tracks, and school-community relations should be improved.[2] Although the committee did not recommend racial integration, it should be remembered that this first agonizing look at the problem opened the door to further and more ambitious proposals. However small this achievement may now look, it was much more than the neighboring Oakland School system was doing. At that time Oakland did not even admit it had a segregation problem.

CHANGING OF THE GUARD

The incumbent superintendent, hoping to end his career in relative tranquility and sensing the vastly changing environment surrounding his school system, announced his retirement at the time work of the Staats Committee was getting under way. The first notion of the board, composed of four "conservatives" and one "liberal," was to choose a successor from top aides within the district. Members of the central staff expressed concern that these candidates were members of the incumbent superintendent's "establishment" and resistant to *any* change. The need to retain staff cooperation led the board to seek an outside compromise candidate.

Demands by minority group representatives—first the NAACP and later the Congress for Racial Equality—and the appointment of an outsider as superintendent (C. H. Wennerberg, who was lured away from a white middle-class Southern California school district) were followed by a regular school board election. Reflecting the changing political climate of the community, a second liberal was elected. Soon after, one of the three conservatives resigned. Unable to agree on an appointment, the split board left the choice of a replacement to the community at the next regular election. Another liberal (a Negro) was elected; for the first time, liberals held a majority on the board.

With the changing of the guard, school officials began to modify procedures to reflect community demands. Personnel policy was re-examined so that hiring and placing of personnel would be decided strictly on merit. As a result, the number of Negro professional personnel in the district rose by three percent (from 7.3 percent of the total in 1960 and 10.3 percent in 1963).[3] But until a new director of personnel was appointed there was little effort to place Negro teachers in other than ghetto schools. Voluntary groups of teachers formed to discuss the Staats Report, seek alternatives, and make the curriculum more relevant to minority groups. Several educational enrichment programs were initiated and community relations efforts became more sophisticated and effective. The board and the administration began to adopt the philosophy that an informed citizenry is essential if there is to be sympathetic understanding of educational problems.

In short, approaches to "the problem" were multiple—aimed at school-community relations, personnel policy, in-service training, educational programs, counseling, and other pertinent areas. In the relatively short period of four years, the school system was opening up and accepting the challenge of meeting the needs of the changing school population. Both the community and the school system were actively working toward providing a better education for *all* students.

CORE AND INTEGRATION

On May 1, 1962, the Berkeley chapter of CORE, stating that "segregated education in any form—black, white, or yellow—is educationally undesirable," challenged the board to "formulate and put into operation a program for elimination of de facto segregation." [4] The board responded by appointing a racially mixed study group which became known as the Hadsell Committee after its chairman, John Hadsell. A year and a half later this committee presented its findings and recommendations. Where the Staats Committee worked around the edges of the segregation issue, the Hadsell Committee met it head on, stating that "recognition of basic human rights and dignity is the solution to the problems of discrimination." [5]

The committee found that all of Berkeley's 14 elementary schools were de facto segregated, and that only one of three junior highs and the single high school approximated the racial composition of the district's total student body. Even in the one racially balanced junior high, most Negro students were segregated in the lower academic tracks and in the high school, largely due to previous segregation, Caucasian and Negro students practiced self-segregation. Linking segregated education and achievement, the committee noted that intelligence scores among minority group students were underestimations of their true intelligence.[6] The committee found achievement differentials to be greater than ability differentials. Most important, children of equal ability were not learning language skills as well in largely Negro-populated schools as they were in predominantly Caucasian schools.

The Hadsell Committee's recommendations went well beyond those of the Staats Committee. The committee recommended 1) elementary school integration, either through redistricting, limited open enrollment, or through the "sister school concept" of Caucasian and Negro elementary schools working together; and 2) integration of the junior high schools through redistricting or limited open enrollment.[7] The report was widely distributed and discussed at PTA and other civic group meetings. Two public hearings, one drawing more than 2,000 people, were held. Finding wide community support, the board asked the administration to study the report and develop alternative means of achieving integration.

OPERATIONALIZING THE OBJECTIVE

An increasingly vocal minority group leadership and a changing school board were solid indications that environmental conditions surrounding the system were changing. How was this new environmental posture to be fed back into the system itself? How were the backers of integration to gain or-

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ganizational commitment to an innovation of such magnitude? First Wennerberg, and later Sullivan, employed a variety of means to achieve the ambitious objective of complete school racial integration:

Task Groups. The first effort was to form district-wide task groups to come up with proposals for implementing integration plans. Involved teachers and administrators who provided needed detailed planning felt themselves a part of the process. Membership on the task groups was broad enough to include negative critics of integration so that a necessary sounding board might be provided *before* innovations were implemented.

One of the task groups came up with the Ramsey Plan (named after the teacher who originally developed it) to achieve integration in the junior highs. Before integration only one junior high school approximated the racial composition of the total school population (54 percent Caucasian, 37.3 percent Negro, and 8.7 percent Oriental and "other").[8] The other two were largely de facto segregated. The Ramsey Plan as adopted and instituted by the board led to the housing of all seventh- and eighth-graders in two junior highs. All ninth-graders were housed at the third junior high. Attendance boundaries were altered to achieve a racial balance in the two seventh- and eighth-grade schools. Teachers were asked where they would prefer to teach and, in almost all cases, were given their first choice. Counselors were transferred with their counselees to lend a degree continuity to student programs.

The board accepted the Ramsey Plan but completely rejected another task group recommendation for elementary integration. This proposal, based on the Princeton Plan, would have necessitated the busing of approximately 50 percent of the district's primary and elementary pupils. The board felt that this was more than the community was ready or willing to accept. In our opinion this was a politically astute move, for it allowed the community to become accustomed to integration in a smaller but still meaningful dose, preparing parents for an effective and complete integration only four years later.

Finances. Backing up its commitment with dollars, the board allocated $200,000 in the first fiscal year of the integration plan for projects which "compensate for gaps in experiences and skills which some children bring to school."[9] Further monies were received from state programs earmarked for compensatory education and from the federally funded Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

Inter-group. With the help of university advisors, a district-wide group of teachers, labeled Inter-group, was organized to hold workshops, carry on group discussions, and study such things as Negro life, Negro history, and minority coverage in textbooks. Much learning takes place within the group, but more important, the feedback into the schools where open debate has become a reality has been an important factor in staff acceptance of integration and compensatory education programs. Inter-group, which has now become a permanent department called the Office of Human Relations, has grown from 15 voluntary school personnel in 1960 to 300 active participants this year. Spreading the value of the group beyond the school staff, it is now admitting members of the community.

Gaining Staff Commitment. At the classroom level, it is necessary to make teachers feel that the community supports the change. Parents were urged to come to the schools to discuss the issues. Community meetings were consciously pursued and parents were urged to play teaching roles in pre-school programs and as teacher aides. The result has been that many formerly critical parents are now supportive, and teachers feel they are not "fighting a losing battle."

Those administrators who were obstructionists or who refused to participate in the process had to be side-stepped or removed. As they were isolated and identified they were transferred to positions where they would be rendered harmless, encouraged to retire, or helped to find positions in other systems. An immediate result has been a boost in morale for staff members who are committed to racial integration in the schools.

To orient other administrators and minimize indirect methods of communications, several university personnel were employed to lead a group of administrators in sensitivity training (T-grouping). Some members of this group emerged as key participants who were "able to get things done" in the school district. Settling problems instead of imbedding them in an area as touchy as racial relations is critical.

MEETING COMMUNITY RESISTANCE

After the Board of Education voted to put the Ramsey Plan into effect in the fall of 1964, the opponents of integration organized as the Parents Association for Neighborhood Schools (PANS) and demanded removal of the board members who favored the plan. Supporters of integration formed the Berkeley Friends of Better Schools to counteract PANS. A moment of truth had been reached. The ensuing recall election was to indicate whether the schools would be allowed to move ahead with integration.

The result was an overwhelming vote of confidence for school integration. Incumbents who stayed to face the recall election retained their seats on the board by three-to-two victory margins. This election, which saw one of the largest voter turnouts in any Berkeley School Board election, was taken as the final signal for the board to move ahead with its integration plans. There were other positive indications of acceptance of integration in the schools. These included a reduced rate of teacher turnover, an increased student enrollment, and the passage of a tax election at a time when similar tax elections were failing across the nation.

ENTER SUPERINTENDENT SULLIVAN

In the fall of 1963, as final plans were being drawn up to institute the long-awaited integration program, Superintendent Wennerberg, deciding to concentrate on full-time graduate studies, tendered his resignation effective at the end of the school year. Wennerberg was an in-fighter, bloodied in battle. With his resignation, a new superintendent would be able to take advantage of the gains without having to contend with all of the accompanying animosities that developed in the war on segregation. The board set out to replace Wennerberg with a man who was known to be sympathetic to racial integration in the schools.

In the midst of the recall election, Neil Sullivan accepted the superintendency. His professional experience included chief educational administrator roles in suburban New York and New Hampshire communities. He was John F. Kennedy's hand-picked head of the "Free Schools" of Prince Edward County, Virginia. His commitment to integration and his aim to make Berkeley schools "worthy of imitation" buoyed the hopes of Board of Education supporters.

At Sullivan's request, the board established a 138-member School Master Plan Committee, two-thirds of whom were lay citizens, to study and make recommendations concerning the educational program. The committee presented a comprehensive report which urged immediate "racial and socioeconomic integration of students in Berkeley schools."[10] With this report as a guideline, the district was off and running towards the completion of its integration program.

The first major step was a pilot test run under the district's ESEA Title I program. In the spring of 1966, 250 students from the predominantly Negro South and West Berkeley elementary schools were bused to the predominantly Caucasian schools in the northeastern part of the city. The operation, which proved effective despite alarmist forebodings by critics, was well received by participating students and families of both races. Racial barriers were reduced as students became acquainted with each other, but most important, Sullivan contends that "the pilot integration program involving the busing of 250 Negro children to predominantly Caucasian schools . . . demonstrated that integration causes the achievement of Negro pupils to rise without causing any corresponding decline in the achievement of white pupils."[11]

These positive indicators, combined with extensive pressure from the Negro community and many teachers, convinced the board that the time to complete its integration program had arrived. Therefore, it unanimously adopted a resolution to have the administration present plans which would permit desegregation of all elementary schools by September, 1968. Sullivan, in turn, encouraged his administrators and teachers to submit ideas on how to best integrate the schools.

Two task groups were formed. One concentrated on the instructional component of integration to assure that increased achievement would be possible, while the other developed the organizational structure necessary for implementation of the desegregation plans. A lay Citizen Advisory and Review Committee was also formed to review the superintendent's recommendations.

Desegregation proposals were reviewed for feasibility in terms of the following criteria: (1) provision of racial balance in all elementary schools based upon actual school-wide racial enrollment percentages; (2) minimum school plant conversion costs; (3) equitable participation of children from all parts of the city in any necessary busing; (4) a minimum number of school changes in a child's career; and (5) acceptability to the community.[12]

From the proposals presented, the board selected a K–3, 4–6 plan. The plan requires all grades K–3 children to attend schools in predominantly white neighborhoods and all grades 4–6 children to attend schools in predominantly Negro neighborhoods. This two-way busing, unique for an urban area of this size, is almost identical with the original staff-proposed elementary integration plan of 1964. It requires the transportation of 3,400 students but provides a fair racial, socioeconomic, and achievement balance.

This momentous decision has made Berkeley (a community with a significant Negro minority) the first United States city of 100,000 or more population to achieve *total school desegregation.*

Sullivan has said, "We are not simply moving children's bodies. Every classroom will be integrated, racially and socioeconomically. Quality education will be maintained . . . Equally important, we will be changing attitudes, thereby preventing the growth of prejudice in the young."[13]

INTEGRATION ISSUES

Two major concerns articulated by integration opponents dealt with the safety of busing and the effects of integration on the quality of education in the schools. The concern over busing was reduced when the administration went to the community with evidence that pointed out that "the safest time in a child's school day is while riding in a school bus."[14]

The issue of quality education was, and is, a very real concern. Many feel that although integration might cause the achievement of Negro pupils to rise, it could well

Footnotes at end of article.

produce conditions detrimental to white student achievement. The few studies carried out in this area indicate that minority students tend to achieve at higher levels when racial mixing takes place, and even more important, that Caucasian student-achievement does not suffer. The administration publicized the much discussed Coleman Report, which concluded that ". . . if a white pupil from a home that is strongly and effectively supportive of eduction is put in a school where most pupils do not come from such homes, his achievement will be little different than if he were in a school composed of others like himself. But if a minority pupil from a home without much educational strength is put with schoolmates with strong educational backgrounds, his achievement is likely to increase." [15]

The administration claims that student achievement will not be endangered in Berkeley. In support of this objective, lower pupil-teacher ratios, special education programs, and an excellent elementary library program have been established. Many teacher aides and volunteer lay assistants have been employed. As a check on achievement, the board has asked the University of California to evaluate the results of its integration activities. Baseline data gathered before school closed in June, 1968, compared with data to be gathered at later dates will permit analysis of changes in individual student achievement, behavior, and attitudes.

IN CLOSING

The Berkeley integration success story is complex. Clearly, concomitant circumstances such as the civil rights movement and the growing liberalism of the Berkeley community have had an impact. The board, which has undergone a drastic reorganization, and the leadership catalyst supplied by Wennerberg and Sullivan were invaluable components. Together, the vast web of interrelationships involving many internal and external forces acted upon the schools to make them susceptible to change.

One can find comparable processes at work in other urban communities as demands for a more equitable distribution of students and resources increase. These communities are beginning to turn away board members who are unwilling or unable to meet the challenge. The same may happen to administrators who refuse to move with the times.

Whether one is talking about Berkeley, Buffalo, or Boston, the problem is there and must be dealt with. A new element, the changing racial composition of the schools, is knocking at the doors. Responses to the problem must transcend education to include other problem areas such as housing and employment, but the schools may well be an excellent place to begin. Realistically, school boards and educational administrators no longer have the luxury of deferring the problem.

FOOTNOTES

*Mr. Milstein (907, SUNY Buffalo Chapter) is assistant professor of education, State University of New York at Buffalo. Mr. Hoch (2283, University of California, Berkeley, Chapter) is a doctoral student in the School of Education, University of California, Berkeley.

[1] Report to the Board of Education by an Advisory Committee of Citizens, "Interracial Problems and Their Effect on Education in the Public Schools of Berkeley, California." October 19, 1959, pp. 18–19.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 12–17.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[4] CORE, "Presentation to the Berkeley Board of Education on De Facto Segregated Schools," May 1, 1962, p. 4.

[5] Report of a Citizens Committee, "De Facto Segregation in the Berkeley Public Schools," Fall, 1963, p. 1.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[9] Superintendent's Report, "Desegregation of the Berkeley Schools" (Appendix to the Reports), May, 1964, p. 39.

[10] Report of the Berkeley School Master Plan Committee. Board of Education: Berkeley, California, October, 1967, Vol. 1, p. ii-6.

[11] Berkeley Unified School District, news release, January 17, 1968. (Article concerning Board of Education decision on desegregation.)

[12] "Integrated Quality Education, a Study of Educational Parks and Other Alternatives for Urban Needs," ESEA Act 1965, Title III, Berkeley Unified School District (July, 1968), p. 12.

[13] Berkeley Unified School District, news release, January 17, 1968.

[14] Report of the Superintendent to the Berkeley Board of Education, "Integration, a Plan for Berkeley," October 3, 1967, p. 25. (From a report by the State Department of Education to the California State Board of Education.)

[15] James S. Coleman *et al.*, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966, p. 22.

INFORMATION, THE TAX LAW, AND THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, the legislation recently passed by the House to revise the tax law has caused considerable discussion because of possible effects on advice and information for the Congress. I am concerned that we not lose the valuable inputs which have come to us from professional technical societies.

Mr. Thomas C. Jorling, who is presently on the staff of the Senate Public Works Committee, has written a well researched article for the April 1969 issue of the Oregon Law Review. I commend it to the attention of the House and Senate as we continue to examine the possible effects of this legislation. I insert the article, "Information, the Tax Law, and the Legislative Process," in the RECORD at this point:

INFORMATION, THE TAX LAW, AND THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

(By Thomas C. Jorling*)

INTRODUCTION

It is essential that legislators have access to the most complete and efficient flow of relevant information possible.[1] This article represents a limited analysis of the flow of information from the citizenry, personal and corporate, in the legislative process. From the standpoint of the potential conveyor of such information, one crucial factor in the conveyance is the expense involved, and one factor directly influencing expense is the applicability of the federal income tax law. Consequently, the discussion herein will be limited to the effect of the federal income tax law on the flow of certain information in the legislative process.

THE PROBLEM

As indicated by a recent Internal Revenue Service letter to the Sierra Club,[2] the current tax law grants no special tax treatment to certain nonprofit citizens, or citizen groups, who advocate, oppose, or otherwise participate in the legislative process in a meaningful way; in fact, it can be argued that the tax law affirmatively limits such participation.[3] This conclusion is based on the following analysis of the interrelationships and effects of various sections of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

Section 170(c)(2) of the Code defines (for purposes relevant to this discussion) a charitable contribution entitling a donating individual or corporation to a deduction, as a contribution or gift to a corporation, trust, community chest, fund or foundation organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes, for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, and no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation.[4]

Section 501(c) of the code provides that certain forms of organization are exempt from taxation; for purposes of this article, subsections 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) are important. Subsection 501(c)(3) is closely related to section 170(c)(2) in both its language and operation.[5] For the class of organizations for which section 170(c)(2) allows a donor to take a deduction in the amount of his gift, section 501(c)(3) grants exempt status. Thus, if an individual or a corporation makes a gift to an organization meeting the standards of section 501(c)(3), such individual or corporation is entitled to a deduction under section 170(c)(2). Prior to the recent Internal Revenue Service action this represented the Sierra Club's status; the Club was exempt under section 501(c)(3) and a donor could take a deduction under section 170(c)(2). The effect of the Internal Revenue Service action was to remove the Club's section 501(c)(3) status, and, therefore, deny a deduction to those making donations. It should be pointed out that this action did not necessarily remove the exempt status of the Club as it can still qualify for such status under section 501(c)(4), which provides an exemption for organizations not organized for profit but operated exclusively for the promotion of social welfare. However, it should be emphasized, section 501(c)(4) status alone does not enable a donor to take a charitable deduction for a contribution to such organizations.

The Sierra Club represents only one of a large number of nonprofit organizations extant in this country which generally have as their central objective the conservation of some aspect of the natural environment.[6] These organizations cover a broad spectrum of interests ranging from very specific to very broad, all sharing a common fundamental interest in conservation and the environment of man. When we examined this in the context of the income tax law's influence on the legislative process, however, it is important to look beyond organizations of this type and determine if, and what, other organizations are similarly affected by the law and thereby possibly precluded from meaningful participation in the legislative process.

Organizations such as the American Academy for the Advancement of Science, the Ecological Society of America, the American Zoological Society, the American Academy for Political and Social Science, and many other scientific, academic, or professional organizations, whose members constitute some of the most knowledgeable people in our society in areas which relate directly to the commonweal, should actively participate in the legislative process.[7] The information and the opinions of these types of organizations, and their members, should be made available in the same fashion as is the information and opinions of other groups in our society.[8] This would represent politics in a truly noble form. Our future can tolerate nothing less.

This leads, then, to a second consideration: the comparison of the involvement

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in legislative activities by nonprofit organizations concerned generally with science, the arts and letters, and the environment of man with similar involvement by organizations of private enterprise. In 1962 Congress amended Internal Revenue Code of 1954, section 162 (regarding trade or business expenses) to allow an income tax deduction for any expense by an individual or corporation which is incurred in carrying on any trade or business in direct connection with legislation or proposed legislation of direct interest to the taxpayer and any expense in direct connection with communication of information between the taxpayer and an organization of which he is a member with respect to legislation or proposed legislation of direct interest to the taxpayer; the amendment further provided that the taxpayer may deduct that portion of dues paid to any organization which can be attributed to lobbying activities of interest to the taxpayer's trade or business carried on by such organization.[9] Regulations promulgated pursuant to this amended section establish a test to determine whether legislation or proposed legislation will, or may reasonably be expected to, directly affect the trade or business of the taxpayer. Whether the legislative effect will be beneficial or detrimental to the trade or business is immaterial.[10] In addition to the direct interest limitation, section 162(e)(2) further limits the section 162(a) expense deduction to exclude any expenses for participation in, or intervention in, any political campaign on behalf of a candidate for public office, or any expense resulting from any attempt to influence the general public, or segment thereof, with respect to legislative matters, elections, or referendums. Even with such limitations, section 162(e) provides, as intended, a clear tax stimulus for private industrial organizations to expend funds in support of, or in opposition to, legislation affecting their trade or business, and to take a deduction for such expenses.[11]

Furthermore, it appears that a group of like-minded private enterprise organizations could establish a nonprofit corporation to conduct lobbying activities in support of their interests, make deductible contributions to it, cause the corporation to achieve exempt status under section 501(c)(6) as a Business League, and thereby further concentrate their lobbying power.

A hypothetical legislative proposal will serve to illustrate the relative lobbying strengths which can be brought to bear in support of divergent interests. Assume there is proposed legislation to support the research and development of a certain instrument of technology which will have undetermined effects on some aspect of man's habitation—for instance, a supersonic transport. In support of this proposal the aviation industry, including manufacturers, carriers, and related businesses, could wield great influence in support of such proposals and deduct all expenses which could meet the broad direct interest test of Treas. Reg. sec. 1.162-20(c)(2)(ii)(*b*)(*1*)(*i*). On the other hand, if there were some feeling among certain scientific, academic, or general public interest groups or individuals that certain aspects of the technology to be supported by legislation represented a possible threat to the public welfare, such groups would be hard put to marshal support and advance their cause in the legislative process. Any substantial effort to influence the legislation could cause an interested nonprofit organization to lose its section 501(c)(3) status and possibly jeopardize its very existence through consequent loss of contributions. Thus, most groups would refrain from becoming involved in the legislative process, no matter how deep the conviction.[12] Consequently, the present tax law contributes to a great disparity of power between opposing interests relating to legislation. Whether the instrument is a supersonic transport, a superhighway, a sea-level canal, an electronic device, pollution, or a dam, the result is the same. Even more compelling is the fact that the legislature has acted with incomplete evidence before it. In view of the exponential rate of scientific and technological growth, it is essential that this deficiency be remedied as soon as possible.

Other examples abound. There is being advanced a proposal to create a new national park in the northern reaches of the Cascade Mountains in the State of Washington. This area is at present a National Forest. Under the mining laws applicable to the National Forests, the Kennecott Copper Company has acquired mineral rights for certain lands included within the proposed park.[13] Such rights could, of course, be affected by the establishment of a National Park. In support of its position opposing the proposed National Park, the Company and, indeed, the copper industry in general can spend great sums of money in attempting to influence congressional disposition of proposed legislation and, at the same time, be afforded a tax deduction for such expenditures under section 162(e). On the other hand, a citizen or organization advocating the park for the sake of general social or conservation interests could not take a deduction for expenses incurred in attempting to influence the form of legislation. More importantly, an organization representing many interested and concerned individuals could not act significantly to influence legislation and maintain its section 501(c)(3) status. Thus, concerned individuals who form many nonprofit interest groups are effectively precluded, or at least greatly restricted, from engaging in the legislative process. The result often is that these citizens and organizations are not involved in the legislative process to the extent they should be, or to the exent required by Congress if it is to make balanced and well-informed judgments.

When the disparate financial capacity typically existing between industrial corporations and interested citizens and citizens groups is added to this inequitable tax situation, the disparity in lobbying strength becomes even greater. Although the disparity in financial capacity will remain, the inequity in the tax law should be remedied.

A PROPOSAL

With this background, it is now possible to take the further step of offering recommendations. Underlying these recommendations is the belief that citizens, corporate and personal, who sponsor the advancement of science, social welfare, and other nonprofit causes should be accorded equal treatment with citizens who are engaged in trade or business under the tax law which effectively regulates involvement in the legislative process. It is essential that those who believe that a technological development might in some manner be harmful to the social welfare should have equal opportunity under the tax law to voice their concerns to the legislature. This is not to say all conservation, scientific, or other similar groups are without bias on all issues. What it does say is that they should have equal ability under the law to present their views. Nor is this meant to suggest that nonprofit organizations should be able to retain section 501(c)(3) status, lobby, and, without restriction, advocate to the general public their views on legislation. Such a situation would tilt the scale of lobbying power in favor of the nonprofit interest. What is desired is simply the achievement of balance in the flow of information reaching the legislature.

Consequently, in addition to making applicable, ipso facto, the limitations of the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act, the suggested amendment to the Internal Revenue Code advocated below would also adopt the limitation of section 162(e)(2) and thus deny section 501(c)(3) status to any nonprofit organization which participates in any campaign for political office or which attempts to influence the general public with respect to legislative matters.

Specifically, it is recommended that section 501(c)(3)[14] be amended by deleting the clause beginning "no part of the net earnings" to the end of the subsection and substituting therefor the following:

". . ., including appearances before, submission of statements to, or sending communications to, the committees, or individual members, of Congress or of any legislative body of a State, a possession of the United States, or a political subdivision of any of the foregoing with respect to legislation or proposed legislation of direct interest to the organization; no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual; no part of the activities of which is participating in, or intervening in, any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office, or in connection with any attempt to influence the general public or segments thereof, with respect to legislative matters, elections, or referendums."

Section 170(c)(2)(D)[15] should be amended by deleting the present paragraph (D) and substituting therefor limitations similar to those found in section 162(e)(2). Thus, section 170(c)(2)(D) would read as follows:

". . . no part of the activities of which is participating in, or intervening in, any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office or in connection with any attempt to influence the general public or segments thereof, with respect to legislative matters, elections, or referendums."

This amendment would place nonprofit organizations and trade or business organizations on an equal footing before the federal income tax law. However, there remain apparent distinctions and, of course, the practical effect of the proposed amendment to be considered.

The provision allowing business to deduct expenses for conducting activities supporting or opposing legislation of "direct interest"[16] is not immediately appropriate to limit many nonprofit organizations. The question will arise: What is of direct interest to the Ecological Society of America, the American Institute of Biological Sciences, the Conservation Foundation, the Sierra Club, etc.? It is clear the criteria used to determine direct interest for a trade or business are not suitable for a determination of direct interest to such groups. Consequently, a new set of criteria will necessarily have to be established to define the appropriate nexus between any given legislation and the nonprofit organization's purpose.

Nonprofit groups are presently required to file their corporate articles and other materials in support of an application for a declaration of section 501(c)(3) status. Precedent to a declaration of such status under the proposed section 501(c)(3), the applying organization could be required to state the nature of the legislative activity in which they intend to engage to enable the IRS to make a determination of consistency between the nonprofit purpose and legislative interest. In addition, any nonprofit group desiring to engage in permitted lobbying activity in legislative matters outside of those stated in the initial application for section 501(c)(3) status could be required by regulation to file an application for a permissive ruling setting forth the relationship of the purposes of the nonprofit group to the broadened legislative interest.

The relationship between purpose and legislative interest should not be narrowly interpreted. To do so would seriously undercut the benefit to Congress that this proposed amendment would bring, namely, better information on the effects of proposed legisla-

Footnotes at end of article.

tion. The message of the environmental crisis is clear. Technological development and environmental modification projects have, in addition to those readily apparent, many, and generally not evaluated, effects. A superhighway is more than a conduit of wheeled vehicles; it is an alteration of a substantial portion of the landscape. Similarly, many technological projects have wide ramifications on which Congress must have a wide spectrum of information if it is to act wisely and prudently.

It should be obvious that the amendment proposed would not operate to overturn the IRS ruling on the Sierra Club.[17] In fact, under the proposed amendment there would have been no issue; the Sierra Club could not obtain revised section 501(c)(3) status and still advocate to the general public, as it did, a legislative position. Therefore, some nonprofit organizations (and the Sierra Club might well be one), deciding that the proposed limitations are too restrictive, will not choose to apply for revised section 501(c)(3) status, and will choose, in the alternative, section 501(c)(4) status, which carries no limitations regarding legislative activity. Such an organization could not, of course, be dependent on eleemosynary intent contingent on a section 170 charitable deduction.

On the other hand, it is submitted that closer analysis of the legislative process clearly indicates the advantage of the legislative activity which would be permitted under the proposed amendment. In most instances, the die is cast on legislation long before it reaches the floor of either chamber, and often, even before it reaches committee hearing. Massive periodic letter writing at the public call of an interest group appears to have little real effect on the course of legislation. Conversely, the ultimate disposition of legislation is affected by the activities of professional liaison-lobbyists who have identified with, and maintain good and productive relationships with, key senators, congressmen, and staff personnel. In so doing, a professional lobbyist can acquire and furnish crucial information throughout the legislative process. It should be apparent that the interaction here described is dependent on a relationship of trust which only exists when the lobbyist is able to furnish useful and valid information. It is to be expected that scientific and other groups would furnish such information.

The effectiveness of this type of activity is not limited to the personal approach. Press coverage of the activities of Capitol Hill are as sensitive as they are extensive. Consequently, positions advocated by a nonprofit organization on specific legislation would reach the gamut of the communications media with the same, and possibly more effective, result as directly approaching the general public.

Another important consideration in weighing the merits of the proposed section 501(c)(3) status is the relationship of the educational purpose of most nonprofit organizations to permitted lobbying activity. It would not appear to take an inordinate amount of skill to combine legitimate educational activity having the effect of supporting a legislative position while avoiding the prohibition against attempts to influence the general public with respect to legislative matters.

In addition, for those who think that public exhortation on legislation is essential, it would appear that organizational alternatives are available. Thus, a small organization could be created and receive section 501(c)(4) status and have as its purpose the motivation of the general public regarding legislation. Caution would be required, especially regarding linkages with section 501(c)(3) organizations, but it is submitted that with the advice of counsel a legally supportable entity could be established which could usefully complement other nonprofit organizations without jeopardizing their section 501(c)(3) status.

CONCLUSION

It is the position of this writer that with intelligent management a nonprofit organization could more effectively furnish relevant information to Congress and accomplish legislative objectives by taking advantage of activities permitted under the proposed section 501(c)(3) amendment than it could by any other method, including solicitation of the general public. More importantly, Congress will have added effective channels of important information which now only trickles in from invited testimony. It is submitted that a desirable balance in the flow of information to the Congress will be achieved within the suggested framework.

FOOTNOTES

*Member, District of Columbia Bar. B.S. (1962), University of Notre Dame; L.L.B. (1966), Boston College; M.S. (1969), Washington State University. The writer is a member of the American Academy for the Advancement of Science and the Ecological Society of America, but is not a member of any conservation organization. He is currently Minority Counsel to the United States Senate Committee on Public Works. He has also served as Assistant to the General Counsel, Smithsonian Institute, and in the Solicitor's Office of the United States Department of the Interior. The views expressed in this article are not necessarily those of the Senate Committee, the Smithsonian Institute, or the Department of the Interior.

[1] The population of the United States is over 200 million; given a similar rate of growth, the population will be 330 million by the year 2000. The population of the world is now in excess of 3 billion and given a similar rate of growth it will exceed 6 billion by the year 2000. NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCE, THE GROWTH OF WORLD POPULATION 1 (Pub. No. 1091, 1963). The rapid expansion of scientific research is such that more than 85 per cent of the scientists that have ever actively engaged in scientific research are active at the present time—with the result that scientific knowledge is doubling every ten years. *Panel on Science and Technology, Proceedings Before the Committee on Science and Astronautics,* 90th Cong., 1st Sess. 14 (Jan. 24, 1967). In 1950 there were fifteen computers operating in the United States; in 1966 the number reached 35,000; the projections for 1975 anticipate the number will exceed 85,000. McCarthy, Information, 215 SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN 65, 67 (Sept. 1966). The rate of social and technological change, for which these statistics merely represent an index, must be controlled and given direction for the benefit rather than exploitation, of mankind. Progress should provide for the broadening of human qualities, rather than their confinement.

[2] The Internal Revenue Service letter is reported at 7 CCH 1967 STAND. FED. TAX REP. par 63.67, at 71, 381. This letter gave notice to the Sierra Club that the IRS proposed to revoke its earlier ruling granting the Club exempt status under INT. REV. CODE of 1954, sec. 501(c)(3). The letter and the circumstances (and advisability) of this action have been the subject of recent law review notes which should be consulted for the facts and background of the Sierra Club case. *See* Note, *The Sierra Club, Political Activity, and Tax Exempt Charitable Status,* 55 GEO. L. J. 1128 (1967) and 55 CALIF. L. REV. 618 (1967).

[3] For a comprehensive discussion of the operation of the federal income tax law on tax exempt organizations, see STAFF OF HOUSE COMM. ON SCIENCE AND ASTRONAUTICS, 88th CONG., 2D SESS., SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL ADVICE FOR CONGRESS—NEEDS AND SOURCES 63 (Comm. Print 1964).

[4] Immediately a question arises as to the meaning of the "substantial" qualification. However, it is the position of this writer, as will become apparent below, that the remedies necessary to improve the law cannot be obtained by mere redefinition or modification of the word "substantial." *But see* 55 GEO. L. J., *supra* note 2, which discusses the history and case law of the "substantial" qualification and advocates redefinition.

[5] Sec. 501(c)(3) provides that exempt status may be granted to the following organizations: "Corporations, and any community chest, fund, or foundation, organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, testing for public safety, literary, or educational purposes, or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual, no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation, and which does not participate in, or intervene in (including the publishing or distributing of statements), any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office."

[6] *See generally* THE CONSERVATION DIRECTORY (1967), compiled by the National Wildlife Federation, 1412 N. W. 16th St., Washington, D.C. 20036, which contains a list of some 142 conservation organizations. This should in no way be interpreted as a classification of tax status; it is intended only as an index of the number of organizations concerned with conservation.

It may be helpful at this point to review the mechanics of how the tax law affects nonprofit organizations of the type discussed here. In most cases, the organizations are marginally capitalized and depend for their continued existence on contributions. One of the most important factors stimulating contributions is the ability of a contributor to take federal income tax deductions for such contributions. It is, therefore, necessary that the recipient organization meet the standards of a section 501(c)(3) organization. Such organizations are, therefore, extremely careful to avoid involvement in legislative affairs, for, without the section 501(c)(3) status (giving donors a deduction), it is possible that many of the organizations would fold.

[7] It is immediately conceded that the reticence of scientists and scientific organizations to become involved in legislative matters is not solely attributable to the income tax law. The aloofness and detachment from society of many scientists are major factors; and this detachment in the face of public support for the major portion of scientific research is somewhat incongruous. Amendment of the tax law is not a panacea, but it should serve as at least a portion of the span between the "two cultures": the scientific and general public communities. Another factor in the lack of participation in the legislative process may be the exercise of undue caution in interpretation of the tax law. This possibility is acknowledged in a recent letter that Congressman Emilio Q. Daddario (D-Conn.), Chairman of the House of Representatives Subcommittee on Science, Research, and Development, sent to the editor of SCIENCE in which he concluded: "I believe we should have a diversity of opinions in formulating science policy, and urge the participation of scientists everywhere. I can appreciate the hesitancy of organizations committing actions which would endanger their tax exempt status, but I believe that needless caution is a luxury we cannot afford in view of the issues facing society today." 160 SCIENCE 251 (1968).

[8] It is acknowledged that this will require compliance with the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act, 60 Stat. 839 (1946), 2 U.S.C. sec. 261–270 (1964). Although there is often a stigma, at least in many people's minds, associated with "lobbying," lobbying is a most effective way of conveying information

to the legislature. It should be noted that the Lobbying Act was designed to apply "chiefly to three distinct classes of so-called lobbyists:

First: Those who do not visit the Capital but initiated propaganda. . . .

Second: The second class of lobbyists are those who are employed to come to the Capital under the false impression that they exert some powerful influence over Members of Congress . . .

Third: There is a third class of entirely honest and respectable representatives of business, professional, and philanthropic organizations who come to Washington openly and frankly to express their views for or against legislation, many of whom serve a useful and prefectly legitimate purpose in expressing the views and interpretations of their employers with respect to legislation which concerns them. They will likewise be required to register and state their compensation and the sources of their employment." S. REP. No. 1400, 79th Cong., 2d Sess. 27 (1946).

There should certainly be no stigma attached to this last category. Interested citizens should engage enthusiastically in such legislative procedures.

[9] Pub. L. No. 87-834, sec. 3, 76 Stat. 960 (1962). As used in the INTERNAL REVENUE CODE, "trade or business" is a term of art used to describe activities which occupy the time, attention, and labor of man in pursuit of profit. 4A J. MERTEN, FEDERAL INCOME TAXATION sec. 25.08 (rev. ed. 1966).

[10] Treas. Reg. sec. 1.162-20(c) (2) (ii) (b) (1) (i).

[11] The Senate Committee on Finance report accompanying the 1962 Internal Revenue Amendment Bill is enlightening on the purpose of the amendment granting a deduction to expenses incurred in lobbying. "It also is desirable that taxpayers who have information bearing on the impact of present laws, or proposed legislation, on their trade or business not be discouraged in making the information available to the Members of Congress or legislators in other levels of Government. The presentation of such information to the legislators is necessary to a proper evaluation on their part of the impact of present or proposed legislation." U.S. CODE CONG & AD. NEWS 3325 (1962). It is submitted that the same logic applies to information issuing from nonprofit corporations, or other concerned citizens, particularly those qualified to judge the impact or potential impact, of present or proposed legislation on the well-being of man.

[12] Patterson, *The Art of the Impossible*, 96 DAEDALUS 1031 (1967).

[13] For a discussion of the Kennecott Copper Company and related matters see Comment, *The Wilderness Act and Mining: Some Proposals for Conservation*, 47 OR. L. REV. 447 (1968).

[14] Quoted in note 5 *supra*.

[15] This section now provides that, to be a charitable contribution, a contribution or gift must be to an organization "no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation."

[16] *See* Treas. Reg. sec. 1.162-20(c) (2) (b) (ii).

[17] *See* note 2 *supra*.

THE UNITED STATES: A THIRD-RATE MARITIME POWER?

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, time is running out.

A continuing concern of mine has been the constant deterioration of our merchant marine fleet. This fleet, sometimes referred to as our fourth arm of defense, is in dire need of rejuvenation through an expanded shipbuilding program. Without such a program, the United States may suddenly come to realize that, as a maritime power, it is at best third rate.

The Labor-Management Maritime Committee, composed of major steamship lines representing some 70 percent of all ships in the liner trade, has published a brochure which effectively describes our national maritime dilemma. This brochure, published on December 6, 1968, is even more timely today than when it was originally written, and I would like to bring it to the attention of all my colleagues.

The brochure follows:

SUPPORT AN EXPANDED MERCHANT SHIPBUILDING PROGRAM

(NOTE.—This brochure sets forth in brief the rapidly widening construction gap between U.S. and foreign shipbuilding and the reasons therefore. A stalemate in U.S. merchant shipbuilding continues to persist. It not only impedes the promotion of our foreign commerce but endangers the national security by weakening our overall sea-power capability. Unless an effective merchant shipbuilding program is provided soon, the United States will sink to a third rate maritime power, or worse.)

(Time is fast running out. The time for corrective action is now.)

OUR NATIONAL MARITIME DILEMMA

Any organism that fails to perpetuate itself becomes extinct.

A merchant marine without a ship replacement program must die. Much of the U.S. merchant fleet is dying.

Many elements of the American Merchant Marine have made inadequate provision for new ship construction.

The replacement program of the berth line carriers is a notable exception.

Committing some $2.5 billion of private capital to the replacement of approximately 300 vessels, or their capacity equivalent, the berth line carriers have been building the finest and fastest new liner ships in the world.

However, this program now has a schedule lag equivalent to approximately 100 existing ships due substantially to Government neglect.

For a decade or more, the Government has failed to provide U.S. shipyards with adequate cost differential subsidy under the 1936 Act to keep pace with replacement schedules. For fiscal year 1969 it has even threatened to impound funds to reduce the level of merchant ship construction. Presently $101.6 million is being so reserved.

Simultaneously, it has prohibited berth operators from building their ships abroad even at no Government cost and denied legislative modifications to allow use of such ships in subsidized services.

Continued impounding of funds tends toward a vacuum in merchant shipbuilding. At any rate, few ships can be built under existing policies of maritime budgetary privation.

The horns of the dilemma are obvious; needed ships cannot be built in U.S. yards. Ships cannot be built in foreign yards. Needed ships cannot be built.

THE CONSTRUCTION GAP IN MERCHANT SHIPBUILDING

A rapidly mounting construction gap is developing between the United States and foreign maritime nations in merchant shipbuilding.

With each passing year, the time lost may be irretrievable, endangering both our commercial ocean transport capability and our national security.

During 1967 certain maritime nations built their merchant ships in both domestic and foreign shipyards, thus gaining substantial advantage.

Nation	In domestic yards	In foreign yards
Denmark	8	15
West Germany	59	14
Norway	19	94
Sweden	22	10
United Kingdom	31	31
U.S.S.R.	19	60

During the same year, of those nations building all their own merchant ships in domestic yards, all exceeded the U.S.

Nation	In domestic yards	In foreign yards
Italy	18	0
Japan	168	0
Spain	28	0
United States	12	0

In 1967 the United States built no merchant ships for other countries, nor has she since; not so with other maritime nations.

Nation	For herself	For other nations
Denmark	8	9
Finland	4	34
France	18	8
West Germany	59	26
Japan	168	171
Netherlands	8	15
Norway	19	14
Poland	8	18
Spain	28	11
Sweden	22	31
United Kingdom	31	31
U.S.S.R.	19	4
United States	12	0

Thus the construction gap widens and the pattern persists.

In sum, the United States—

Builds practically no merchant ships in foreign yards. [For U.S. flag operation]

Builds no merchant ships in U.S. yards for foreign markets.

Builds meagerly for itself for the foreign commerce (about 10 to 12 yearly).

Under continued fund impounding practices, will build few in 1969.

Aside from losing out in the race for world commerce, our merchant marine is already inadequate for the nation's defense.

The problem we face:

The nation has never had an adequate merchant fleet *in being* at the outset of any major conflict. It has relied on massive, and even wasteful, emergency or crash shipbuilding programs to bridge the gap.

In our previous conflicts, our shipyards were free from attack, enabling them to perform the job.

Future conflicts, with massive potentials in atomic rocketry, give no assurance of shipyard survival.

In such case, they will be fought with the aid of ships in being, already dispersed at sea.

Under current trends, our potential adversaries will have them; we will not.

THE LONG-TERM CHARTER BONANZA

The low road to fleet replacement

Outmoded fleets are now the unhappy possession of many U.S. carriers in the foreign commerce.

For some two decades many carriers have provided inadequate lay-aside for ship replacement.

Extensive distribution of profits for other purposes has created a sense of relatively high prosperity.

The awesome specter of rapid fleet deterioration now calls for sober re-assessment.

Some carriers facing this dilemma also operate foreign ships in substantial proportion to their total fleet.

The choice of some now seems to be: (1) go completely foreign, or (2) have Uncle Sam underwrite their total fleet replacement.

Under the latter alternative, they now seek to receive, like the prodigal son, both the robe and the fatted calf. Their proposals call for just that and assume the following pattern:

The Secretary of Commerce would be called upon to enter into 20-year bareboat charters of the ships to be constructed.

These charters would be at a rate sufficient to cover the cost of designing, building and financing new merchant fleets, spreading the Government cost over a 20-year period.

Long-term bareboat charters would pledge the faith and credit of the United States to pay out the entire construction costs—thus guaranteeing bank loans and advances.

Construction of some 100 merchant ships is proposed over a five year period, fifty of which would be liners.

The Secretary of Commerce would recharter the ships back to the same operators for daily operation in the foreign commerce.

The ships would be treated in all respects as ships owned and operated by private operators.

Instead of paying a fixed rate of sub-charter hire to equate Government output, the operators would only agree to share with Government any profit they could make.

Thus, the commitment of the Government (i.e., the taxpayer) would be a firm and fixed obligation for 20 years—uninterrupted and unequivocable.

The commitment of the operators would be only to share profits if any are realized; thus conditional, indefinite and unguaranteed.

They advance the following formula for profit sharing:

70% of net voyage profits up to one-third of annual bareboat hire, plus

50% of net voyage profits in excess of one-third of annual bareboat hire up to two-thirds plus

30% of net voyage profits in excess of two-thirds of bareboat hire, but not more than 100% of annual bareboat hire.

Sub-charters may be of one or more years' duration with no commitment to sub-charter for the duration of the 20-year bareboat charters. Government would take all the risks of future vessel employment.

In addition, the Government is asked to reserve all Government cargoes, both aid and military, for the sub-charter carriers.

To sweeten the pie, the Government is asked to set rates on all such cargo at a level to *guarantee a profit* to the sub-charter lines.

With bank loans assured under 20-year Government charters, operators would need to advance little or no funds whatsoever.

The plan of the charter advocates says to the Government, "Give us the ships free; give us a monopoly on all Government cargo; set rates to guarantee us a profit, you take all the risks, and we will let you share in such profits as occur but only on a limited basis."

Many have wished Christmas could be year round. The charter advocates have found a way.

A PROPER MANDATE TO BUILD MERCHANT SHIPS

United States shipyards build the finest ships in the world.

This has been traditionally true and will continue so if they get the business.

Substantial construction of ships in U.S. shipyards is, therefore, a proper mandate and should be vigorously pursued.

Unfortunately, the so-called non-subsidized lines, operating in the foreign commerce, build few new merchant ships in the United States. They build no new ships in the U.S. for the liner or dry bulk trade.

Their current ship construction program consists substantially of tankers or ships which will engage in the domestic commerce. Under law, ships for the domestic commerce cannot be built with construction subsidy. Under existing administrative policy, tankers are not built with construction subsidy.

Any comparison to new merchant ship construction under the 1936 Merchant Marine Act is, therefore, meaningless.

The new construction in the U.S. for the foreign commerce has been principally by contract-supported lines having broad government obligations to maintain berth services on essential trade routes.

Under this program *U.S. shipyards* (not the operators) have been subsidized for the difference between American and foreign shipyard costs.

While under law *shipyard* construction subsidy may be authorized for ships to be used in the foreign commerce, non-contract lines have not normally availed themselves of it.

This has been due in part to other factors:

Failure of government to approve liner applications for operating differential support.

Failure to appropriate funds to make this possible.

Failure to modify the 1936 Act to make its operating provisions available to dry bulk carriers.

Failure of such lines finally to elect such course.

The 1936 Merchant Marine Act should be amended to broaden its application to the needs of dry bulk carriers.

Appropriations for shipyard differential subsidy under the 1936 Act are urgent if the U.S. merchant marine is to keep pace with world merchant fleet expansion. Some 30 to 40 new ships a year is a minimum to keep pace with international maritime developments.

Qualified shipowners in the foreign commerce are entitled to purchase ships at world market prices. Logically, this can be accomplished in two ways—(a) in U.S. yards with shipyards receiving cost differential support, or (b) in foreign yards at no cost to the U.S. Government.

Nonetheless, in the current situation:

1. U.S. shipyards may not receive cost differential support sufficient to accomplish our maritime goals.

2. Subsidized operators may not build ships foreign, even at no cost to the government and return them to subsidized trade route operation.

These negative practices place a dog in each manger. The result is a stalemate. In any case, shipyards are given pre-eminence over ships. This philosophy, allowed to run its proper course, will destroy our merchant marine.

Maximum construction in U.S. shipyards is the ideal goal. It should be effectively assured by proper application of the 1936 Merchant Marine Act and the adoption of a positive maritime program.

Failure to do so must not create an altar upon which the merchant marine is to be sacrificed.

It must some day be realized that shipyards exist for the sake of ships, not vice versa. It is the end product that moves the commerce of the United States and transports our military needs.

The Labor-Management Maritime Committee favors maximum utilization of U.S. shipyards in re-building the American Merchant Marine. However, realization of such an objective mandates that Government provide cost differential funds to U.S. shipyards sufficient to accomplish the job. Continued budgetary privation must not be allowed to defeat the purposes of the 1936 Merchant Marine Act or render our national maritime policy ineffective.

There are no easy or magic short-cuts to merchant ship replacement. Currently offered alternate schemes for constructing and financing, when analyzed, tend to Federalize the merchant marine or leave the Government holding the bag. We should either underwrite the 1936 Act by making adequate funds available to do the job or amend it to allow foreign shipbuilding for subsidized trade route services. We favor the former. However, continued Government indifference will make the latter course imperative. The current drift and indecision must not persist.

SOVIETS ATTEMPTING TO OVERCOME AMERICAN SUPREMACY IN AIRCRAFT PRODUCTION

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, it is clear by recent activities of the Soviet Union that the Russians have begun an all-out effort to take U.S. dollars away from our economy, along with our supremacy in the field of aircraft manufacturing, by selling their own airplanes to the world's airlines.

The high quality of the product produced by American industry and labor can stand the competition, Mr. Speaker, despite the Russians' use of what has been labeled, "flexible" sales tactics.

But, my major concern is the supersonic transport, which Russia now has flown at a speed faster than that of sound. What we are facing is the loss of sales of aircraft to the Russians if our own SST is not allowed to be continued in its orderly development program.

Anyone who thinks the Soviets are not a threat, Mr. Speaker, is not facing the facts.

The Russians are known to be negotiating with the Japanese to purchase the Russian SST in exchange for the U.S.S.R.'s granting the Japanese air routes over Siberia from Tokyo to Moscow. In addition, the Russian airline Aeroflot is advertising in the United States for travelers headed for Tokyo from New York to take the Aeroflot route from New York to Moscow and then to Tokyo.

The point is that the Russians are lining up air routes for their SST, and they are entering the competitive market of aircraft sales. What this would mean to our balance of payments is monumental, both in sales of overseas airlines that ordinarily would have purchased U.S.-built airplanes or in sales that would have stayed in America but have gone to Russia instead.

The picture of what is happening is plain, Mr. Speaker, and I urge President Nixon to give the go-ahead to the U.S. SST project as a protection to our superiority in this, one of the last remaining industries where the American name is still on top; to our balance of payments; and to the American workingman in practically every State who will bene-

fit from the construction of the supersonic transport.

Meanwhile, Mr. Speaker, Robert L. Twiss, associate editor, Seattle Times, has recently written two feature articles on just this problem, and I include the articles at this point in the RECORD:

RUSS SST ON VIEW: LIMITED USE IN 1972 APPEARS TO BE GOAL

(By Robert L. Twiss)

The Russians appear to be aiming at limited operation of their TU-144 supersonic transport in 1972, Maynard L. Pennell, vice president of The Boeing Co., said yesterday in reporting on his recent inspection of the Soviet Union's SST in Moscow.

Russia, five years ahead of the United States in SST development but with a smaller, slower plane than the proposed American transport, is "most anxious" to take the lead in the SST race by selling TU-144s to the non-Communist world, Pennell said.

Pennell and four other American aviation experts viewed the TU-144 prototype at Moscow's Sheremetyevo Airport July 30. Pennell, who formerly headed Boeing's SST program, is one of the West's most knowledgeable aeronautical experts to see the Russian SST.

Now vice president of product development for Boeing's Commercial Airplane Group, Pennell said the TU-144 "is a satisfactory prototype of a supersonic transport." The workmanship, he added, "is satisfactory for a prototype airplane."

Pennell and other members of a group headed by Najeeb E. Halaby, president of Pan American World Airways, spent 90 minutes studying the TU-144. The visit was a reciprocal arrangement completed at the Paris Air Show, where the Russians were escorted through the Boeing 747 in return for display of their SST in Moscow.

While the Russians apparently are aiming at limited TU-144 operation in 1972, "I don't believe they are prepared to announce this until they get farther into their test program," Pennell said. "The Russian SST flew for the first time last New Year's Eve.

"They are probably five years ahead of us but with an airplane with less potential (than the Boeing SST)," Pennell said. The Boeing SST program is awaiting a Nixon-administration decision on whether to proceed with construction of two prototypes of the 1,800-mile-an-hour, fixed-delta-wing airliner.

The Russian plane will fly about 1,500 miles an hour.

The important feature of the Russian program is that the Soviet Union actually is flying an SST, Pennell said, pointing out this could pave the way for even more advanced planes. The visiting Americans "learned indirectly" the Soviet Union has four more prototype SSTs under construction, he added.

Pennell forecast a vigorous Russian attempt to market the TU-144 in the non-Communist world.

"I believe they are most anxious to do this and will utilize the full powers of their government with respect to favorable financing terms and even the use of this airplane (in exchange) for traffic rights over Russia," he explained.

"They have the world's largest land mass to bargain with, and it happens to be the most direct route between Western Europe and the Far East. I expect they will take full advantage of this and attempt to sell their products.

"I believe they want very much to get a lead on Western nations."

Pennell said the TU-144 "probably is somewhat less sophisticated than the Concorde today." The Concorde is a 1,400-mile-an-hour SST under development by the British and French and is expected to enter service in 1973.

Pennell called attention to "small but important differences" in wing aerodynamics in the two European SSTs. He suggested the TU-144 "may not be as good as the Concorde in low speed or supersonic flight."

The Russian plane weighs about 330,000 pounds, lighter than the Concorde and about the same weight as a Boeing 707 intercontinental subsonic airliner.

By United States standards, the TU-144 economics "probably will be quite poor," Pennell said. But he stressed that the Russians have different standards because of their economic system.

"I suspect as long as it's safe it will be well-patronized," he said. He explained he has no reservations about the TU-144's safety that do not apply to any airplane as new as this.

Pennell said the Russians told him they could not provide firm performance data on the SST until late in 1971. The plane has reached a top speed of between Mach 1.35 and Mach 1.4 at 45,000 feet (about 900 miles an hour), he said, compiling 22 minutes of supersonic flight time.

"But that's 20 minutes longer than we have," he stressed.

Pennell said the Russians told him the lighter TU-144 would be "somewhat better" than the Concorde for sonic boom.

"The Russians don't believe the sonic boom would be a serious constraint on operations over Siberia," Pennell said.

The TU-144 shows "some evidence" of use of titanium in key areas, Pennel said. Some electronic advances, such as inertial navigation, also are in the plane, he added.

Pennell said his view is that penetration of the non-Communist market by the TU-144 is a "possibility, and in my opinion, not necessarily a high probability. But, because it is a possibility, it is important."

If Britain and France decide not to proceed with the Concorde and the Russians prove the TU-144 to be a good airplane, "then it might have sales appeal outside the Communist world," Pennell added.

He noted the Russians have had difficulty in marketing commercial transports outside Communist lands, since they are "unwilling or seem unable within their system" to provide the technical information necessary for airlines to evaluate an airplane.

The TU-144 is designed to carry 120 passengers in all-tourist class. Pennell thinks the plane may not have as much range as the Concorde, and thus may fly a few more passengers shorter distances than the Western European plane.

Pennell stressed he saw the TU-144 "only 90 minutes" and was not permitted a detailed examination of the delta-wing airliner. Thus the agreement at the Paris Air Show meant "they didn't get much; we didn't get much."

"My impression is that the Russians are building an airplane very similar in basic characteristics to the Concorde," Pennell concluded.

SOVIET UNION OFFERS ARABS GOOD DEAL ON JET AIRPLANES

The Russians have stepped up their vigorous drive to sell commercial airliners to the Arab world.

As a result, substantial orders for the Soviet TU-154 medium-range trijet transport may be placed by United Arab Airlines and many other members of the 13-line Arab Air Carriers' Association, Ahmed Tewfik El-Bakry said during a Seattle visit.

El-Bakry, chairman of the board of United Arab Airlines, was here to study The Boeing Co.'s Model 727-200 long-body trijet, one of the contenders for the Cairo-based carrier's order for medium-range jets.

There are four competitors for the United Arab purchase, three from the West and the TU-154, El-Bakry said. The Western planes being studied, in addition to the 727-200, are the French Supercaravelle and British Trident.

"The Russians are very flexible and willing to consider our needs," El-Bakry said. "This is not the case in the United States."

A major consideration is long-term financing, El Bakry said.

"The Russians have offered 10 times more than extremely favorable terms, and they could deliver TU-154s in less than a year," he said.

United Arab will need three medium-range jets at first to begin replacing its fleet of seven British-built Comet 4C jets. But traffic growth and Comet-replacement needs indicate the line will require about 10 medium-range airliners by 1974, the chairman said.

El-Bakry said more than just the United Arab Airlines order is at stake in the competition.

"I think at least 10 of our confederation, the Arab Air Carriers' Association, will buy the plane we select," El-Bakry said. "Small Arab nations will continue to operate airlines as a matter of national pride.

"And they need more modern equipment to remain competitive," he added.

El-Bakry left no doubt of his admiration for American-built aircraft, indicating his personal favorite for a United Arab Airlines medium-range airliner is the 727-200.

The Russian transports were described as "satisfactory."

But the long-term, low-interest-rate financing arrangements offered by the Soviet Union, together with training programs in Russia for Arab technicians and maintenance of a spare-parts pool in Cairo, were cited as a major plus for the Russian sales drive.

"The Russians, for example, keep spare parts in Cairo at their own expense, not ours," El-Bakry said. "The support they offer airlines flying their aircraft is outstanding."

One reason El-Bakry likes the 727-200 is the fact United Arab already is a 707 operator. So are three other members of the Arab Air Carriers' Association—Saudi Arabian Airlines, Kuwait Airways and Middle East Airlines.

"We are looking for fleet standardization, but I must be encouraged (to buy) by the maker in training, spare parts support and so on," El-Bakry said.

The airline chairman chided Boeing for what he termed lack of interest in small carriers' problems.

"They think only of Pan American, of Air France and of the other large airlines," El-Bakry said. "Boeing must think of small airlines, too."

El-Bakry said he hopes to make a decision on a medium-range transport type by year end, noting his Comet fleet is aging and replacement must begin soon.

United Arab Airlines already operates two Russian-transport types—the AN-24B for internal routes and the IL-18 for flights from Cairo to Moscow, Prague and East Berlin. The Comets and 707s round out its fleet.

The carrier is continuing its expansion program, planning to fly to Turkey and to Madrid in 1972. Transatlantic flights to the United States are a long-term goal, El-Bakry said.

"But the (traffic) figures aren't telling us we can begin transatlantic service yet," he said. "It is difficult to predict just when traffic will justify North Atlantic service by United Arab Airlines."

United Arab expects to carry about 400,000 passengers this year, compared with about 340,000 last year, the chairman noted. Its busiest route is Cairo-London, with flights six days a week and daily service to begin in January.

El-Bakry said the "unrest" in the Middle East has had an impact on tourist travel to the United Arab Republic. Few Americans but many Europeans are vacationing in the republic, he said.

"Life is normal in Cairo, and tourism will boom once the unrest is settled," El-Bakry said.

CURING DOCTOR SHORTAGE

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, since legislation is pending before the appropriate committees to stimulate the training of physicians to cure the shortage that exists in this country, I am pleased to direct the attention of the Members to an editorial in the Chicago Heights Star, Thursday, August 28, commenting on the steps being taken by the Illinois Board of Higher Education.

As a cosponsor of the bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide grants to develop training in family medicine, I recognize that emphasis must be placed at the proper education levels to meet the shortage of doctors. The editorial follows:

CURING DOCTOR SHORTAGE

The Illinois board of higher education set out recently to find a cure for the chronic shortage of physicians, a malady growing to epidemic proportions in this state as well as in the rest of the nation.

The University of Illinois college of medicine, at the Chicago medical center campus, has revealed details of a plan to proceed with negotiations to affiliate with six additional Chicago area hospitals. It is gratifying to note that two of the six—Lutheran General and MacNeal Memorial—are located in suburban areas. Another encouraging factor is that affiliation agreements with additional hospitals will be sought and are currently in the planning stages.

Negotiations by the college of medicine implement a request by the state board of higher education that the college expand its program of medical education by use of existing clinical facilities throughout the state.

The plans will allow the development of a more flexible and diverse educational program for the college's students.

Also planned is a massive program for the expansion of professional education in medicine at three levels: the medical school curriculum, internship-residency training, and continuing education for physicians. And the college will undergo an extensive reorganization and expansion. Now the second largest U.S. medical school in terms of enrollment, the college plans to provide more physicians for the state through a multi-campus, multi-community approach.

According to the plan, the college's enrollment will grow to some 1,900 students by 1983, more than twice its enrollment of 779 for the 1968–1969 academic year.

To facilitate this growth, the college will set up a number of clinical schools to provide training at hospitals in Chicago and down-state cities. Other schools to train first-year medical students in the basic sciences will be created at the university's Chicago medical center, at the Urbana-Champaign campus and later at Chicago Circle campus.

The college also has launched a program for increasing the number of members of disadvantaged minority groups in the school. Recruitment of qualified prospects and special counseling for applicants, before and after entering medical school are included in the program.

This recruitment program for minority-group students will begin with the aid of a $42,000 grant from the privately endowed National Fund for Medical Education.

Much greater revenues—primarily from taxpayers and not from private foundations—undoubtedly will be needed to implement the university's total medical education program. But the venture should more than pay for itself in terms of greater health, and we feel that a solution to the doctor shortage is an eminently worthwhile—and necessary—expenditure of public funds.

LETTER TO CONSTITUENTS ON VIETNAM VETERANS

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following letter which I am sending as a service to my congressional district:

TO MY GOOD FRIENDS: I am writing to let you know procedures for our Pennsylvania Vietnam Veterans, and their families, to apply for Penna Vietnam bonus.

Veterans and their families can obtain applications for the Vietnam bonus by writing to Vietnam Bonus Bureau, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17120.

Also applications can be obtained by writing to me as your Congressman, as a service to our District, or by writing to our Allegheny County State Legislators or State Senators. These state officials will, likewise, be glad to assist you with this service.

Also applications can be obtained from our local veterans organizations, the Red Cross, the Pennsylvania Director of Veteran's Affairs at 224 County Court House, Pittsburgh 15219, or write to the Adjutant General's Office, New Federal Office Building, 1000 Liberty Avenue, Pittsburgh 15222.

The amount of the Pennsylvania Vietnam bonus for servicemen and veterans varies with the amount of service. The payment will be $25 for each month in Vietnam. The maximum amount being $750. The deceased veteran's next of kin will be paid $1000 in cash upon verification of records.

On the back of this sheet I am giving you the specific requirements for our present US servicemen and women, and for discharged veterans, as well as the families of deceased Vietnam veterans.

Should you have any difficulty or delay in obtaining the Pennsylvania Vietnam bonus, write to me giving the facts and I will be glad to consult with your Allegheny County State Legislator and State Senator in order that we can work as a team, regardless of party or politics to expedite your application.

It is a pleasure to be able to have my office give this service for our deserving U.S. Vietnam servicemen, U.S. Vietnam veterans and their families.

REQUIREMENTS FOR VIETNAM SERVICE BONUS

1. Earned *Vietnam* Service Medal.
2. Been resident of Pennsylvania at time of entering military service.
3. If now a veteran—requires honorable discharge and photocopy of DD–214 (Report of Separation).

(NOTE.—If you have earned Vietnam medal, and have not received it—write to CO of your old outfit.)

Deceased U.S. Vietnam Veteran

Beneficiary must prove:

1. Relationship to veteran by submitting copy of birth certificate or marriage certificate.
2. Show veteran entitled to Vietnam Medal.
3. Furnish copy of casualty report from US Department of Defense.

Directions

With application, you will receive an addressed envelope for purpose of mailing your bonus application to Harrisburg. Stamp and send by ordinary mail.

If undue delay, write me and I will be glad to follow up for you.

Sincerely,

JIM FULTON.

ROCKY MARCIANO

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to join my colleagues in expressing my profound sorrow at the death of a beloved friend and a great boxing champion, Rocky Marciano.

I first met Rocky 25 years ago, before the beginning of his pugilistic career, through a mutual friend, and member of the Massachusetts Legislature, John Asiaf. Thereafter I was to see Rocky on numerous occasions, for he often came to watch the Massachusetts State Legislature in action. He made his entry into the boxing world in 1947 and began a career that was to last for 9 glorious years.

This man compiled the most fantastic record of 49 victories out of his 49 boxing encounters, and managed to remain the undefeated world heavyweight boxing champion for 4 of those years before his voluntary retirement in 1956. The brilliance of his unblemished record dazzled the professional boxers and spectators alike. Although purists of the sport and critics deplored the lack of polish and refinement in his technique, they conceded that he possessed fantastic physical stamina and verve and an overwhelming desire to win. To the average sports fan Rocky symbolized the essence of boxing; that is, to hit your opponent as hard and as often as you can, hit him more than he can hit you, and keep going until you have earned a victory.

This primitive motif seemed to be the driving force behind his triumphs in the arena. He endured dreadful batterings and survived brutal bashings which would have caused admission of defeat by a less determined and courageous man. An outstanding example of this tremendous will to win was his victory over Jersey Joe Walcott in September 1952. Rocky had a very difficult time with Jersey Joe, who gave him quite a thrashing, but despite all the agony and the blood of 13 gruelling rounds, Rocky found the way to win. Indeed it was a fight well worth the effort, for this earned him the coveted title of world heavyweight champion. And what a winner he was.

Rocky worked hard and long for his successes, and he invested every ounce of energy and enthusiasm into his training sessions. He was an honest man who was

liked by those he had defeated, and admired by the public he entertained. He exuded an aura of sincerity, wholesomeness, and respectability, and wherever he appeared the crowds would greet him with warmth and adulation. The world knew and loved Rocky as a fighter of the first order, whose superior powers in the ring placed him with the giants in the history of American sports; but it was my privilege to know this man personally as a gentle soul with a good and kind heart.

Mr. Speaker, these words are inadequate expressions of the respect and affection which I felt for a valiant boxer and a very dear friend, Rocky Marciano.

Mrs. O'Neill joins me in extending my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Lena Marchegiano in her hour of loss and grief.

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY ON GREECE

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the official U.S. foreign policy concerning Greece is no longer a workable one.

Our State Department stand has been to deplore the lack of democracy in Greece under its present military dictatorship and to put diplomatic pressure on the military junta to end its reign of terror. But in one of those classic cases of "on the one hand and then on the other hand," the State Department and the Pentagon have said Greece is fulfilling its North Atlantic Treaty obligations and therefore the United States cannot get too tough with the junta.

This dual policy has led to a series of strange events involving the Voice of America, the State Department, and the U.S. Information Service, including apparent censorship of the opinions not only of Members of Congress, but also a representative of the Secretary of State. A policy of talking out of both sides of the American mouth has produced its usual results. The people of Greece, confused at best about the U.S. policy, are turning against this country. The military junta brags about our "support" and applauds our naming of an ambassador to that nation.

And that junta continues its destruction of the Greek Armed Forces, the only so-called reason for our continued military support of the dictatorship.

The Christian Science Monitor on Friday, August 29, 1969, documented the sad condition of the Greek Army.

I will insert the Monitor article in full at the end of my statement, but I would like to quote some of its conclusions at this time.

> The Greek Army no longer exists as a stable, organized force-in-being . . . In three successive waves the colonels' regime has jailed, placed under house arrest or exiled to remote villages large numbers of the nation's most influential military leaders . . . The Army is divided and humiliated and its effectiveness as an instrument of the Greek nation is broken.

These are harsh words, but the Monitor staff correspondent, Saville R. Davis, documents them with facts, figures, and names.

So, the United States through its confused foreign policy has in effect supported a government which is tearing down the NATO shield.

Our convoluted policy has led us into even deeper confusion, confusion which involves apparent censorship of the opinions and statements of Members of this House and of the U.S. Senate by the Voice of America.

On Sunday, August 17, 1969, Paul Grimes of the Philadelphia Bulletin, in a story entitled "Greek News Censored on Voice of America," reported on this situation. I will summarize his story, but I will have it be reprinted in full at the end of this statement.

> The Voice of America is deliberately subduing its service to Greece and permitting the State Department to censor its newscast so as not to upset the dictatorial military regime there.

Mr. Grimes reported.

He added that Greece is blackmailing the State Department by threatening Voice of America transmitters on Greek soil.

Mr. Grimes continued:

> One news item that the State Department is known to have censored was broadcast August 7. It concerned a letter dated July 30 that 47 members of the U.S. House of Representatives and three Senators sent to Secretary of State William P. Rogers.

As a signer of that letter, and as president of the U.S. Committee for Democracy in Greece, I was concerned about these charges. I asked the State Department, the Voice of America, and the U.S. Information Service to report on these allegations. Specifically I asked for transcripts of the original news scripts and for the changes made in them.

I am still waiting for a reply. I have been told by USIA the transcripts are available, but will not be released to me until senior officers, now out of the country, review the answers to be given me. A target date of September 8 has been set by USIA for release of this information. The reason for the delay, USIA has said, is to give me the "full picture" of what happened.

Without the transcripts, and the other information, I cannot say for sure whether censorship of those broadcasts took place. I can say for sure, however, that censorship is being imposed by USIA on the information I requested. I would suspect there might be reason for that censorship.

I would like a full explanation of that censorship, yet I can understand it when faced with the basic flows in the U.S. foreign policy toward Greece.

We have not made our opposition to the military dictatorship in Greece known. We must do so.

I ask the State Department to make clear its disapproval of the Greek Government.

I also ask that the Voice of America broadcast in full the letter to Secretary Rogers, signed by 50 Members of Congress, which was apparently censored by the Voice of America, and the State Department's reply, including both of its "on the other hands." Finally, I ask that the Voice report the Christian Science Monitor story on the destruction of the Greek Army.

Let us make clear where we stand.

The material referred to above follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Aug. 29, 1969]

BLOW TO NATO—GREEK ARMED FORCES DISINTEGRATING?

(By Saville R. Davis)

ATHENS.—The main reason for American support of the present Greek Government has been removed. The United States depended on the integrity of the Greek armed forces to support the Western military position here and to act as a bridge to the Turkish Army on the east flank of the NATO defense area.

The Greek Army no longer exists as a stable, organized force-in-being.

This is conceded by friends and opponents of the "colonels' government" that now controls Greece.

In three successive waves the colonels' regime has jailed, placed under house arrest, or exiled to remote villages large numbers of the nation's most-influential military leaders. Names and facts are listed below.

The remainder of the armed forces have been subjected to a systematic campaign which, the regime says, is necessary to protect the government against a coup. Critics call it a reign of organized terror, designed to eliminate opposition.

In either event, the Army is divided and humiliated and its effectiveness as an instrument of the Greek nation is broken. Higher officers who remain are not allowed to command. Lower officers who hold power are faced with a passive resistance they cannot overcome.

This is the picture gained from well-informed sources both tolerant of the regime and opposing it. If this picture is oversimplified, the main argument still holds: The battle for allegiance of the armed forces has torn and dismembered them.

It was the former stability of the Greek armed forces which made that country a valuable military ally of the United States.

It cannot be said that in trying to purge the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force the Greek regime has been carrying out its announced policy of "saving the country from falling into the hands of the Communists."

Most of the arrested military leaders had fought directly against the Communists when they attempted to seize power by force in 1946–49. They were the bulwark of Greece against Communist subversion.

One of them said, "Their offense against the present government was that they were broadly nonpolitical, but pledged to the Western institutions of freedom that were born in their land, and they detest the enslavement of a free and proud people by the present rule of dictatorship and martial law."

Some of them supported King Constantine in his abortive effort to overthrow the dictatorship.

FACT SHEET ON ARRESTS

A fact sheet on the arrest and detention of the military leaders follows:

In later February of last year the first group of retired officers was exiled. In July and August, when the government was campaigning for a referendum coming in September, a second major group of officers was arrested. This year, after celebrating the second anniversary of the colonels' coup in April, a third group was taken.

Methods: arrests were normally between two and three o'clock in the morning. Police cars surrounded the residences and in some cases searchlights illuminated the houses.

The officers were removed in most cases without explanation other than the charge of being "dangerous to public order and security." They spent different amounts of time in the central security detention cells, sometimes under primitive conditions.

Most of them were then escorted to an Aegean island, in some cases to remote mountain villages. There they were asked to report to the local gendarmerie at specified intervals.

Villagers were warned by the gendarmerie not to approach the officers. Adequate medical help was denied in at least two cases of serious illness.

Some of the third group were charged with trying to alienate officers on active duty from the junta and were brought under formal judicial inquiry which is still in progress. Others were not charged, trials not scheduled, and in most cases the original period of detention extended.

IMPRISONED WITH CRIMINALS

Some of the officers are now in various prisons together with common criminals. They are not allowed to communicate with relatives or their lawyers.

Army officers not detained or arrested and still in active service have been subjected to surveillance by varied and intensive methods. These include the placing of informers in the lower ranks who report to the security forces on the statements and activities of their officers. They also include mail censorship and telephone tapping.

The result is said to be extensive and deep-lying demoralization, with no one able to be confident of who would support or oppose his position in the event of a showdown.

The ruling group is generally described as a small minority of men within the Army, coming largely from small village backgrounds, trained in intelligence and conspiratorial methods, and much tougher in their methods of seizing and holding power than at first was realized.

As the months passed under arbitrary rule and martial law, these methods became harder rather than easing. Because the "colonels" were a small minority seeking to eliminate the old leadership of the armed forces and to control the rest by a campaign of systematic and deliberate "terror tactics," they appear to have alienated large sections of the armed forces as well as to have controlled others.

TACTICS DEFENDED BY SOME

Friends of the regime argue that these tactics were necessary in order to compel hostile elements in the armed forces to obey the new government. Critics say these tactics are the prelude to the final destruction of freedom in Greece and that the regime does not dare to relax its use of terror tactics.

Arguing either way, it appears that the armed forces have themselves become a battleground in the struggle for power and that they are no longer the stable force that the United States counted upon.

Following is an incomplete list of arrested or exiled officers. The wartime record and experience of these officers, their outstanding training both in Greece and in the United States and their anti-Communist position is spread on the public record.

First group, February 1967:

Brig. Gen. Dimitrios Zafiropoulos, who had been second in command of an infantry division, who escaped in the Middle East during World War II and was severely wounded in action, had commanded the raiding forces and been assistant military attaché in London.

Brig. Gen. Andreas Hoerschelman, commanding general of the 20th Armored Division, who escaped from Greece during the German occupation, fought the Communists in 1946–49, served in NATO headquarters, and was top of his class in the Greek Military Academy.

Col. Demitrios Opropoulos, also top of his class, served in the Washington NATO staff, had an excellent combat record, and was promoted for bravery on the battlefield.

Col. Constantine Tzanetis, a highly respected senior artillery officer during the combat against the Communist guerrillas who became commanding officer of divisional artillery.

SECOND GROUP IN JULY

Col. Nicholas Zervoyannis, commanding officer of parachute school and the Greek officer with the largest number of parachute jumps, who escaped in the Middle East during the German occupation and fought against the Communists. Also navy commander Vardis Vardinoyannis.

Second group, July-August, 1968:

Lt. Gen. Antonakos, Air Force chief of staff who escaped in the Middle East during the German occupation, a fierce anti-Communist. Lt. Gen. K. Kolias, commanding general of the First Field Army and commanding officer of the raiding forces, who fought against the Communists.

Lt. Gen. George Peridis, a Ft. Leavenworth graduate who was twice promoted in the battlefield for bravery, was commanding general of the 3rd Army Corps, participated in the non-Communist guerrilla units during the German occupation, and fought the Communists in 1946–49. (General Peridis became seriously ill in exile, was hospitalized in Athens under guard, his hospitalization was discontinued before the conclusion of treatment, and he was sent into exile in May of this year.)

Rear Admiral Spanidis, representative of Greece at the SHAPE NATO headquarters, a submarine commander in World War II who escaped in the Middle East during the German occupation.

Brig. Gen. George Koumanakos, a Ft. Leavenworth graduate. (The cases of these last two officers were recently detailed in the American press in the Evans-Novak column.)

Gen. Kon. Koniotakis, who also represented Greece at the SHAPE NATO headquarters and had escaped in the Middle East under the German occupation.

EXILES ANNOUNCED

Col. Periklis Papathanasiou, a raiding forces combat officer who also escaped in the Middle East. Maj. John Demestichas, a field Army staff officer who fought against the Communists. Air Force Col. Tsasakos, who served with NATO, Navy Capt. Konofaos, who also served with NATO and escaped in the Middle East during World War II. Brig. Gen. Ch. Tsepapadakis, who was an instructor at the National War College and fought against the Communists. Maj. Bpissias, a brilliant young combat officer and an instructor at the Army War College.

Third group, May 1969: An official announcement which listed only 10 of the following said they were to be exiled for "activities directed against public orders." Two weeks later the junta said that a judicial inquiry was under way to determine responsibility for a movement against the regime.

Vice Admiral Avgeris, Navy chief of staff and chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, Lt. Gen. John Genimatas, commandant of the Army War College, director of a special group which developed the new organization of the modern Greek Army, Army corps commander, Army chief of staff who fought in Korea as well as against the Communists.

Lt. Gen. George Tsichlis, commanding general of an infantry division which had fought against the Communists. Vice Admiral Egolfopoulos, Navy chief of staff who served in NATO, who escaped in the Middle East and is one of the most talented and respected senior naval officers in Greece.

Maj. Gen. Vardoulakis, an officer with a brilliant war record, commander of an infantry division, participated during World War II in special wartime raiding forces missions from the Middle East against the Germans in the mainland of Greece and in the islands of the Aegean and fought against the Communists.

Brig. Gen. Const. Papageorgpou, commanding general of the military district of Athens, who fought both the Germans and Communists. Brig. Gen. Nicholas Demestichas, chief of staff of an Army corps who had fought the Communists.

Lt. Gen. Christos Papadatos, commanding officer of the military academy and commanding general of the Athens region. Brig. Gen. Dem. Papadopoulos, chief of staff of the Athens region, second in command of an infantry division.

RECORDS FULL OF HONORS

Navy Capt. Georg. Psalidas, who escaped in the Middle East. Brig. Gen. P. Panourias, commanding general of an armored division and Ft. Levenworth graduate, who escaped in the Middle East, fought the Communists, and was wounded in action.

Colonel Kalamakis, chief of staff of an Army corps who served with NATO headquarters, fought in Korea and against the Communists. Colonel Kalamakis was decorated by the United States as a member of the 7th Cavalry in combat action against the North Korean and Chinese Communists. Brig. Gen. Balkos, a Ft. Levenworth graduate, instructor at the War College, and a distinguished senior staff officer.

Col. Perivoliotis, regimental commander who fought the Communists. Brig. Gen. Bouras Anast, who served as assistant commander of an infantry division and with the Washington NATO mission, escaped in the Middle East, and fought the Communists.

Lt. Col. John Souravlas, who had escaped in the Middle East and been a raiding forces combat officer. Lt. Col. Drosoyannis, who was also a raiding forces combat officer and fought the Communists.

Col. George Tavernikis, a regimental commander who fought the Communists. Finally, the following combat officers who fought against the Communists: Air Force Colonels Diakoumakos, Pierakos, and Papageorgiou, three distinguished Air Force commanders and staff officers, who escaped as young pilots in the Middle East during the German occupation.

MORE ARRESTED SINCE MAY

Army Col. Pipanikolaou, Lt. Colonels Chrisostalis, Bouras Anast, Vlachos, Somarakakis, and Zajharopoulos. Majors Zervas, Maragakis, Moros, Yannopoulos, and Moustakzis, Captains Mathioudakis, Grivas, Zarkadas Alex. In addition Maj. B. Koqrkafas, an outstanding raiding forces officer, arrested in May, 1969, is feared missing since the time of his arrest.

Since May, 1969, among those arrested are Colonels Blouttsos, Mitsovoleas, Tzanetis, Maj. Gen. Em. Kehagias, an infantry division commander, and Lt. Gen. Sof. Tzanetis.

Gen. Tzanetis was arrested while vacationing in the Island of Rhodes. He escaped from Greece during the German occupation, he commanded an infantry unit in Italy in World War II, he was commanding general of the Army War College, he was vice chief of the National Defense General staff.

There are at least four young officers on active duty who during 1968 have been arrested in their units, court martialed, and are now serving sentences in various prisons. These are Lt. Charalamboulos (serving a 10-year sentence in the Koridalos Prison), Captain Zervopoulos (15 years in Egina Prison), Maj. Agelos Pnevmatikos (10 years in Korfu) and his brother Capt. Konst. Spnevmatikos (4 years in Kopidalos). There is positive evidence that these officers were subjected to severe tortures during the time of the investigations.

There are some hundreds of other distinguished officers of all ranks, who have been retired and removed from any position where their talents and their devotion to the mission of a modern soldier-officer in a free society, could be utilized for the defense of Greece and NATO.

Many of the United States-trained officers have been purged, arrested, or exiled. The purge continues.

The Greek press gave names of about 300 officers in January and February, 1969, and 463 in July, 1969, who were promoted. A large investment of the Greek people and of the United States is lost. War experience, professional training, and devotion to the ideals of the free world could eventually vanish.

These "terror tactics" are being witnessed by the population with apprehension and anxiety. Friends and opponents of the dictatorship are disturbed to see the prestige of the Army questioned by the people.

In talking with many people, one quickly realizes that the uniform of the Greek officer, once a symbol of pride, has become a source of embarrassment and even an object of scorn.

This is a disturbing fact to all concerned since in today's world, tanks, ships, planes, and men in uniform are known to be worthless if not supported by the will of the people. This popular support is lacking today in Greece.

Combined with this is a very rapidly growing "anti-Americanism" which stems from the conviction of most people in Greece that the dictatorship exists in power only because of American toleration and support.

[From the Philadelphia Sunday Bulletin, Aug. 17, 1969]

TRANSMITTERS AT STAKE—GREEK NEWS CENSORED ON VOICE OF AMERICA

(By Paul Grimes)

WASHINGTON.—The Voice of America is deliberately subduing its service to Greece and permitting the State Department to censor its newscasts so as not to upset the dictatorial military regime there.

At stake are nearly $35 million in radio transmitting facilities that the U.S. Government maintains or is constructing in Greece. Washington appears determined to keep them, even if this means compromising with a regime that it acknowledges is highly undemocratic.

SERVICE IS VULNERABLE

The Voice of America is the broadcasting arm of the U.S. Information Agency, the government body that is charged with carrying America's message abroad. Its commentaries and some other programs are admittedly tailored to suit U.S. policy, but its newscasts are ostensibly objective.

Richard G. Cushing, acting director of the Voice, conceded in an interview here last week that because "we have a lot of expensive real estate in Greece," the service is "vulnerable."

"The Greeks are very sensitive to anything we say about Greece," Cushing said. "We have to get along with the regime.

"We don't want to be thrown off Greek soil. We have this problem. Yet we don't want to compromise our broadcasts."

RELAY STATIONS

The most important real estate involved is a $28.7 million transmitter complex that is under construction at Kavalla in northern Greece. It will include ten 250-kilowatt and one 50-kilowatt transmitters for short wave and one 150-kilowatt for medium wave.

The transmitters will relay broadcasts that originate in Washington. They will be beamed primarily to central Europe, the Balkans and South Asia.

"The signal into India," Cushing said, "has not been good."

When the Kavalla complex is completed in about two and a half years, the United States plans to give Greece a $1.5 million, 150-kilowatt relay transmitter that it now uses at Thessalonike, also in the north. The Voice plans to retain, however, a $4.5 million transmitter on the Greek island of Rhodes in the Aegean Sea. The 300-kilowatt Rhodes installation relays broadcasts primarily to the Arab countries of the Middle East.

CENSORED ITEM

One news item that the State Department is known to have censored was broadcast Aug. 7. It concerned a letter dated July 30 that 47 members of the U.S. House of Representatives and three senators sent to Secretary of State William P. Rogers.

The signers included Rep. Joshua Eilberg, a Democrat from Northeast Philadelphia.

The letter expressed "deep concern" over actions and policies of Greece's military junta. It said the United States was losing friends abroad because it appeared to support the regime.

"Our policy of occasional, tepid expressions of 'hope' that the junta will return to democracy," the letter said, "stands in rather hollow contrast to the repeated instances of high-ranking American military figures being pictured and quoted in the controlled Athens press lavishing generous comments on the junta.

"In the short term, and in the long term, we are in danger of reaping the whirlwind of anti-Americanism, especially when the junta falls, as it inevitably must."

The letter urged that Secretary Rogers consider measures to show clear diplomatic, moral and political disapproval of the Greek regime and to curtail U.S. military aid.

GREEK STABILITY

Replying in Rogers' behalf, William B. Macomber, Jr., assistant secretary of state for congressional relations, stated that the present "internal order" in Greece "does not coincide with the best interests of Greece, whose stability, in the long run, we believe, depends upon the free play of democratic forces."

But Macomber also noted that Greece, "even under the junta, has fulfilled its treaty obligations" to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

"This, then," Macomber wrote, "is the dilemma—how to deal with an ally with whose internal order we disagree yet who is a loyal NATO partner."

In discussing the way the exchange was distorted in Voice of America Greek-language newscasts, officials here insisted that Greek membership in NATO was considerably more important than radio transmitters. They also made it clear, however, that the Athens regime doesn't seem about to withdraw from NATO, but that, if ruffled, it might very well seize the Voice facilities.

Thus, the transmitters appeared to be their greatest immediate concern.

STIFF STAND

The Aug. 7 newscast was pegged to Macomber's reply but also embraced the congressman's letter. It included nothing that was in the original letter, however—only a note that the congressmen had urged a "stiff stand" against the regime.

The newscast said Macomber's reply had been "welcomed" by Rep. Don Edwards (D-Calif), one of the most outspoken congressional critics of U.S. policy toward Greece. The script, as it was originally prepared in the Voice newsroom, included the following two sentences marked "opt," for optional:

"Congressman Edwards also said that widespread purges of the Greek armed forces have weakened the effectiveness of the Greek contribution to NATO. And he charged that Greek officials have refused entry to Greece to some American citizens with no advance warning and no explained reasons."

Before being broadcast, according to authoritative sources, the script was sent to the Greek desk at the State Department. It was returned to the Voice with the advice that the two sentences should be deleted. The Voice concurred.

DIRECTOR'S APPROVAL

The deletion is understood to have been approved personally by Henry Loomis, acting director of the USIA in the absence of Director Frank J. Shakespeare, Jr., who is in Vietnam. Loomis, who rejoined the agency in April, had resigned as Voice director four years earlier after complaining that his superiors were forcing the Voice to censor news.

The Voice has had several brushes with the Greek junta since it seized power in April, 1967. At first, according to Cushing, "they wanted to censor everything we said in the Greek language."

Rather than submit, Cushing said, he and John Chancellor, then the Voice director, decided "we would prefer to go off the air, which we did."

GREEKS EMBARRASSED

"But then," Cushing said, "the Greek regime went to the (U.S.) Embassy and said, 'Look, this is embarrassing. Go back on the air, be careful and we won't censor it.' So they backed down and we went back on the air.

"We have been careful in our output. We don't put anything out that hasn't been pretty well checked."

LEE HAMILTON

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, I insert the following to illustrate the cause for the Indiana delegation's pride in LEE HAMILTON. The ability to express the essential with brevity is a rare talent indeed. His remarks follow:

REMARKS DELIVERED BY THE HONORABLE LEE HAMILTON ON SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1969, FRENCH LICK, IND.

Let me begin with some statistics. In 1965 the Democratic Party in Indiana had two Democratic Senators. We had won three straight senatorial races (1958, 1962, 1964). We had a Democratic governor and had won two straight contests for governor. The last race by the largest margin ever given an Indiana candidate. We had six of eleven U.S. Congressmen, 78 of 100 representatives in the General Assembly and 35 of 50 state senators. Every state office, except for a few judges, was filled by Democrats.

In 1965 Indiana was solidly Democratic.

In 1969, the figures are not quite so interesting. We still have two U.S. Democratic senators. There is a Republican governor, a Republican in every state office (except for a few judges).

Republicans have seven of eleven U.S. Congressmen; 73 of 100 seats in the Indiana House; and 33 of the 50 seats in the Indiana Senate.

You know the story of the woman who wrote her Congressman saying: "I'm so disgusted, let's give the country back to the Indians." The Congressman wrote back saying he was not sure that was the best thing to do but it was better than giving it back to the Republicans.

In Indiana we have given the government back to the Republicans.

So I come to French Lick with one question on my mind:

Are the Democrats of Indiana ready to begin in 1970 the climb back to power?

The answer to that question lies in this room. Because you will determine the will and the spirit and the vitality of the Democrat party in Indiana in 1970 and 1972.

Each of us instinctively wants to answer that question affirmatively.

But let me inject a note of caution.

The Democrats will begin to climb back to power to the extent we are able to understand the changes taking place in American politics today, and to articulate and capture the root feelings of the American people.

You and I must understand that politics in America has become unglued. The rules of the game have changed.

We can no longer automatically assure that the Democrat party is the dominant party. In the six presidential elections since World War II we have won a clear majority only once, in 1964. Truman and Kennedy were minority winners.

The Democratic Coalition, which gave us electoral victories many years, can no longer be counted on. The South is no longer automatically Democratic—Franklin D. Roosevelt used to get 75 to 80% of the vote of the deep South. Hubert Humphrey got 29%.

The working man, as he becomes increasingly middle class in status and concerns, does not vote Democratic automatically. Young people (and 60% of our population will be under 30 next year) and minority groups are asking—not should I be a Democrat or Republican—but the more probing question: will the system work? Will it meet the challenges of the 70's? And, they will not accept the glib cliches of politicians who want to solve the problem of the 70's with remedies that only partly worked for the problems of the 40's and 50's.

The suburbs have perhaps become the key to winning elections and when people move to the suburbs their thinking and their politics change. In short, the American politics is changing. Our efforts, as always, must be directed toward the common man. But, the common man of 1969 is not the same as the common man of the 30's. He earns more money, is better educated, expects more, and has different interests and concerns than his father and mother.

And we will begin our climb back to power as we grasp the implications of these changes. Let me venture to my fellow politicans in this room what some of those root feelings are:

The people are deeply concerned—and in some cases, even furious—about the relentless increase in taxes: local, state and federal. They neither understand nor accept those increases, and they think we can do better in collecting and spending the revenues of government.

They want tax relief and tax equity—a reasonable assurance that Americans in similar circumstances pay approximately the same tax.

They want a saner sense of priorities. Enough money for national security, but not for monstrous military expenditures.

Adequate funds to stop the fouling of our natural environment and to improve the quality of education and health care, but not swollen expenditures for programs with marginal results.

They perceive the global responsibilities of a world power, but they reject the idea that this nation is the policeman of the world, the gendarme to guard every gate.

They want from all of us in public life less rhetoric and more candor, fewer promises and more performance, less talking and more listening.

And, as much as anything, they want a piece of the action, a sense of participation, a feeling they are not shut out from the decision making processes in the political party and government.

These feelings and demands of the people are difficult to satisfy fully. But those of us in politics have the obligation to try. No one can really say if the Democrats will begin the climb back to power in 1970. But the formula for success in 1969 is what it has been since 1789: listen hard to what people say, and do our level best to respond with concern and reason and compassion.

ANNIVERSARY OF INVASION OF POLAND

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I remind the Members that the Polish Government-in-exile continues to function in London and the voices of its officials are far more representative of the people of Poland than the mutterings of the Moscow-controlled puppets in Warsaw.

Therefore, I insert into the RECORD the address of His Excellency August Zaleski, President of the Polish Republic in exile, on September 1, commemorating the 30th anniversary of the German invasion of Poland.

The text of President Zaleski's statement which follows is of unusual significance emphasizing as it properly does, this historic anniversary which started World War II:

MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND TO THE POLISH NATION

It is thirty years since Poland fell victim to the treacherous aggression of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia.

As a result of this onslaught the whole world was enveloped by the flames of the Second World War.

It was not the first time that Poland, which in the course of the thousand years of her history has always represented the ideals of human freedom, justice and love of one's neighbour, as well as respect for international treaties, became the object of aggression on the part of two adjacent imperialist powers. Poland, the most easterly outpost of Western civilisation, a country of civic freedom and hundreds of years of parliamentary democracy, the cradle of some of the greatest minds in the field of national and international law, a state of religious and cultural tolerance which in the Union of Lublin in the year 1569 gave birth to a free association of nations in a single Commonwealth—this Poland has always been an obstacle to the wilful egoism of the two neighbouring powers.

In the defence of these lofty ideals Polish Soldiers fought on all battlefields of the last war, on land, at sea and in the air. The September campaign, Narvik, the campaign in France, the Battle of Britain, Tobruk, Monte Cassino, Ancona, Bologna, Falaise, Arnheim, the Warsaw Rising—these were the stages of the Polish struggle for freedom.

After the war, however, in spite of these enormous sacrifices the Polish people were abandoned to the demands of unbridled Russian imperialism. And the world, since 1945, has not attained the desired peace.

The Polish people, undeterred by this experience, have not given up hope that in the end good will triumph over evil, and law over injustice and armed might.

We, Poles dispersed over all the corners of the free world, have the duty, put upon us by the captive nation, to show the world the nature of this conflict between law and justice on the one hand, and naked might and despotism on the other.

We are fully aware that the road to the victory of law and justice is hard and may extend into the indefinite future, but we shall never lose hope that by the Grace of God good will ventually triumph over evil.

COMMUNIST AGGRESSION

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, recently a perceptive article on the nature of Communist aggression appeared in the Washington Post. In his column, John P. Roche points out that although the Communist bloc may not be monolithic, nevertheless, it is still actively pursuing its imperialistic aims.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 1, 1969]

"POLYCENTRISM" OF COMMUNIST WORLD DOES NOT LESSEN IMPERIALISTIC TAINT

(By John P. Roche)

Every columnist gets his quota of nut mail. Usually it can be identified before opening: no return address, strange, crabbed handwriting, odd forms of saluation (e.g., "Roche, Commie Columnist") and a recent favorite, several colors of ink. One writes this off as par for the course and chucks the missives in the wastebasket.

Far more distressing are the communications from obviously sincere and serious people, generally typed with return address, which regularly accuse me of singlehandedly carrying on the cold war with the Soviet Union, of having a vested interest in conflict, of flatly refusing to realize that communism has changed. For most critics, the key word is "polycentrism."

"Don't you realize, with all your college degrees," one letter asked, "that communism is no longer monolithic?"

To improve my education, correspondents include elaborate reading lists, suggesting that before I again venture into print I read Han J. Morgenthau, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and a half dozen other pundits.

All serious suggestions for self-improvement are welcome, but in fact I have read carefully just about everything published on the subject of "polycentrism." Most of it is not only true but banal: obviously the Communist world is fragmented today. There are at least four competing popes (Moscow, Peking, Belgrade, Hanoi) and perhaps a fifth in Havana if one takes Castro's ideological pretensions seriously. (I don't—he is in the tradition of romantic fascism rather than communism, and he has created the most militarized state in the Western Hemisphere.)

So much for the fact of polycentrism. However, the real problem is on another level. In operational terms, from the viewpoint of American policymakers, what difference does it make whether Communism is monolithic or polycentric? For persistently asking this question, Secretary of State Dean Rusk was written off as an archaic boob. But Rusk was right.

Suppose, for example, the North Koreans again invaded South Korea. How would it affect the situation on the ground if we knew that Pyongyang was in business for itself, rather than acting on instructions from Moscow (or Peking)? Nobody knows to this day precisely how the last Korean invasion was triggered, nor whether the seizure of the Pueblo was a local job or Soviet-inspired.

More to the point is the existing situation in Vietnam. I have been arguing for a decade that Ho Chi Minh is an independent Communist commander, that Hanoi is a "polycenter". It is quite clear that Ho's lifelong dream has been to reconstitute former French Indochina as a Communist state, including North and South Vietnam plus Laos and Cambodia. To attain this goal, he has been willing to disregard Moscow (for example, in ignoring the 1962 accord neutralizing Laos) and snub Peking (by barring Mao's little red book from mass circulation).

The crucial question then is how does aggression from a Communist polycenter differ from monolithic aggression? In other words, it is the character of the polycentrist regime—not the fact that it is independent—which is decisive. After all, in the 1930's we had polycentric fascism; Adolf Hitler never established a monolith. Some Fascist regimes were inert (Spain and Rumania, for example); others (Germany and Italy) were aggressive. When Benito Mussolini invaded Albania and Greece, it was no solace to know that Fascism was polycentric, particularly if you happened to be Albanian or Greek.

The meaningful criterion, then, for distinguishing among Communist states is whether they are internationally quiescent, as is the case with Yugoslavia, Poland, and Rumania, or imperialist, as is true of Hanoi, Peking, and—as the Czech episode once more demonstrates—Moscow. In short, we must remember that Communist imperialism is no less imperialistic for being polycentric.

THE FARMER IN THE TILL

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the August issue of the Atlantic Monthly carried an excellent review of the outlook for farm legislation written by Dr. John A. Schnittker and captioned, "The Farmer in the Till."

Dr. Schnittker drew on his experience as Under Secretary of Agriculture and identified the forces which have gathered in support of a limitation on individual farm payments. He is presently on the faculty of Kansas State University. Here is the text of his article:

THE FARMER IN THE TILL

(By John A. Schnittker)

John F. Kennedy is reported to have remarked that he didn't want to hear about agriculture from anyone except John Kenneth Galbraith, and didn't want to hear about it from him either. As President Lyndon Johnson nursed an incurable longing for the rustic pleasures of the LBJ Ranch, but he avoided farm-policy questions when he could. Public officials are alternately wary and weary of agricultural policy. There is ample reason for both attitudes. Farm voters are notoriously hard to please, and farm-policy debates are seldom stimulating. Yet the need for agricultural policy will not go away simply because frustrated politicians wish it. Advanced technology on the farm assures plenty of food for consumers. It also requires stable prices, and there are far too many farmers to arrange such a result without federal help.

Official lethargy on this score was shattered late in May this year when the House of Representatives, reacting against million-dollar payments to big farms, overwhelmingly approved a ceiling of $20,000 on direct subsidy payments to any farm. This revolt against the old order in farm policy was a replay of a surprising House action in 1968, an action later reversed by the Senate.

Congressional advocates of a farm-payment ceiling have some good things going for them. Farm-program costs, at $4 to $5 billion a year, are high and moving higher. In a careful survey made late in 1968, 85 percent of the farmers favored limiting farm benefits. City people are nearly unanimous in objecting to the big budget drain for farm programs when other priority needs beg for funds. Most important, advocates of farm-program reform in the House of Representatives and the Poor People's Lobby have skillfully contrasted giant federal payments to a few farms with the hand-to-mouth budget granted federal food programs by Southern-dominated Agriculture Committees in both houses of Congress, despite evidence of widespread malnutrition. Congressman Paul Findley (R., Ill.) has reported to the House that the cotton and wheat areas with the largest number of big farm payments were doing least about hunger and malnutrition. Finally, a study prepared last year at the request of President Johnson has destroyed the claim of the agricultural establishment in both political parties that surpluses and economic chaos would inevitably accompany a ceiling on farm benefits. Budget savings of $250 million per year are now anticipated by those who favor payment reform, and the savings could be doubled if the payment ceiling were set at $10,000 instead of the $20,000 that was proposed.

Those members of the Congress who opposed the ceiling on farm benefits claimed that such a plan could not be administered, that it was unworkable and unfair, and that it would not save money. Fortunately for the public, none of this is believed any more, at least not in the House of Representatives.

PARITY, PARITY, PARITY

It helps to know some of the words and symbols, if one is to understand the need for change in farm programs. Parity, price supports, and direct payments are the key words.

Parity has been the battle cry of farmers since the 1920s. Public discussion of farm policy, however, has been clouded by three parity doctrines. Parity in the abstract is hard to argue with; it is essentially a fairness doctrine. The effort to find out what is fair for farmers, however, has spawned two competing statistical measures of farm parity.

Parity prices originated a generation ago out of what seemed to be a sensible notion: that farm-product prices should increase in step with the general price level; this would maintain the farmer's purchasing power. Conceived before the new technology revolutionized farming, the parity-price system has failed to account for recent rapid gains in productivity. If farmers were guaranteed 100 percent parity prices in 1969 (instead of the present 65 to 70 percent of parity), wheat, corn, and cotton prices would increase by about 50 percent. Crop surpluses would be inevitable, and the Agriculture Department budget would soon rival the Defense budget. Clearly, the parity-price doctrine is obsolete, although not quite dead.

Parity income is a more recent standard. Simply put, the parity-income doctrine says that a good farmer investing his capital in an operation large enough to employ him more or less fully should be able to earn as much farming as he would earn operating any other small business. A recent Department of Agriculture study showed that a half million of the biggest farmers producing two thirds of our farm products are meeting this standard, at least on the average if not on every farm every year. Net incomes on the largest farms, thanks partly to big payments, are generally far above parity; rapid land-price escalation as farms are enlarged is a clear sign of this. In contrast, the smallest and poorest two million farms could not earn parity incomes on the farm even if market prices were doubled or tripled.

PRICE SUPPORTS AND PAYMENTS

Farm prices left to themselves are notoriously unstable. Price support programs, begun in 1933, grew out of that fact and out of the general economic depression. The new programs were supposed to raise prices by reducing crop production and by removing surpluses from the market. But neither the farm programs nor pump-priming expenditures in the rest of the economy brought real recovery in the 1930s. World War II did that, pushing farm prices so high that price ceilings and consumer food subsidies were applied. After the war, the farm bloc in Congress succeeded for a time in maintaining the high wartime prices under peacetime conditions, even though agricultural prices around the world were declining as Europe recovered and began producing again. The results were predictable. By the late 1950s high market-price guarantees and half-hearted production control were creating huge surpluses. More than that, farmers were gearing their expectations to high prices and buying their land at inflated values. Thus they were generating their own cost increases to justify future demands for even higher prices. By 1960, every grain- and butter-storage structure in the United States was filled. The annual cost of simply owning and storing the $9 billion farm surplus reached $1 billion in 1961. "How to let go of the bear's tail" became the principal preoccupation of reform-minded farm officials and economists.

The answer was a system of direct payments to farmers in place of high price supports. In the early 1960s, payments became the key instrument of farm-policy reform, cushioning the impact of an abrupt shift from high to lower price guarantees for wheat and cotton, and providing farmers the cash incentives required to reduce acreages and limit farm output. Big farmers, who had profited handsomely from high market-price guarantees in the 1950s, became identified in the 1960s as the recipients of huge government checks. The stage was set for the present struggle to reduce the size of those checks.

Recent developments in farming have also helped to focus public attention on farm-program benefits. When farm programs were introduced in 1933, there were 7 million farms in the United States. A few were huge holdings, but most were small, one-family enterprises. Benefits were geared to production, and so farm aid was spread fairly evenly. By 1968, more than half of those farms had disappeared. Today there are 3 million farms, but 2 million of them are small, part-time, residential, or hobby farms. One million top farmers produce nearly all of the farm products marketed, and they get most of the money spent on farm programs. A new study just published by the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, for example, shows that the largest 5 percent of sugarcane and cotton growers get 63 and 41 percent respectively of all the direct benefits from those programs. The largest one percent of cotton growers in California and Mississippi get 25 percent of all the direct federal benefits in those states. Under such circumstances, public concern is certainly understandable.

Clearly, the large payments are not going to the traditional American farm, still typically a one-family enterprise. Instead they help ensure financial security for such well-heeled enterprises as the J. G. Boswell Company of King's County, California, which collected direct farm payments of $3 million in 1968 and $4.1 million in 1967. The Boswell Company is a multimillion-dollar diversified cotton operation with good connections in Washington. Senators and congressman are not excluded from farming, nor do they always disqualify themselves when the Congress votes on big farm payments. Family interests of Senator James Eastland of Mississippi (the Eastland Plantation, Inc., and H. C. Eastland) collected payments totaling $142,078 in 1968, down from $189,050 in 1967. In October, 1968, Senator Eastland voted against the payment ceiling which would have cut the Eastland farm payments to

$60,000, or $20,000 on each of three farms. Campbell Farming of Big Horn County, Montana, often cited as the model of a modern wheat-farming operation, got $162,897 in 1968. Garst Farms, run by Roswell Garst, the international seed-corn figure and one-time host in Iowa to Premier Khrushchev, got $70,923 in 1966, but only $45,212 in 1968.

Nearly two and a half million farmers get federal payments, but only 10,000 farmers get over $20,000 per year. Most of the big payments go to cotton farmers in California, Texas, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Arizona. When Congressman Findley placed the names of all recipients of $25,000 or more in the *Congressional Record* this year, the list from the five biggest cotton states filled twenty-one pages. Five leading grain states required only four pages. Concentration of federal payments in a few cotton states makes them really ripe for reform, although sugar and wool, with powerful political support, are also involved.

Late this spring, when the House of Representatives voted a $20,000 ceiling on farm payments, the Majority and Minority Leaders were opposed, as were most committee chairmen. Understandably, the bulk of the opposing votes were from Texas, California, Mississippi, Arkansas, Kansas—the states with the biggest payments. The Senate could vote a ceiling this summer, if urban senators and the leadership take the initiative. If the Senate fails, final action may have to wait until the farm program is reviewed in 1970.

The White House does not seem to have learned anything from President Johnson's 1968 experience in this matter. When the House voted a payment ceiling last year despite intense Administration opposition, President Johnson began to have second thoughts about supporting his own farm bill, which continued the increasingly vulnerable big payments in a year when most budgets were being cut. Official embarrassment mounted after the Poor People's March when the Administration's expected assault on hunger fell before the tax surcharge, the $6 billion budget retrenchment, and higher Vietnam spending. When the Senate-House conferees on the farm bill dropped the payment-limiting amendments, last year's official White House strategy was designed to get the conference report stalled or rejected, so that the entire farm issue would have to be reviewed in 1969. That failed in a parliamentary maneuver designed without the President's knowledge by the Administration's own lobbyists. After that, President Johnson reluctantly signed the farm bill and directed "the Department of Agriculture to study the effect of a payment limitation on programs which require voluntary diversion of productive land."

That study was conducted in the Department of Agriculture and became public after President Johnson left office. Its findings flatly contradicted the principal argument the Administration and farm congressmen had made in recent years: that payment limits would destroy the production-control programs and would lead to new farm surpluses. The study also documented the potential budget savings associated with a payment ceiling. All this, even the potential budget savings, seems to have been lost on the new administration.

The advocates of unlimited payments are now left without any sensible arguments for their position. Previous opposition to the ceiling rested on the argument that big payments are needed *to prevent too much corn and wheat production*. This spurious claim had a limited validity in the 1961–1964 period of heavy surplus removal, but it has none in 1969 when grain surpluses are down. The Department of Agriculture simply did not know the distribution of payments by size of farm until around 1965. Acting on faulty information, Department officials took an early stand against a payment ceiling, and never found a way to change their position. Now we know that only 2 percent of all feed grains and 4 percent of all wheat would be affected by a $20,000 limit. Even a $5000 ceiling would not materially affect the stability of the feed-grain economy.

Cotton is more concentrated; one third of the crop is grown on some 5000 big farms (out of more than half a million cotton farms) which would be affected by a $20,000 ceiling. Legislative leaders who had insisted that a payment ceiling would cause a grain *surplus*, now said it would cause a cotton *shortage*, an argument so symmetrical it seemed plausible. Senator Holland said last year that the prospect of lower payments made "it appear very unlikely that such producers could continue to supply the mills with low priced cotton. . . ." This is a proposition that ought to be tested: if American cotton growers cannot compete on even terms in world fiber markets without unconscionably high federal payments, it is not too early to discover it. Major changes in addition to a payment ceiling are required in the cotton program. The most important is to remove a provision of the 1965 act which ingeniously exempted cotton from any future payment ceiling. This must be repealed before the ceiling can be effective for the crop and the areas with most of the huge payments.

WHAT TO DO

No firm principles have emerged to direct the Congress toward a particular maximum level for farm payments. Budget savings are the best guide. By that test the $20,000 ceiling is too generous; the figure should be no higher than $5000 per crop or $10,000 per farm, in order to save more money. Reduced payments will not undermine farm-price stability as long as top payments are not forced below those levels. Inevitably, the maximum payment level will be set somewhat arbitrarily: a $20,000 limit will save $200 to $300 million a year; a maximum of $5000 per crop or $10,000 per farm would save $500 million or more. If farms are allowed to split up to circumvent the new policy, however, some of these savings will be lost. This will bear watching; Congress should give the Department of Agriculture firm directions against farm splitting.

These reforms will not silence the sharpest critics of farm programs, who have never accepted the policy of limiting farm production to stabilize prices while anyone anywhere is hungry. So long as the agricultural economy remains inherently unstable, with too many producers to combine effectively to set their own prices the way industrial combines do, the opponents of any farm stabilization effort will probably be disappointed. We need a farm policy as well as a responsive food policy. But a sensible farm policy does not require giant payments.

Farm payments and food programs will inevitably be paired off in the coming debate, although ending big payments will not automatically ensure more food for the poor. The public can't help seeing tragic irony in Congress' tight-fisted approach to hunger, in contrast to its open-handed financing of farm programs. Budget pressures alone ought to encourage the Administration to sense its interest in this matter, if principle does not, although White House help may never materialize, given Mr. Nixon's dependence on the South. Political advantage seems assured for those members who help drive farm-payment reform through the Congress. Big payments lack any legitimacy in real program objectives. It is right, therefore, to end them. Only the most twisted sense of priorities will let us continue to pay millions every year to a few big farms while we procrastinate about ghetto reconstruction, postpone remedial education, close Job Corps Camps, and let poor people starve.

SEPTEMBER AT THE SMITHSONIAN

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following schedule for the Smithsonian Institution:

SEPTEMBER AT THE SMITHSONIAN

September 4: The Creative Screen. "Shape of Films To Come," a survey of revolutionary new techniques in motion picture making. Among techniques presented are films made by computers, a mixed media combination of live dancers and movies, shown on multiple screens and shown on screens of different sizes and shapes. Films will be shown every half hour from noon until 3 p.m. Free admission at the National Collection of Fine Arts.

September 5: Pharmacy in Prints. A collection of portraits, caricatures, broadsides and labels ranging from the satiric and political to the social and ethical, these prints show the doctor-pharmacist-patient relationship. Figures shown include Napoleon, Gladstone, and Presidents McKinley and Cleveland. Through February. National Museum of History and Technology.

September 6: The Creative Screen. "Shape of Films To Come," shown every half hour between noon and 3 p.m., at the National Collection of Fine Arts. See September 4 for details.

September 13: Insect Workshop. Conducted by the Smithsonian Department of Entomology. For members of the Associates ages 8–13. By reservation only.

A Lecture Demonstration Workshop on Stitchery as an Art Medium. Conducted by Constance Howard of London, England, and sponsored by the Smithsonian Associates from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. Repeated Monday, September 15. This workshop must be taken in conjunction with that listed for September 20. Phone 381–5157 for details.

September 15: Hurricane Fighter Plane. This plane will go on exhibit commemorating the Battle of Britain and the participation of the American Eagle Squadron in that historic struggle. The Hurricane was one of the first and most numerous British fighter planes in World War II, but it is now an extremely rare type of aircraft. It will be shown in the Arts and Industries Building.

September 15: Atomic Art. An exhibition of art by Alyce Simon of New York. Controlled bombardment of acrylic plastic sheets by a particle accelerator combined with flat areas of color produces a unique art form. Hall of Nuclear Energy, first floor of the Museum of History and Technology. Closing indefinite.

Stitchery as an art medium (See September 13).

September 16: Our Dynamic Earth: The Japanese Bamboo Kill, lecture by Dr. F. A. McClure, Research Associate, Smithsonian Department of Botany. Museum of Natural History Auditorium, 8:30 p.m. For members of the Smithsonian Associates and their guests. Public admitted at 8:20 as seats are available.

September 18: The Creative Screen: "A Trip to the Moon." Whimsical drawings by children 6–15 from the U.S., Europe and Japan, showing their creative concepts of space ships and creatures on the moon. Drawn before exposed to moon flight accounts on TV and in the press. Also showing is "Lizzies in the Field," Mack Sennett at his best; a turbulent farce involving beautiful maidens and battered autos. Continuing showings at the National Collection of

Fine Arts every half hour from noon until 3 p.m. Free admission.

September 19: Art of Jannis Spyropoulos. Greece's best known contemporary painter, Jannis Spyropoulos, will be represented by 26 large abstract paintings in an exhibition under the patronage of the Greek Embassy. Spyropoulos has exhibited widely around the world and has won major prizes, including the UNESCO Prize at the 1960 Venice Biennale. At the National Collection of Fine Arts through October 19.

September 20: In-Depth Workshop on Stitchery as an Art Medium, conducted by J. H. Koslan Schwartz and sponsored by the Smithsonian Associates. 10 a.m.-4 p.m. Repeated Monday Sept. 22. By subscription only. This workshop must be taken in conjunction with that program listed for Sept. 13.

September 20: What Is a Mammal? Tiny Tots Zoo Talk by Mrs. Sarah Gagne, Smithsonian Office of Academic Programs. For members of the Smithsonian Associates, ages 4 through 7. By reservation only.

The Creative Screen. "A Trip to the Moon" and "Lizzies in the Field," shown every half hour between noon and 3 p.m. at the National Collection of Fine Arts, Free admission. See September 18 for details.

September 22: Stitchery as an Art Medium (See September 20).

September 24: The History of Film Class for adults begins. By subscription only. Call the Smithsonian Associates 381-5159, for information.

September 26: The Wizard of Oz—Special performance by the Smithsonian Puppet Theatre for members of the Smithsonian Associates and their guests.

September 30: The Film and the Producer featuring Czech filmmaker Jiri Bauer. Museum of Natural History Auditorium, 8:30 p.m. For members of the Smithsonian Associates and their guests.

MUSIC AT THE SMITHSONIAN AIRED OVER WAMU-FM

The following is the schedule of "Music at the Smithsonian," featuring concerts and broadcasts of Musical Instruments Division, aired over WAMU-FM for second year in a row. 9:30 p.m. to 11:00 p.m., Monday nights during September. Five shows of 90 minutes each.

September 1: Jean Hakes, soprano; Stoddard Lincoln, piano. Music of C. P. E. Bach, Mozart, Haydn, and William Linley.

September 8: Sonya Monosoff, violin; James Weaver, harpsichord and piano. Music of H. Biber, Kuhnau, Milhaud, Mozart, David Epstein, and Corelli.

September 15: Huges Cuenod, tenor; Raymond Lynch, lute. English lute songs and solos, German, French lute songs, and Spanish lute solos.

September 23: Alarius Ensemble of Brussels. Janine Rubinlicht, violin; Sigiswald Kuijken, violin and viola da gamba; Wieland Kuijken, viola da gamba; Robert Kohnen, harpsichord. Music of Barthali, Salomon Rossi, Locke, Hacquart, Francois Couperin, and Marais.

September 30: Jean-Louis Barrault, Madeleine Renaud, The New York Chamber Soloists. "Words and Music From the Court of the Sun-King, Louis XIV." Works from Moliere, Racine, LaFontaine and others, music by La Roux, Couperin and Rameau.

TOTAL BLACKMAIL

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, some demands on America's social and economic structure are totally nonnegotiable. An example of one such is the IFCO demand for reparations from the church.

Such a demand should and must be met with total rejection. Those making it should be prosecuted for attempted blackmail and extortion under appropriate statutes.

Illustrative of this problem is a recent column by columnist James J. Kilpatrick:

FORMAN ENGAGED IN A MOST DANGEROUS GAME

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

Indications are growing that James Forman's Black Economic Development Conference has just about run its reckless course. A recent Gallup Poll found that even among Negroes, only 21 percent actively favor his demand for "reparations." Speakers at last week's NAACP convention in Jackson denounced his approach. Major denominations are pledging greater efforts among the urban poor, but they are pointedly excluding Forman from their charity.

If these signs correctly mark a repudiation of Forman—and especially if they mark a repudiation of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO)—it is all for the best. Forman is bad news; and this IFCO outfit has become a banking house for revolution.

Not many persons will have read the text of Forman's April manifesto. It is known generally, of course, that he has been demanding $500 million to $3 billion from American churches and synagogues; in May he seized and for several days occupied offices of the National Council of Churches in New York. The tendency has been to regard him as some kind of nut or something.

Foreman ought to be taken more seriously. A number of guilt-stricken church leaders still truckle to him. They close their eyes to the actual wording of the manifesto he drafted for the Detroit meeting of the National Black Economic Development Conference—a meeting supported by IFCO with tax-exempt funds. This manifesto is a purulent exhortation for overthrow of government. These are typical passages:

"It is the power of the United States government, this racist, imperialist government, that is choking the life of all people around the world. . . . We live inside the U.S., which is the most barbaric country in the world, and we have a chance to help bring this government down. . . .

"Time is short and we do not have much time, and it is time we stopped mincing words. Caution is fine, but no oppressed people ever gained their liberation until they 'were ready to fight,' to use whatever means necessary, including the use of force and power of the gun to bring down the colonizer. . . .

"We are the vanguard force. . . . We have suffered the most from racism and exploitation, cultural degradation and lack of political power. It follows from the laws of revolution that the most oppressed will make the revolution. . . .

"But while we talk of revolution which will be an armed confrontation and long years of sustained guerrilla warfare inside this country, we must also talk of the type of world we want to live in. We must commit ourselves to a society where the total means of production are taken from the rich and placed into the hands of the state for the welfare of all the people. . . .

"Let us deal with some arguments that we should share power with whites. We say that there must be a revolutionary black vanguard and that white people in this country must be willing to accept black leadership. . . . Only an armed, well-disciplined, black-controlled government can insure the stamping out of racism in this country. . . . We say: 'Think in terms of total control of the U.S. Prepare ourselves to seize state power. . . .'

"In order to win our demands (for $500 million), we call for the total disruption of selected church-sponsored agencies operating anywhere in the U.S. and the world. Black workers, black women, black students, and the black unemployed are encouraged to seize the offices, telephones, and printing apparatus of all church-sponsored agencies and to hold these in trusteeship until our demands are met. . . ."

There is much more. Ann Lloyd Merriman, the hard-hitting senior editorial writer for The Richmond News Leader, first began exposing Forman and IFCO in May. Last month Human Events documented IFCO's grants since September, 1967, to an astonishing list of militant groups. The gullible members of Episcopal, Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian and other congregations owe it to themselves to wake up to what is going on. Their money is being spent for the care and feeding of revolutionaries. This is Christian charity? No, indeed. This is lunacy.

SOURCE AND UTILIZATION OF MANPOWER FOR THE MINNESOTA EXPERIMENTAL CITY

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the task of establishing a new city with a population of 250,000 people in a 10-year period is unparalleled in the development of this country. Assuming a level influx of 25,000 people per year, for 10 years, there would be a requirement for 8,000 to 11,000 jobs per year and between 7,000 and 9,000 dwelling units per year.

To attract this inflow of manpower, a knowledge of the planned economic structure is necessary to attract the proper skills, and, secondly, the skills of available manpower must be determined to make provision for jobs to employ these people. Half of the jobs will be required for servicing the population with the other half required for basic activities including manufacturing.

It is essential that firm commitments be received from business and industry to provide job opportunities and to provide a base around which other activities could be tied. Training programs will be needed to provide the necessary skills required and to provide meaningful work for the minorities and disadvantaged. The matching of people and jobs provides a unique opportunity for experimentation in this area.

Following is a discussion of the source and utilization of manpower, extracted from volume II of the Minnesota Experimental City Progress Report, dated May 1969:

MANPOWER, IN-MIGRATION, AND MOTIVATION—MINNESOTA EXPERIMENTAL CITY WORKSHOP REPORT

(NOTE.—Report of the Workshop on Manpower, In-Migration, and Motivation held in Minneapolis, February 11-12, 1968, by the Minnesota Experimental City Project. University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota. September 1968.)

Two major approaches are possible in dealing with the manpower input for the Min-

nesota Experimental City (MXC). The first, a manpower requirements approach, assumes either knowledge of, or a plan for, the range of economic activities and focuses on manpower needs to satisfy this economic structure. The second, a labor supply approach, looks at the region's existing population or a hypothetical future population and attempts to determine the types of jobs needed to employ these people.

The decision as to which approach to follow will partially depend on the choice of goals for the Experimental City. If the City is conceived primarily as a device to foster economic development in a depressed area of the state or as an experiment in encouraging rural population to remain in the region, then the labor supply approach would seem more appropriate. On the other hand, if the MXC is conceived of primarily as an experiment in city-building technology or in the application of technology to cities, the emphasis is shifted from supporting a region to assuring a viable city. In this case the manpower requirements approach would seem more appropriate.

The Experimental City seems likely to accept multiple goals, both with respect to its population and its physical structure. As a result, both approaches will probably be useful. Through an iterative approach, an integration of the two methods should be possible. Regardless of whether the Experimental City is conceived as a regional or national facility, it will draw manpower from both regional and national pools. Upwards of 25,000 people could be expected to reside already within normal commuting distance. Even if no direct recruitment effort were made, some of this population could be expected to work in the City. When IBM opened a new plant in Rochester, Minnesota, a surprising number of their workers continued to live in the hinterland and commute to work for several years. If the MXC were deliberately located so as to be accessible to the largest possible number of underemployed and unemployed persons, the percentage of commuters in its labor force would increase.

The dispersal of the disadvantaged population in northern Minnesota is so great that only a limited number would be directly affected by job opportunities in the City. While our experience at the national level with resettlement has not been a particularly successful one, a program of resettlement might provide a major breakthrough in how to deal with population in distressed areas. Involved here would be the development of a resettlement strategy which would ensure a variety of choices to each individual for the fullest possible development of his social and economic resources.

In 1967, Minnesota had 53,093 unemployed persons, 55 percent of whom resided in either Minneapolis-St. Paul, Duluth, or Rochester Regions. None of the eight remaining regions in the State, as defined by Hoyt,* had as many as 4,100 unemployed. The regions commonly considered to be most distressed, regions one, two and five, had only 1,734, 1,771 and 2,923 unemployed persons respectively. While these three regions, (plus region three, Duluth), had the highest unemployment rates (due to their smaller populations), their absolute number of unemployed was among the lowest in the state.

The Experimental City could be expected to draw manpower heavily from the larger multi-state region in which it is located. Rural residents of the Upper Midwest Region probably would consider the City carefully before deciding to go elsewhere in search of urban opportunities. Additionally the MXC would also draw population from the nation at large, especially among those interested in its experimental nature and in the adventure it represents.

Accepting the assumptions made by the U.S. Bureau of the Census regarding birth rates and out-migration rates, there would be a net out-migration between 1965–85 from the four states—Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota and Montana—ranging between 281,000 and 366,000. Two facts emerge from these figures: (1) in no case could the City be populated in *ten* years by what would otherwise be out-migrants from that four-state region. (2) Since the motivations and tastes of out-migrants vary, capturing them on a one for one basis, even with active encouragement from the States involved, would be unlikely.

Any effort to redistribute population within the region in favor of a new city would likely encounter political resistance. Similarly, only a portion of the natural increase in population (417,331 in 1960–65 for the four states) would be available. Thus it becomes obvious that the assumed population of one quarter million at the ten-year level could be met only by recruitment beyond the limits of the four-state area.

For the more highly specialized occupations, there is, of course, greater likelihood of persons being drawn from outside the region. This reflects both the greater mobility of the highly trained and their in-elastic supply over a limited geographic region.

Training programs will be in demand to upgrade the skills of large groups of the population. Hopefully, a true industry-education partnership could be formed. An adequately skilled labor force would permit greater fluidity in personal choices among competing economic opportunities in the City. The requirement for educational and training facilities would be intensified were the City located in a depressed area. Another approach would be to train functional illiterates and others lacking skills in their home cities before they arrive in the Experimental City. The psychological advantage would be significant as the people in question would then be able to come to the new cities as successes rather than as welfare problems. The goal of potentiality should be established; that is, encouraging each individual to develop to his full potential.

MINORITIES AND DISADVANTAGED

An *ample supply of jobs* would be the strongest possible inducement in attracting a new population to the Experimental City. Assuming competitive wage rates, the greater the choice in opportunities, the greater would be the drawing power. However, if free forces were allowed to operate unchecked, a natural selection process would take place in the labor market. Inasmuch as the Experimental City has established goals of diversity in population, positive steps will be necessary to obtain those groups who would not otherwise be attracted on their own, such as the less mobile elderly and the hard core unemployed.

There is, of course, a limit to the number of unskilled and low skilled jobs a city can provide as well as the number of jobs for which people may qualify through on-the-job training. In this respect, the goal of economic aid to a declining region may compete with the goal of providing a broad range of people of low economic status.

A recent experience of Control Data Corporation indicates that a recruitment program for minority and disadvantaged persons might yield workers with more skills than might be imagined. Control Data Corporation opened with an employment office in the ghetto area of North Minneapolis to train. To their surprise, within a short time hundreds of unemployed applied who were trained and ready to go to work immediately.

A special set of problems and opportunities arises in connection with the Indian minority in many parts of Minnesota. While Indians of South America have become an intergral part of their nations; in this country Indians have been set apart in reservations and treated as foreigners. Although efforts have been been made periodically to attract and integrate them into city life, such programs have met with little success. The field of building construction is among the few major industries in which American Indians have established themselves as an important element in the labor force. If Minnesota Indians could be drawn into the construction phases of the project, the likelihood of their becoming an integral part of the urban life would be enhanced. Construction workers in large numbers can be expected to become permanent residents of the City, and Indian construction workers should be encouraged and aided to do so. The cultural atmosphere could be greatly enriched by the presence of American Indians, and efforts to attract and hold them would be appropriate.

MANPOWER REQUIREMENT

This country has no experience in the planned populating of a new city of 250,000 people. One vital question is: To what extent would the recruitment of manpower be assumed by the private enterprises locating in the City? Certainly the opportunity is open for cooperation between enterprises in their recruitment programs. Through coordinated efforts, a form of centralized recruiting could be established which would work to the advantage of all parties, especially those businesses too small to conduct a manpower recruitment campaign on their own.

The manpower question can be approached by determining requirements under alternative assumptions about the City's economic base. Many industries have established guidelines for optimum plant size, and manpower requirements could be easily drawn from them. This degree of precision might be unnecessary, however, since—within a broad range groups of industries have manpower needs in common. In addition, well over half the labor force could be expected to work in easily anticipated secondary and tertiary industry positions. The location of a major university would greatly affect the skills that would be needed in the labor force, both directly through teaching positions and indirectly through spawned research-oriented industries. In any analysis of manpower requirements, it must be borne in mind that technological changes in the coming decade will affect both the quality and quantity of manpower needed.

One way of approaching manpower requirements is by examining the City's needs as they are likely to evolve over time. Obviously, there would be an initial phase during which construction activities would dominate and during which recruiting construction teams would be a major concern. Concomitant with the initial influx of construction workers would be the emergence of a lower order service sector to meet the earliest retail needs. A second major population push would develop with the establishment of export base industries. Again this would be followed by expansions in service sector demands. In a third round, supporting export activities would emerge along with higher level services and office functions.

During each phase, the occupational profile of the Experimental City would change and manpower demands in new areas would develop. Some of these demands might be met by occupational shifts on the part of city residents. For example, as much as 10 percent of the construction force in any given year could be expected to shift to other types of employment within the City.

AMENITY AND MANPOWER RECRUITMENT

After employment, the provision of amenities is the most important factor in attracting manpower to a new city. Among selected amenities are factors such as open space,

*John Hoyt, *Minnesota Economic Regions* (University of Minnesota, 1966).

recreational opportunities, social atmosphere, and the general physical, human, and cultural character of the environment. The ability of the City to draw manpower will also be strongly affected by the quality and range of services it provides, especially educational services.

A difficult problem in planning amenities is in identifying appropriate amenity packages. Ideally, the character of amenities should be geared to the tastes and needs of the population. A new city which draws its population predominantly from people with rural backgrounds would obviously experience demands for amenities different from those desired by a predominantly urban population. Advance planning is crucial, however, to preserve the option of providing certain forms of amenity, such as lakes and streams. Further, pressure is created by the need to provide a minimal level of amenity at the outset as an attraction for the initial population.

To the greatest extent possible, amenity questions should be left open until decisions can be made by the population. Where this is not possible, discussions should take place with representatives of the principal categories of people expected to be attracted to the City. In general, to appeal to the broadest possible population base, amenities should be varied and extend throughout the sections of the City.

MOTIVATION

Manpower planning responsibilities will extend beyond the time that the City reaches its target population. Problems might be anticipated in motivating the population to accept the City and its goals—especially those coming solely in response to employment opportunities. As most residents will be inmigrants, special efforts will be necessary to foster a sense of community.

The Experimental City Authority should capitalize on the opportunity available during the initial years of massive population influx to establish attitudes favorable to its objectives. During periods of personal change, there tends to be a greater receptivity to change. This receptivity might be expected to last one or two years. During this time, the population is likely to be intensely concerned with neighborhood and city problems. Leadership can be expected to emerge, often in response to perceived common grievances. If the population could be made to feel their views were monitored and respected, they would be more likely to remain flexible in expressing themselves, and to identify with the City. Institutions must, therefore, be encouraged through which the population can become involved in the City and its decisions.

To foster community responsibility, MXC Authority planners should keep options open for ultimate decision by the population. As the population grows, decision-making responsibilities of the residents should increase proportionally. This technique would help avoid a crisis when the City is turned over entirely to residents. Citizens education in the purposes and goals should remain an ongoing process to promote participation on a meaningful level.

Many problems of adjustment could be overcome if the City were to aid people in their search for housing and employment. Perhaps an orientation or induction period would be useful as part of a resettlement program. To provide necessary job security, it might well prove necessary for employers to guarantee positions for a specified period. A delicate balance is necessary, however, to avoid an excessively paternalistic attitude. Ultimately, responsibility for the city will be transferred to its residents, and the more broadly responsibility is shared, the more likely the population will be to accept it.

OPPORTUNITY

The Experimental City provides an opportunity to deal with a number of shortcomings in the present system of matching people and jobs. There is currently a considerable lag between the recognition of a manpower need and the training of people to fill it. What is required is better information both on the demand for manpower and on its supply. Vocational training programs should be more responsive to industry needs. Technological changes must be anticipated and incorporated into educational programs. Most important, industries must make an effort to plan their manpower requirements in advance and communicate them when applicable to the appropriate public agencies.

Job development is necessary where jobs are sought for trained people. Question has been raised about whether employment services are adequately used by industry. Currently, only 20 percent of the nation's job openings are filled by employment services. Instead of waiting for employers to consult unemployment offices for specific needs, job development people should knock on doors and "sell" industries on hiring their clients. This approach should be especially promising in a new city where new labor needs would be on the increase for such a long period of time.

With the aid of private enterprise, new methods of recruiting people for the Experimental City will have to be devised. Even if the City's ten-year population objective were extended to twenty years, the logistical problems associated with such a heavy in-migration would be overwhelming. The City might provide a central facility where information on job seekers and potential residents would be available. If employers were likewise to submit their manpower needs to a centralized resource, computers could be used to match manpower needs with available skills. Such a system may ultimately be used nationwide; its early inception in the MXC would provide a useful test.

Present laws call for the withholding of economic support from Indians once they leave reservations. If Indians residing in the Experimental City could get an exemption from this law, a useful experiment could be pursued regarding the effects of this policy on Indian motivation and on their transition from the rural reservation to urban life.

COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE INVASION OF POLAND

HON. GUS YATRON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Speaker, this week marks the 30th anniversary of Hitler's infamous attack on the brave and noble people of Poland. The brutal invasion of Poland in 1939 in turn touched off World War II, the war which brought so much suffering to millions of human beings throughout the world. It is impossible to recall these tragic events without bitterness and shame.

When the Nazis invaded Poland on September 1, their 76 superbly organized and mechanized divisions met with little difficulty in devastating the unprepared Polish forces, though the 830,000 soldiers and officers of the Polish Army fought doggedly and gallantly.

Alone and unaided, they maintained a courageous resistance, first to the Nazis, and 16 days after the Nazi invasion, to the Russians, who entered eastern Poland on the pretext that the Polish state no longer existed.

Thousands of Polish infantry, Navy, and Air Force troops, forced to flee the military might of the invaders, joined the Allies and took up arms once more in France, Norway, North Africa, Italy, and Sicily. As the regular army slowly disintegrated within the country, an underground movement developed, directed by the Polish government-in-exile. Stray divisions of the Polish Army together with civilian men, women, and children, destroyed Nazi planes, ammunition dumps, bridges, and other military installations.

Often forced to survive for months, or even years in forests and mountains, members of the resistance and the Polish populace at large reacted consistently with spirit and conviction. Refusing to betray their national honor and collaborate with the enemy, 6 million Poles preferred self-respect and death to capitulation.

Millions more suffered deportation and imprisonment in concentration camps. Even in 1945, there was no peace for Poland. Absorbed by Soviet imperialism, the Poles have continued to fight for personal liberty and national integrity.

Those who have immigrated to the United States have brought with them their love of liberty, and their respect for law and order. They have contributed much, socially, economically, politically, and culturally, to the advancement of our Nation, and have helped make the United States great. My admiration and respect go out to all the Poles in America and especially those in Pennsylvania's Sixth Congressional District.

EGEBERG MARIJUANA APPROACH IN CONFLICT WITH NIXON-MITCHELL BILL

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, in my continuing efforts to shed light on the narcotic addiction and drug abuse problem, I wish to call to my colleagues' attention an article appearing in yesterday's Washington Post.

Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs, Dr. Roger O. Egeberg stated that, in his opinion, the penalties for posession of marijuana were too strict and that marijuana should not be classed with dangerous narcotics such as heroin. Dr. Egeberg is in such a high position within the administration and apparently his views conflict with the approach exemplified by the President Nixon-Attorney General Mitchell proposed narcotic legislation, I thought my colleagues on both sides of the aisle would be interested in Dr. Egeberg's remarks.

The Nixon-Mitchell handling of the problem is typified by strict, harsher penalties which will make felons out of all persons in possession of marijuana. Their bills link marijuana with the hard narcotic heroin. Much criticism has been leveled at this type of treatment of these

substances and obviously Dr. Egeberg is not in agreement with President Nixon and Attorney General Mitchell concerning them.

The article follows:

EGEBERG CRITICIZES MARIJUANA LAWS

NEW YORK, September 2.—Dr. Roger O. Egeberg, HEW Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs, said today the penalties for possession of marijuana were too strict and that marijuana should not be classed with dangerous narcotics such as heroin.

Egeberg said in an interview that he believed "the present laws are completely out of proportion" to the dangers presented by marijuana.

"I think they're punitive," Egeberg said. "I don't personally think marijuana leads to heroin. I feel pretty strongly that it should be placed in a different category from barbiturates, heroin, amphetamines and LSD."

Egeberg was here to address a meeting of the international union against tuberculosis at the Waldorf-Astoria hotel.

(In 1967, Dr. James L. Goddard, head of the Food and Drug Administration, came under fire for expressing similar views. Goddard was originally quoted as saying he would no more object to his daughter smoking marijuana than he would to her drinking a cocktail. He later said he did not condone the use of marijuana but did oppose overly strict penalties, which make criminals out of youths who "experiment" with pot.)

TRIBUTE TO THE LATE HONORABLE BARRATT O'HARA

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, Members of Congress, the people of Illinois, and all those who knew Barratt O'Hara or who knew about him were deeply saddened by his death on August 11. He had served in this House for 18 years, and those of us who bade him fond farewell at his retirement from Congress last year had missed this kind and wise man whose youthful presence had inspired us despite his 87 years.

Barratt O'Hara will be remembered for many reasons, and by different people for their own special reasons, for he touched the lives of many of us. But I think he will be remembered by all for his devotion to underprivileged men and nations. Throughout his various careers he was faithful to his concern for the needs of the unfortunate.

Barratt O'Hara served his Nation and humanity for more years than many men are given to live. From the age of 15, when he joined the 33d Michigan Brigade, the second American force to enter Cuba in the Spanish-American War, he acted with courage and followed the call of duty.

He attended college and then began a successful career as a newspaperman, becoming sports editor of the St. Louis Chronicle at age 20 and later Sunday editor of the Chicago Examiner. At 30, he became the youngest, Lieutenant-Governor in Illinois history, and earned nationwide attention when his investigation of substandard wages paid to women resulted in the adoption of a minimum wage for women by eight States. He served in the Army in World War I and then enrolled in law school, in pursuit of the career he had dreamed of achieving. The son of Circuit Court Judge Thomas O'Hara, Barratt became known, during the years he had a law practice, as a defender of the poor and unfortunate.

Barratt O'Hara was first elected to the House of Representatives at an age many of us would consider advanced. But the 66-year-old freshman Congressman was young in spirit, and he remained so throughout the remainder of his life. He continued to champion the causes of a minimum wage, increased pensions for civil servants, health research, and civil rights. He believed in United States' loans to underdeveloped nations; he was especially interested in Latin America and in the emerging nations of Africa.

Barratt O'Hara lived 87 full years of service to America. We will long remember him for his outstanding achievements and for his great humanity toward fellow man.

WISCONSIN ATTORNEY GENERAL ISSUES OPINION ON FEDERAL AID TO STUDENTS CONVICTED IN CAMPUS DISORDER

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Wisconsin's attorney general, Robert Warren, recently issued an opinion in response to a request from the State university board of regents on whether 25 students convicted of criminal charges resulting from a disturbance at Wisconsin State University-Oshkosh are eligible for Federal assistance.

Because of the high degree of interest in this matter in Congress, I am including as a part of my remarks the complete text of the attorney general's opinion for the information of my colleagues:

THE STATE OF WISCONSIN,
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Madison, August 14, 1969.

Mr. EUGENE R. MCPHEE,
Director, Wisconsin State Universities, Madison, Wis.

DEAR MR. MCPHEE: You have requested my opinion regarding the eligibility of approximately twenty-five students for Federal student assistance.

The twenty-five students had been suspended from the State University-Oshkosh last December for engaging in rioting on the campus. Subsequent to their suspension they had, it is my understanding, been convicted of a criminal charge arising out of the campus disturbance. It is my further understanding that the period of their suspension has expired and that they are now seeking readmission at Oshkosh and Federal assistance.

You are primarily concerned with the question of whether the University has discretion in the matter of granting Federal assistance or whether the granting of such aid has been prohibited by Act of Congress.

The applicable Federal law reads in part:

"Eligibility for student assistance—Conviction of crimes involving force, disruption, or seizure of property of the educational institution.

"(a) If an institution of higher education determines, after affording notice and opportunity for hearing to an individual attending, or employed by, such institution, that such individual has been convicted by any court of record of any crime which was committed after October 16, 1968, and which involved the use of (or assistance to others in the use of) force, disruption, or the seizure of property under control of any institution of higher education to prevent officials or students in such institution from engaging in their duties or pursuing their studies, and that such crime was of a serious nature and contributed to a substantial disruption of the administration of the institution with respect to which such crime was committed, then the institution which such individual attends, or is employed by, shall deny for a period of two years any further payment to, or for the direct benefit of, such individual under any of the programs specified in subsection (c) of this section. If an institution denies an individual assistance under the authority of the preceding sentence of this subsection, then any institution which such individual subsequently attends shall deny for the remainder of the two-year period any further payment to, or for the direct benefit of, such individual under any of the programs specified in subsection (c) of this section.

"REFUSAL TO OBEY REGULATIONS OR ORDERS; DISRUPTION OF ADMINISTRATION OF INSTITUTION

"(b) If an institution of higher education determines, after affording notice and opportunity for hearing to an individual attending, or employed by, such institution, that such individual has willfully refused to obey a lawful regulation or order of such institution after October 16, 1968, and that such refusal was of a serious nature and contributed to a substantial disruption of the administration of such institution, then such institution shall deny, for a period of two years, any further payment to, or for the direct benefit of, such individual under any of the programs specified in subsection (c) of this section.

"COVERED PROGRAMS

"(c) The programs referred to in subsection (a) and (b) of this section are as follows:

"(1) The student loan program under title II of the National Defense Education Act of 1958.

"(2) The educational opportunity grant program under part A of title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965.

"(3) The student loan insurance program under part B of title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965.

"(4) The college work-study program under part C of title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965.

"(5) Any fellowship program carried on under title II, III, or V of the Higher Education Act of 1965 or title IV or VI of the National Defense Education Act of 1958." (Tit. 20 U.S.C.A. Sec. 1060; P.L. 90-575, title V, s. 504, Oct. 16, 1968).

As can be seen from the above quoted Act, eligibility for Federal assistance depends on the results of a hearing held for that express purpose. The obvious question is whether the University is obligated to hold such a hearing. In this respect the Act is ambiguous and resort may be had to rules of statutory construction.[1]

I have recently been advised that the Office of Education has not adopted any regulation designed to force compliance upon edu-

cational institutions.[2] Notwithsanding, the Office of Education has issued the statement that "* * * an institution may arbitrarily decide not to activate the statutory machinery. Such an interpretation of Sec. 504 (a) and (b) is not correct."[3]

It is a common rule of statutory construction that the interpretation of a statute by the agency having the responsibility of its enforcement is entitled to great weight.[4] Further, to say that the provisions of Sec. 504 are not mandatory could vitiate the purposes of the statute and would violate the rule of construction that statutes are to be interpreted so as to give them force and effect.[5]

In the light of these rules of statutory construction, I can only conclude that Sec. 504 places a duty upon educational institutions to initiate a hearing whenever it has a reasonable belief that a student-applicant would fall within the prohibition of the statute.[6]

As to the twenty-five or so students—applicants at State University-Oshkosh, I am of the opinion that Federal assistance cannot be either granted or denied without a hearing; that eligibility for Federal assistance must depend on the results of the hearing.

In regard to the hearings, ineligibility for benefits is mandatory upon a showing at the hearing that the applicant was either convicted of a criminal offense or found guilty in a school disciplinary hearing which conviction or school proceeding involved misconduct engaged in after October 16, 1968, that seriously and substantially contributed to the disruption of the administration of the institution or use of the facilities by those entitled to their use which involved the use of or assistance to others in the use of force, disruption or seizure. The issues presented in the hearing are the identity of the student and whether the conviction or school sanction involved conduct as described in the statute.

In this same regard it would not be proper, in my further opinion, to consider any issue other than those above discussed. For example, it would not be proper in the case of either the criminal conviction or the student disciplinary sanction to in effect review those prior determinations by allowing the student to raise the issue that he really wasn't guilty for he had been forced or coerced in participating in the disruption.

The school has no authority to review the prior decisions which are presumed under the law to be valid.

Any suspension under the statute commences on the date of the determination of ineligibility and runs for a period of two years from that date.

Additionally, you have requested my opinion as to whether these same students are barred by law from participating in the many state student programs.

At the present time there is no specific State statute comparable to the Federal Act just discussed.[7] Consequently, it is necessary to review the specific standards upon which the benefits are granted to determine whether the students are necessarily barred from participating. In this regard, you have specifically referred to those programs authorized by Secs. 37.11(12), 37.11(15), 37.11(17), 39.31 and 39.32, Wis. Stats.

Sec. 37.11(12), Wis. Stats., creates a scholarship dependent upon bona fide residency, being a good student (scholastic), financial need and qualification of leadership.

Sec. 37.11(15), Wis. Stats., establishes a scholarship having comparable criteria in the preceding section excepting residency.

Sec. 37.11(17), Wis. Stats., creates a scholastic grant to needy and worthy nonresidents who are deserving of relief because of extraordinary circumstances.

The conduct of the students in question, which gave rise to the school sanctions and criminal convictions, does not, in my opinion, as a matter of law, conflict with the prescribed standards nor necessarily bar the students from consideration under these three programs.

The honor scholarship created by Sec. 39.31, Wis. Stats., is only available to "first-time, full-time freshman" and, therefore, not relevant to the students in question.

Sec. 39.32, Wis. Stats., creates a student loan fund. This State program is in conjunction with the Federal program created by P.L. 89–329 and 89–287.

P.L. 89–329 relates in part to Federal, State and private programs of low-interest insured loans to students in institutions of higher education. Specific reference is made to this program in Tit. 20, USCA s. 1060 (c)(3), as a covered program. Consequently, it is my opinion that eligibility of the students in question for an insured loan under this State program is dependent upon a hearing as provided in Tit. 20 USCA s. 1060.8

Sec. 39.35, Wis. Stats., creates a teacher scholarship program. The standards for eligibility are set forth in the statute and do not foreclose the students in question from participation in this program. However, any suspended student who has been under this program when suspended would not appear to be eligible in view of the provisions of subsection (d) which requires the maintenance of a certain scholastic standing.

In conclusion it may be stated as a general proposition, the twenty-five students in question are not barred from the State programs by reason of their having engaged in disruptive activity on the Oshkosh campus last fall.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT W. WARREN,
Attorney General.

FOOTNOTES

[1] 50 Am. Jur. s. 225, Statutes.

[2] The Office of Education does, however, require each institution to report the number of students whose Federal assistance was terminated under the Act.

[3] No. 8, May 27, 1969, *Keeping You Posted* by Office of Education.

[4] 2 Am. Jur. 2d 241, Admin. Law.

[5] 50 Am. Jur. s. 357, Statutes.

[6] "As with any provision of law, Section 504 demands compliance in good faith by those to whom it applies. So we expect that colleges and universities will strive in good faith to implement its provisions for aid termination where the facts disclose the 'abuse' has taken place Compliance in this sense is mandatory and, as I have already indicated, we have every good reason to believe educational institutions genuinely intend to comply." Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Robert H. Finch, before the House Special Subcommittee on Education, April 18, 1969.

As further indicia of legislative intent P.L. 90–557 s. 411, October 11, 1968, reads:

"Sec. 411. No part of the funds appropriated under Act shall be used to provide a loan, guarantee of a loan or a grant to any applicant who has been convicted by any court of general jurisdiction of any crime which involves the use of or the assistance to others in the use of force, trespass or the seizure of property under control of an institution of higher education to prevent officials or students at such an institution from engaging in their duties or pursuing their studies."

The appropriation that Section 411 refers to apparently includes for the current year the National Defense Student Loan Program, Federally Insured Student Loans, State Guarantee Loans and Private Nonprofit Loans.

Currently pending in Congress is Sec. 407 of the 1969 HEW Appropriation Act which reads in part:

"None of the funds appropriated by this Act shall be used to formulate or carry out any grant to any institution of higher education that is not in full compliance with Section 504 of the Higher Education Amendments of 1968 (Public Law 90–575)."

[7] Such legislation is, however, pending; see Bills 53S, 442S and 260A.

[8] This is true regardless of whether the loan is made by a private corporation under Sec. 39.33, Wis. Stats., Guaranteed Student Loan Program; also see Note 7.

LAW AND ORDER

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the long-suffering, quiet citizens of Baton Rouge, La., which I am honored to represent, have taken a strong stand for law and order.

They realize that their police officers are the front line in the battle against crime, anarchy, and insurrection. They also feel that government's duty is to protect the rights of the law-abiding individual before social programing and politics. For that reason, thousands organized a citizens for law and order to take a stand in defense of an orderly civilization.

I am pleased to ask unanimous consent of this body that a resolution adopted by the Batin Rouge Citizens for Law and Order be here placed in the RECORD of this House.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION BY BATON ROUGE CITIZENS FOR LAW AND ORDER

Whereas, There has been a subtle, but increasingly bolder and more extensive effort to harass and discredit our local police forces and their individual members in this country for more than a decade, and

Whereas, Local law enforcement officers are our first and last line of defense against crime, anarchy, and insurrection, and

Whereas, A strong, armed and independent police force is an impassable barrier to the advance of communism, and

Whereas, Communists, their dupes and allies in their unceasing effort to destroy local police forces do seek to establish and maintain civilian police review boards so as to make individual police officers afraid to do their duty, especially in connection with rioting mobs; and do seek to harass, discredit, and demoralize local police forces through brazenly unwarranted cries of "police brutality", and

Whereas, The elimination of local police forces entirely or reducing them to a statue where they cannot protect their friends, neighbors, and local communities from the minions of a central government is important to communists in connection with their plans for imposing a police-state tyranny on the American people, and

Whereas, Court decisions have unreasonably hampered police officers in execution of their duties in law enforcement, and

Whereas, There is a growing communist-inspired plan to disarm local police—partly at first; but later on, completely, and

Whereas, There is increasing lawlessness in Baton Rouge and increasing contempt for law officers by certain segments of the population, and

Whereas, The American Communist Party officially resolved as early as 1928 to use that same segment of the population in a bloody revolution to destroy the United States and create a soviet Negro republic out of several southeastern states, including Louisiana, and

Whereas, It is communist strategy to create

and incite hatred between groups in order to bring about their revolution, and

Whereas, "Liberation," "Civil Rights," "Biracial," "Equality," "Human Relations," and "Non-violent" groups have risen and recently gained great influence (each espousing causes the opposite of its nominal purpose), and

Whereas, These "anti-racist" groups complain about unjust and unequal persecution of members of the minority race by police in spite of the fact that statistics prove that this race commits six to twelve times the number of serious crimes (particularly crimes of passion) per capita as the majority, and

Whereas, Shameless do-gooders and pseudo-intellectual humanitarians without an average citizen's morality, loyalty or respect for the City or its Police Department (mercenaries without pay known as the "Legal Aid Society") have filed malicious and unfounded charges against the City and its Police Department on behalf of families of the three escaping felons who were legitimately shot in hot pursuit by police officers, and

Whereas, Law and order is essential to any society, and particularly to American society, based on Biblical ideals and the honor, faith and credit of one's fellow man, and

Whereas, The local government's primary responsibility is to protect the lives and property of all citizens of the community and to maintain law and order through its Police Department, and

Whereas, Elected local officials are yielding to the disruptive tactics and the outright demands and threads of organized pressure groups, and

Whereas, Local police officers are grossly underpaid and their salaries should be considerably upgraded,

Therefore, be it Resolved that Baton Rouge Citizens for Law and Order, with adequate justification and provocation as of this date and henceforth, will do all in its legal power to defend and enhance the authority of and the respect for the City-Parish Police Department and other local law enforcement bodies, including any remaining courts and judges which may believe in the U.S. Constitution rather than the present U.S. Supreme Court and/or the United Nations Charter, and

Be it further Resolved, that all citizens urge their congressional delegation to do all possible to reverse decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court which protect criminals at the expense of the law abiding citizens and which place unreasonable restrictions on police officers in law enforcement, and

Be it further Resolved, That responsible officials reject any "civilian review board" or other outside "supervision" of our police, including federal controls, and

Be it further Resolved, That all citizens obey all laws, whether considered unjust or not, and work for changes through the democratic processes; and that all our fellow citizens, white and black, wake up to the real meaning of what is happening all around us and display Christian charity, not hatred, towards all members of the community regardless of race or creed, and

Be it further Resolved, That the City Council approve without delay the new pay plan proposal submitted recently by the Police Chief and a group of policemen to a special committee of the City Council, and that every effort be made to provide this salary increase without additional taxes but rather through savings resulting from an economy and efficiency in government operations, and

Be it further Resolved, That police officers must be instructed and allowed to use whatever force is necessary to enforce the law and to defend themselves without regard to color or race, and

Be it further Resolved, That we will work diligently for the replacement, and, if necessary, recall of those elected officials who refuse to enforce the law, and

Be it further Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the Mayor, Sheriff, Chief of Police, members of the City-Parish Council of Baton Rouge, and to the communications media.

IMPROVED SCHOOL MANAGEMENT CAPABILITY: RESPONSE TO STUDENT UNREST

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Leon M. Lessinger, Associate Commissioner for Elementary and Secondary Education, Office of Education, addressed the 41st annual Harvard University Summer School Conference on Educational Administration on July 18, 1969.

His interesting and thought-provoking remarks on our Nation's educational system and student unrest deserve careful consideration.

In order to share with my colleagues Mr. Lessinger's views I am pleased to place his address in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

IMPROVED SCHOOL MANAGEMENT CAPABILITY: RESPONSE TO STUDENT UNREST

(By Leon M. Lessinger)

From our earliest beginnings, we Americans have been among the most introspective and self-conscious people on earth. The Pilgrims and the Puritans subjected their lives to continuous self-examination for fear they might incur divine displeasure. Anxious citizens kept lengthy diaries which reflect a probing for some hidden meaning in events of the time.

The effects of a Freudian era and the development of mass communications have made us, after 350 years, an even more self-conscious people. As in the past, our manners and morals—particularly the manners and morals of our youngsters—are of major concern. Our writers and commentators and many of our young activists direct their imaginative energies to exposing what they consider our delusions about the society we have produced. Everywhere we read of youthful alienation, disrespect for authority, and rejection of traditional values. Many of our ablest youth seem to see an emptiness behind the beguiling facade of middle-class American culture. The phrase "white-middle-class" has become an epithet rather than a social or economic description.

In the ill-founded, media-created faith that technology will provide instant solutions to human problems, we probe our society's dichotomies and hypocrisies and credit the young with insights formerly expected only of serious scholars. Our schools and universities, as fragile and vulnerable as life itself, have become special targets for the slings and arrows of these social critics.

There is no shortage of opinion—or even research findings—to suggest that something is happening here and the adult society doesn't know what it is.

It is ironic that the middle class culture itself has nurtured a large part of the current youth rebellion. I'm reminded of Sir Edward Appleton's comment about Whitehall: "You must not miss Whitehall. At one end you will find a statue of one of our kings who was beheaded; at the other, the monument of the man who did it. This is just an example of our attempts to be fair to everybody."

Robert Nisbet—perhaps in an effort to be fair to everybody—suggests that our youth are both bored and idealistic. I would agree. I would even suggest that a marriage of convenience has united boredom and idealism to ignite student rebellion.

Action is needed—and soon—if we are to preserve that idealism and eradicate the malignant ulcer of boredom.

Certainly we who have responsibilities for education must supply a massive part of the action, for we, and the schools we administer have stimulated a great deal of boredom among students.

Most of us can still recall the extraordinary dreariness of so much of the teaching we were exposed to: The lesson was less than first-rate, the passive note-taking, the rehearsal of opinion about books unread and authors unknown, the boring assignments, the perfunctory explanations, the flat stale textbooks, the mindless regurgitation of meaningless facts, and the capricious grading.

Our schools have made some progress in this area, but we have a long way to go. In too many classrooms these boring practices still occur. In today's exciting competitive market of television, magazines, electronic music, and easy travel, classroom boredom is unnecessary and unacceptable. Our schools must create an environment which enlivens, an environment which encourages idealism and provides productive channels for youthful energy.

Life to youngsters is exciting and exhilarating, not exhausting. They are eager to do, to learn, to taste, to see. Their vigor beguiles us, their brashness appalls us, their idealism invites us, and their energy evades us. We watch them, analyze them, and dissect them in an endless effort to understand and interpret them. Some of us admire them, perceiving their actions as steps toward fulfillment of our own hopes for a better world. Others fear them, foreseeing imminent chaos. We *react* to them, but seldom *act* with them. That they want us to act with them seems implicit in their tactics.

We know all this, yet are immobilized by how little we seem to know and how little we seem able to do. I believe we know so much more than we understand that we are unable to use what we know.

The survey report prepared by the National Association of Secondary School Principals makes it clear that most student protests are against the use of *power* as opposed to the exercise of *authority* which our society freely accords to effective experts. For example:

One-third of all schools surveyed reported student objections to the dress code.

One-fourth of the schools have experienced protests against the hair code.

Four-fifths of the schools have had protests against school regulations.

The way the school educates its pupils has triggered activist protests in 45 percent of the schools, the report tells us. Examination of the statistic indicates that much of the protest concerned class grouping, homework, scheduling, and similar matters which might just as easily be classified as objections to arbitrary use of power.

Challenges to the school's *authority* as opposed to its exercise of *power* seems to be greatest in urban senior high schools with more than 2,000 students. More than 80 percent of these schools reported protests against the instructional program.

The point, it seems to me, is that students see the school as an institution responsible for teaching and learning and simply refuse to grant it any recognition as a social arbiter. They see the school using power arbitrarily, while simultaneously failing in its primary duty of providing students with an adequate education. And they see great energy expended in the exercise of arbitrary power, but little effort applied to strengthening the educational process which would demonstrate the school's authority.

Please note that I am deliberately making a sharp distinction between "authority" and "power." A similar distinction has been made by John Gardner, Nisbet, and others. As I use

it, "authority" is the control derived from knowledge or wisdom, whereas "power" is an attribute of brute force. In this sense, the idea of "power" is expressed by the cynical adage "might makes right," while the idea of "authority" is the obverse "right makes might."

It is my opinion that legitimate social protest can and should be directed against power, while protests against authority must be intellectual and cerebral, in the sense of honest disagreement, if chaos is to be prevented. Protest against power should be an effort to reclaim some liberty or freedom which has been abrogated by the substitution of force for authority.

Our rebellious youth are, for the most part, protesting the use of power and demanding that it be supplanted by responsible and responsive authority. We are fortunate that this is true, but can claim no credit for it. Most of our protesting youth do not make the distinction I have made—nor do those who would use power to suppress student dissent.

What, then, has led to the rather sudden use of confrontation politics in our schools?

The Secondary School Principals' survey indicates it is not really the Vietnam war, nor the draft, both of which are frequently cited. I concur in that conclusion. It is my feeling that most of the protests which seem to attack authority rather than power really represent an assault on claims to authority which no longer are valid. If the claims to authority were in fact valid, a protest movement could not be mounted.

For the facts indicate that a certain amount of arbitrary power will be tolerated if those exercising it have a sufficient degree of true authority. Such use of power becomes intolerable, however, when there is a serious decline in true authority.

It is my contention that our schools have suffered a rapid decline in accepted authority and in freedom to use arbitrary power for very well known reasons.

During the past decade, the American public school system has both sought and been prodded to become responsive to major changes in the U.S. economy, culture, and society. Simultaneously, our schools have been confronted with the task of providing each and every child with the skills and the knowledge necessary to his future productive participation in society, regardless of race, creed, interest, ability, or place of residence.

This enormous increase in the burden on our schools is symbolized by recent Federal legislation. But our Federal programs really are only the most visible indicators. The real increases in demands on schools have come from the aggressive insistence of heretofore "hidden populations"—the ofttimes alienated and excluded minorities.

Through a combination of factors, these hidden populations have come to realize and accept the idea which we educators have long urged upon them that only by adequate education can they emerge from the bonds of isolation, economic deprivation, and prejudice.

Having accepted the investment value of education, our minorities have looked to the schools, only to find that these educational institutions are not prepared to provide the desired salvation. As middle class institutions, our schools seem able only to house minority students, not to educate them.

And the fault rests with the schools, not with the minorities.

Many of our schools traditionally have been Spartan in their attitude toward providing education. Students without the stamina to endure the course were cast aside with cavalier contempt. That tradition of the frontier by which a student either performed or perished academically no longer serves the needs of our youth, ourselves, or our Nation.

Therefore, I propose that we find a new educational strategy and build a new educational tradition.

Such a strategy would put the burden for performance where it belongs—on those who are paid to provide the conditions for learning. No longer can we afford to blame the learner for the teacher's failure. Putting the burden for student performance on adults who are paid to insure learning would enable us to serve the real learning needs of all students, instead of merely sifting and sorting them as we do now.

What I am saying is not new to you. You have heard it *ad nauseum*. Like many adults over 30, I am fully capable of mouthing glittering generalities and even inane banalities. But I hope and believe that the strategy I am about to propose may offer some suggestions on how our elementary and secondary schools can get from where they are to where they ought to be. At least, I hope my words offer some possible points for beginning what John Gardner has described as "a well-tested way out of the dizzying atmosphere of talk and emotion." Gardner's prescription is "to put one foot doggedly after another in some concrete, practical activity."

My remarks are directed to helping identify "some concrete, practical activity" which can engage us as educators as we begin putting "one foot doggedly after another."

I have suggested that a new educational tradition is needed. I prefer to think of it as a "zero reject" tradition. You may prefer Benjamin Bloom's term of "learning for mastery." Or you may like the generalization about providing every child with all the knowledge and skills he is capable of acquiring. Whatever you call it, the objective is the same: Providing equitable educational services for all children which will enable each to perform according to his own capability instead of simply fitting into a spot on the ubiquitous bell-shaped curve.

But, you object that has always been the objective of our best educators. Nevertheless, you protest, there has never been a single school system in any place at any time which has attained a "zero reject" performance—and I would agree with you.

I submit, however, that the tools are now at hand to make such performance a reality. What now is needed is the application of those tools to performing the tasks of our schools. To bring these tools to bear on the American public school system will require a vastly improved management capability in education.

Do I detect groans of despair? I am not surprised by your distress. We are educators largely because we deliberately sought a vocation which provided us with the continuing intellectual stimulation which teaching offers. Most of us are bored stiff or even philosophically opposed to the bureaucratic strictures and structures which seem inevitably to accompany the act of management. Like our activist youth, we prefer to do our thing. For most of us, that means teaching. We tend to avoid what we perceive as the tedium of devising bureaucratic plans and nurturing them to the maturity necessary to influence what other people do.

That, however, is the burden we have assumed as educational managers. And it is only through mastering that burden that we acquire the authority we seek. Too often, I fear, we have abrogated our professionalism and used power when we should have been seeking the authority which comes with mastery of our management task.

For the most part, our education agencies are not equipped with the management capability to respond effectively to the changing needs of their clientele. This is most obvious in our central cities, where the clientele has changed so rapidly.

Federal support has helped, but it has been something of a mixed blessing. The great Federal emphasis on instructional accomplishment has generated enormous concern and action in the form of new educational programs. A great deal of progress has been made toward the goal of equalizing the availability of educational programs and services among our schools, regardless of geographic location. Further equalization of resources remains to be achieved but is by no means the only action necessary. We must now begin moving toward achieving equality in student performance, a vastly more complex and difficult undertaking than merely equalizing resources.

It is our inability to achieve equality in student performance which is at the root of protests about instructional programs in our school systems. Until our schools are able to reclaim their rightful authority through effective management, they will continue to be the focus of escalating protest. The problem has surfaced most visibly in our cities, but other schools certainly will experience the same problems without improved management.

The basic objective of an improved management capability in education should, therefore, be to seek a higher level of *authority* for our schools, while rejecting the imposter of power.

Modern management techniques are available to our schools—at a price—but there has been no concerted effort to apply these techniques to education endeavor. Our failure to use the techniques which have been developed, refined, and proven by industry, business, and a few public agencies is at least partially understandable.

To me, improved management capability means the acquisition of improved competencies to perform certain functions. The functions which I believe educators must be able to perform, if they are to be true managers of the educational process, include the ability to determine and continuously modify objectives on a rational basis.

Modern management techniques require, first and foremost, a clear understanding of what the product is to be. This understanding must—in computereez—be output-oriented.

Our schools pay lip service to outputs, but usually in vague generalities such as "well prepared graduates" or "the encouragement of learning." Very seldom do we find educational objectives stated in terms of specific desired effects on the student or student behavior.

Almost all educational organization is designed to facilitate *the process of teaching, not the process of learning.*

Under our schools' present input-oriented management, time is apportioned, space is compartmented, materials are developed, and personnel roles are shaped primarily to serve the needs of the teaching process. But if we assume an output-orientation of serving the needs of learning, the responses to problems of time, space, materials, and similar matters may be far different.

For example, consider the problem of time for educational improvement. From an input-oriented view we might well conclude that the present school day is jampacked, that there is little or no time available for developing or introducing new curricula or procedures. But when the same problem is examined from the learning or output viewpoint, we discover that the learner's time is not fully utilized.

Or, similarly, consider the problem of providing academic and vocational education. The teaching, or input-oriented view, demonstrably holds that it is both logical and efficient to operate the programs separately because they require different personnel and resources. But the individual learner needs integrated skills which enable him to apply knowledge to production. Knowing how to calculate the hypotenuse of a triangle will be of little value to the learner building a set of stairs, unless he also knows the work skills required. And you have my assurance as a former engineer that stairs built ever-so-skillfully are likely to have a strangely skewered appearance if the lesson of the hypotenuse isn't applied in planning them.

One more quick example:

School district consolidation has engaged great energies and emotions for a number of years. The input-oriented view is that consolidation provides economic efficiency for the teaching process. Little attention has been given to the output-oriented view that what the learner requires is merely access to learning opportunities and that these may be provided just as well by adroit manipulation and shifting of the necessary learning resources as by moving the learner from one place to another.

Reorientation of present school management is essential to school acceptance of this new strategy. It is almost a truism to observe that if we can't really manage the educational enterprise, we can hardly be accountable for what that enterprise does or fails to do.

To make acquisition of this improved management capability a possibility for our schools, two major changes must occur:

First, local educational agencies must develop the capacity to renew themselves and to be more responsive to the changing needs of their clientele. They have demonstrated success in expansion and elaboration of existing programs in response to national concerns but need to develop the capacity to manage the problems of continuous renewal and flexibility. This implies the development of a new kind of educational management that concurrently (a) involves clientele in the definition of needs and policies, (b) brings real authority to bear upon the solution of problems, and (c) institutionalizes change.

Second, schools must accept the principle of "accountability" for student performance. Extension or expansion of services by local and State agencies is laudable but inadequate: They must be accountable for the learning *results* they produce with public funds. Schools for too long have operated as public monopolies and have been able to avoid the consequences of poor or mediocre performance. Student unrest is merely one consequence of these inadequacies.

I hope my remarks have made it clear that I am not neutral about the youth rebellion. I welcome many of the changes it presages. But as a father, as the son of immigrants whose lives were infinitely enriched by this great country and as one who has personally experienced the promise of the American dream, I cannot and will not accept as inevitable the growing trend of violence and anarchy I see coming as the full impact of the crisis among youth strikes at our schools.

I look with a certain wistfulness to calmer times when it could be said with a measure of truth that the faculty taught, the students studied and learned, and the administration presided over the operation with general support and approval. I also look with great hope to the time when improvements in our ability to manage the educational enterprise invests it again with the authority it deserves and needs if we are to preserve the freedom which comes only with the self-discipline of educated, able, productive citizens. It is our tasks as educators to produce such citizens.

GHETTO YOUTH FINDS EXPRESSION IN MUSIC

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, a record album called "The Sounds of Ghetto Youth" was recently released in New York. The record was produced by Montego Joe, a musician who has found time in his busy life to work with ghetto youth in the HARYOU Act program in New York's Harlem. Joe entered the program in 1965 to teach percussion music. After 4 years of training, his students have achieved such competence and musicianship that they were asked to record this album. It combines a great variety of music, most of it based on Afro and jazz themes, and is a most professional and enjoyable record.

The musicians are almost all Afro-Americans and range in age from 16 to 19 years. Most of the tunes were written by Nick Kirksey and David Edmead.

I believe the album demonstrates that our Nation's ghetto youth can contribute substantially to society when given the opportunity, training, and encouragement available from people like Montego Joe. These men have found expression in their music. Proceeds from the sale of the album will go to a HARYOU scholarship fund. I commend it to you.

THE SAFEGUARD SYSTEM

HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, during the recent recess, I was most fortunate to hear a most informative address on the Safeguard anti-ballistic-missile system. It was delivered by the Honorable Wilbur B. Payne, Deputy Under Secretary of the Army, Operations Research, before a public meeting arranged by the Hampton Roads Junior Chamber of Commerce. I found the excellent remarks to be most thought provoking and I feel certain that the rest of the Members should have an opporunity to share them, as follows:

THE SAFEGUARD SYSTEM

(Address by Dr. Wilbur B. Payne, Deputy Under Secretary of the Army, Operations Research, before the Hampton Roads Jaycees, Newport News, Va., August 27, 1969)

This evening I would like to address the three principal questions about the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile deployment that were raised in the recent debate. First, is Safeguard necessary? Second, will Safeguard work? And third, is Safeguard provocative?

To understand the necessity for Safeguard it is necessary to realize that the present balance of strategic power is brought about by the survivability of offensive forces. Both the United States and the Soviet Union today have offensive forces that can survive any attack the other could launch. Then, in a second, retaliatory attack these forces can inflict damage so severe that it destroys the first attacker as a modern society. No one who thinks about it can believe that this represents the best of all possible worlds. It is a world that has resulted from the conflict that is called the Cold War. It is a conflict that we must sooner or later resolve peacefully through political means. Until if can be resolved, however, the best course to follow is to prevent war between the two major powers. To do this the United States has long held to a policy of maintaining strategic nuclear forces that by their size and their ability to survive, guarantee that the Soviet Union can find no advantage from attacking first.

These forces contain three major elements—land based ICBM bombers, and missiles to be launched from submarines. Our land based missiles are in hardened silos. Our nuclear submarines, the Polaris, are virtually impossible to locate when on station. Some of our bombers are on alert, prepared to take off on short notice. For these reasons, most of our nuclear striking power could today survive an attack by all of the missiles now in the Soviet arsenal.

In the absence of any other way to provide the nation a means to insure its survival, reliance on this second strike capability as a deterrent to attack has been endorsed by every President since General Eisenhower. In all likelihood, we will have to continue to rely on this deterrent until, either by agreement or through some other parallel action, we and the Soviet Union can move to some other basis for our mutual security.

For many years, the declared policy of the United States and our actions in deploying strategic forces have been intended to show the Soviet Union that we would make every effort to protect this deterrent power. It is because we see certain trends in Soviet deployments and activities in the development of nuclear weapons—trends that if continued could lead to substantial threats to our deterrent—that the President has recommended the initiation of the Safeguard deployment.

One of these trends is the continued deployment in the Soviet Union of the ICBM we call the SS-9. This is a very large missile, much larger than Minuteman. It can carry a warhead with a yield up to 25 megatons. If such a warhead hits within about 1 mile of a Minuteman silo it will very probably destroy the missile. During the past several months, we have seen evidence of testing in the Soviet Union of the SS-9 with multiple warheads. We have every reason to expect this testing will continue and thus provide the SS-9 a capability to deliver 3 warheads of 5 megaton yield. These smaller warheads would have to hit within about one-half mile of a Minuteman silo, but there is no insuperable technical obstacle to the achievement of such accuracy.

The nuclear weapons that were used against Hiroshima and Nagasaki had only about one-thousandth the yield of the SS-9. Only for a very small number of very large cities would yields larger than a few megatons be considered useful. A few such weapons might be found in a force designed as ours is for deterrence through an assured second strike capability. It is difficult to so interpret many hundred such weapons. Because of this, and because of the continued deployment of the SS-9, we can at this time see only one military use for so large a deployment of such large missiles and that is to erode our Minuteman deterrent forces.

At the same time the Soviet Union has started a rapid growth in its force of missile carrying submarines. The Soviets have built such ships for several years but recently have noticeably increased their construction rate.

This development can also be related to our retaliatory capability because the submarine launched missile in adequate numbers would represent a serious threat to our bomber force. The submarine launched missile gives only about half the warning time of an ICBM.

If these threats are developed and deployed we could be forced to rely primarily on our own submarine force for our deterrent. This

is a formidable force and one which we are confident is now secure and reliable. But just as we are constantly trying to counter the submarine threat, the Soviet Union is undoubtedly developing improved capability for detecting and destroying submarines.

I would like to emphasize that these are potential and evolving threats, not ones now in being. But if we do not begin now to counter them we can be left with a deterrent that may suddenly become vulnerable to some Soviet development we could not quickly counter. I believe it would be unwise to provide so great a temptation to our opponents. It has long been our national policy not to do so.

Because of these actions on the part of the Soviet Union, I believe the answer to the first question is yes, the Safeguard is necessary. Basically, Safeguard is a thin defense against ballistic missiles. It is called thin in the sense that it cannot protect our cities from a massive Soviet attack. Safeguard can, however, protect a minimum essential number of our missiles from a Soviet first strike. It can also provide added warning time for our bomber forces on alert. In addition, it will protect our population from any attack the Chinese Communists could launch in the coming decade. The Chinese are developing an ICBM capability. They are progressing somewhat more slowly than we once predicted, but they are progressing. Without action on our part they could achieve a capability to kill 10 to 20 million of our people by the mid-1970's. We can defend against this threat and since we are very uncertain about Chinese objectives and about how their present or future governments would behave in a crisis, it seems prudent to do so.

I believe that Safeguard will work in the sense that it can accomplish these limited objectives. We do not know how with presently feasible techniques to defend our cities against massive Soviet attacks. In his statement on March 14 President Nixon said:

"Although every instinct motivates me to provide the American people with complete protection against a major nuclear attack, it is not now within our power to do so."

Since we cannot defend the cities against Soviet attacks it is reasonable to ask why we are confident we can accomplish any of the objectives of the Safeguard deployment. The answer has two facets; one deriving from the technical character of the Safeguard system, the other deriving from the differences in the targets to be defended and the threats to those targets.

The Safeguard does not require any radical new technical breakthroughs to work. It is a very complicated system but it is only a very specialized combination of radar, guided missiles and electronic computers. All of these have their technical roots in the 1940's. The radars do not have large rotating antennae. Rather their beams are formed and steered electronically. This may seem like wizardry, but the fundamental theory of such systems was fully developed by 1941. We and the Russians have built and operated several such radars with all the power and sophistication needed for the Safeguard. We are testing a prototype of the principal Safeguard radar, the Missile Site Radar, at Kwajalein Atoll now.

Guided missiles are an engineering challenge but not a scientific puzzle. They obey Newton's laws of motion and they receive guidance commands that could have been generated any time since de Forest invented the three element vacuum tube.

The Safeguard computers also do not require any significant increase in speed of computation or storage capacity over some now in use. Writing the programs for them, checking these out is a major task. But it is possible with a little care to use computers effectively as well as their more familiar application: lousing up charge accounts and magazine subscriptions.

None of those who argue that Safeguard will not work point to any basic principles of science that prevent its working. Rather they point to its great complexity and the engineering difficulties. But the United States has been conducting Engineering Development of ABM systems continuously since 1956. Because of this, the Safeguard represents an application of a fully matured technology. We are extensively testing its components and will continue this testing. But there is no reason to view its design as more than a particularly complicated system using thoroughly understood principles.

On the operational side it is important to recognize that there is quite a difference between successful attack on a city and a Minuteman or on a bomber force. The most important difference is that only a few missiles need to penetrate the defense to destroy a city and those few need not be very accurately delivered. Hence, to defend a city against a massive attack, the defense must stop nearly every warhead, or everything it suspects is a warhead. To destroy Minuteman more than 1000 warheads must penetrate the defense and the ones that penetrate must be very accurately aimed. This, and the fact that the targets are hard so that high altitude bursts cannot damage them, gives the defense a great advantage. We have studied with great care the full range of alternatives that might be used in attacks against Minuteman. These include decoys intended to confuse the radar, chaff intended to hide the warheads from the radar and a wide variety of tactics that the enemy might adopt. The components of Safeguard can provide adequate protection against any that might be used with the SS–9 and, in combination with some increase in Minuteman's hardness, can defend adequately against any threats we can now conceive as being at all practical.

For protection of the bombers we need only provide adequate warning and an ability to intercept the first few missiles aimed at them. Thus we buy time for the alert bombers to launch, not protection of the base.

The Chinese threat will be quite different from the Soviet threat in both numbers and in sophistication. The Russians already have more than 900 missiles on launchers. The Russians, as we do, conduct an extensive research program in space and, most importantly, have a fully developed and deployed ABM system and a very active research program in defensive systems. The Chinese have neither an ABM program nor a space program. In fact, they have never even developed an air defense missile system much less an ABM system. This is very important because to penetrate a modern defense an offensive missile force must be both very large and very sophisticated. There are many things that might, in principle, confuse a radar and act as decoys. But unless the attacker knows what a radar can measure and how accurately it does measure, he had better not count on most of these many things. The third question I specified was, is Safeguard provocative.

There are two somewhat different aspects to this. First, does it represent another trip in the futile spiral of the arms race. That is, does it force the Soviets to react in a way that will in turn force us to react in a way that in turn and on and on forever. I do not believe it will make a Soviet reaction necessary unless they are unalterably committed to achieveing a capability for a first strike. This Safeguard can prevent, but Safeguard is in every sense a limited defensive system. It will not impact on the Soviet deterrent force. It cannot attack either Russian offensive forces or the Russian population. Russia's present offensive force will remain a fully adequate deterrent if he believes he must have one. The best evidence Russia will have of this is not our insistence that it is so. Rather the Russians will be readily able to determine from the physical deployment of the sites that the system has a limited capability.

The first two sites will be in two of the present Minuteman fields. Others, if the threats continue to evolve, will be near other Minuteman fields and generally along both coasts of the mainland. The design and limitations of Safeguard will be obvious and it will be easy for the Russians to determine that Safeguard is not capable of urban defense against massive attacks.

A second aspect of the question of whether Safeguard is provocative is, "Will it lessen the chances for an arms control agreement with the Soviets?" Not only do I not believe it will lessen the chances of such an agreement, it may even improve them. After all, we have told the Soviets for many years through many channels of communication that we would respond if our deterrent were challenged. If I were a Russian I would see Safeguard as less provocative than the alternative of a large increase in U.S. offensive forces. Not only do I believe this, but I interpret recent Soviet actions to indicate they believe it. In May of last year the Congress vigorously debated the issues raised by President Johnson's recommendation to deploy the Sentinel system. In that debate, as in the current one, it was argued that ballistic missile defense would frustrate the chance for arms control talks. Nonetheless, the Congress authorized deployment and it was after that decision that the Soviet suggested that arms control talks begin very soon.

As you know, the Soviets have an ABM system already operational around Moscow and we believe that they intend to complete development and deployment. They have other defensive systems deployed that could be given an anti-missile capability and a very impressive research and development program underway. They have stated frequently that they do not regard defensive systems as provocative. Since they continue their deployments it seems obvious that they do not see any necessary inconsistency between ABM deployments and arms control talks.

In fact, if only by demonstrating that continuation of the arms race is futile, Safeguard may add incentive to negotiate. Finally, there is an element of the President's decision that does not receive the emphasis it deserves. The United States has not launched an all out emergency program to deploy a massive ABM system on a fixed schedule. Only two sites have been formally recommended for construction and both of these are for defense of Minuteman. The additional deployments are in reality options for the future. Given the threat we now see evolving it seems necessary to preserve these options. But they will be exercised only if subsequent information shows the threats continue to evolve. It requires many years to deploy Safeguard. The first site will not become operational until 1974.

No one can be absolutely certain of his prediction five years into the future. I hope 1974 provides us with a more peaceful world; a world in which freedom does not depend on threats of nuclear retaliation. I even believe that many people in Russia and China share this hope. But unfortunately wishing, alone, will not make it so. However much we might wish Safeguard were unnecessary, I do not believe President Nixon or the Senate had any prudent alternative but to proceed with those actions necessary to permit deployment of Safeguard.