

Col. Lawrence McCeney Jones, Jr., [REDACTED] Army of the United States (lieutenant colonel, U.S. Army).

Col. Roland Valentine Heiser, [REDACTED] Army of the United States (lieutenant colonel, U.S. Army).

Col. Harry Ellsworth Tabor, [REDACTED] U.S. Army.

Col. William Holman Brandenburg, [REDACTED] U.S. Army.

Col. Harold Burton Gibson, Jr., [REDACTED] Army of the United States (lieutenant colonel, U.S. Army).

Col. John Alfred Kjellstrom, [REDACTED] U.S. Army.

Col. Peter George Olenchuk, [REDACTED] Army of the United States (lieutenant colonel, U.S. Army).

Col. Charles Maurice Hall, [REDACTED] Army of the United States (lieutenant colonel, U.S. Army).

Col. Daniel Orrin Graham, [REDACTED] Army of the United States (lieutenant colonel, U.S. Army).

Col. John Thornton Peterson, [REDACTED] U.S. Army.

Col. Frank Anton Hinrichs, [REDACTED] Army of the United States (lieutenant colonel, U.S. Army).

Col. Joseph Charles Fimiani, [REDACTED] Army of the United States (lieutenant colonel, U.S. Army).

Col. John Walter Collins III, [REDACTED] U.S. Army.

Col. Theme Troy Everton, [REDACTED] U.S. Army.

Col. John Carpenter Raaen, Jr., [REDACTED] U.S. Army.

Col. Alvin Curtely Isaacs, [REDACTED] U.S. Army.

Col. Carl Vernon Cash, [REDACTED] Army of the United States (lieutenant colonel, U.S. Army).

Col. Carl Ray Duncan, [REDACTED] U.S. Army.

Col. Bruce Campbell Babbitt, [REDACTED] Army of the United States (lieutenant colonel, U.S. Army).

Col. Robert Charles Hixon, [REDACTED] U.S. Army.

Col. John Murphy Dunn, [REDACTED] Army of the United States (major, U.S. Army).

Col. James Alexander Grimsley, Jr., [REDACTED] Army of the United States (lieutenant colonel, U.S. Army).

Col. Eugene Priest Forrester, [REDACTED]

Army of the United States (lieutenant colonel, U.S. Army).

### CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate September 10, 1969:

#### U.S. ATTORNEYS

Wayman G. Sherrer, of Alabama, to be U.S. attorney for the northern district of Alabama for the term of 4 years.

Peter Mills, of Maine, to be U.S. attorney for the district of Maine for the term of 4 years.

#### U.S. MARSHALS

Harold S. Fountain, of Alabama, to be U.S. marshal for the southern district of Alabama for the term of 4 years.

John H. deWinter, of Maine, to be U.S. marshal for the district of Maine for the term of 4 years.

Marvin G. Washington, of Michigan, to be U.S. marshal for the western district of Michigan for the term of 4 years.

Charles S. Guy, of Pennsylvania, to be U.S. marshal for the eastern district of Pennsylvania for the term of 4 years.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### ONE MILLION STUDENTS BENEFIT FROM COLLEGE WORK-STUDY PROGRAM—ROXANNE LAHTI RECOGNIZED AT OFFICE OF EDUCATION CEREMONY

#### HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, in the 5 years since it was passed by the Congress, the college work-study program has opened the door to a college education to many young people who might not otherwise have had the opportunity.

This morning it was my pleasure to participate in a ceremony at the U.S. Office of Education recognizing Miss Roxanne Lahti, of the University of Minnesota, as the one-millionth student to participate in this valuable program.

Miss Lahti was presented a certificate signed by Dr. James E. Allen, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Education, which read as follows:

Given in recognition of Roxanne Lahti as the one-millionth student in college work-study program of federal financial assistance to the youth of America in her education.

Dr. Preston Valien, Acting Associate Commissioner for Higher Education, presided and an informative address was made by Timothy Wirth, assistant to the Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Two distinguished legislative leaders from the House of Representatives, Hon. JOHN A. BLATNIK, who represents Miss Lahti's district in Minnesota, and Hon. JOHN BRADEMAS, member of the House Education Subcommittee, had timely remarks about this young lady and the program that is helping her obtain a college education.

I was privileged to speak for the Senate Education Subcommittee.

Also participating in the program were James W. Moore, Director of the Office of Education's Division of Student Financial Aid, and these Office of Education staff members: Norman Brooks, James Allen, Mike Oliver, Warren Troutman, and Ed Sanders.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the address of Mr. Wirth and my remarks be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection the addresses were ordered printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### ADDRESS BY TIMOTHY WIRTH

It is a pleasure to greet the distinguished guests who have come here this morning to join us in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in honoring Miss Roxanne Lahti, the one millionth student to hold a job under the College Work-Study program.

Roxanne grew up on a farm near Barnum, Minnesota, where she attended high school, taking an active part in her school's activities—including playing clarinet in the band. She has done all the work there is to do in running a farm—beginning with milking cows at age four—and learning, by age nineteen, to say "You can't beat the tranquility of the country."

As a former peach farmer from California, I know Miss Lahti has long been interested in medical science. This, with her natural love for animals, has led her to an early and logical career choice. She is going to be a veterinarian.

Her school—the University of Minnesota, Duluth Campus—also made a logical choice in arranging Miss Lahti's summer time job under the College Work-Study program. She was employed by the Duluth Zoo, where she bottle fed baby tigers and other young animals, and worked in the museum.

Wherever possible, the 2,200 colleges participating in the College Work-Study program try to provide employment for their students in occupations related to their career objectives. For example:

James Bryant, a 30-year old veteran majoring in special education here in Washington at D.C. Teachers College, spent the summer

working with elementary school children with learning difficulties;

Horace Williams, a major in graphic designs at the Kansas City Art Institute and School of Design, has been writing pamphlets and taking pictures for the Police Department this summer;

Findley Scribner, a deaf mute vocational student at Idaho State University, who plans to become an upholsterer, has been refurbishing a college office this summer.

Lydia Sonia Vasquez, a business administration major at Metropolitan State College in Denver, works as a secretary in the College's Financial Aid Office;

Eileen Duda, a senior at Alaska Methodist University in Anchorage, who wants to be a nuclear technician, is working as a hospital x-ray technician;

William S. LaCorte, a pre-med student at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, has worked this summer in biomedical research with NIH's National Cancer Institute;

Employment in the College Work-Study program is varied: Some students are also food service workers, typists, library assistants. Some mow the lawns and others work with sophisticated computers, or work off-campus in hospitals, local units of government or in the school system. But they have one thing in common: They are performing a useful service, and they all need their job to help pay college expenses.

As a Nation we move toward the goal that no talented young American will be denied a college education because he can't afford the costs. We are not there yet—but every year we get a little closer to the goal, and our society is that much richer for it.

This year more than a million young Americans will continue their education beyond high school with the help of about one billion dollars in Federal support through the four major programs of financial assistance administered by the Office of Education: The College Work-Study program, the National Defense Student Loan program, the Educational Opportunity Grant program, and the Guaranteed Loan program.

Many of you in Congress who are here today have worked hard, using your time and creative talents in developing and supporting the legislation that makes these statistics possible. And I am certain that you share with us a pride in the knowledge of

what it means, in human terms, to say simply: One million young people are in college today who could not have made it without the help of one or more of these programs of assistance to students.

Some day we will be proud that we invested enough of our resources to make it possible for these young people to attain a college education, to develop their own human potential and make their maximum contribution to our country's continued growth and strength.

REMARKS BY SENATOR JENNINGS RANDOLPH AT CEREMONY RECOGNIZING MISS ROXANNE LAHTI

Thomas Wolfe said: "To every man his chance; to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity; to every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever his manhood and vision can combine to make him. This is the promise of America."

Wolfe hardly thought in terms of a College Work-Study Program. He did, however, have visions—rather in his time a dream—of a better America.

It is this dream that we continue to strive to achieve. To create that "golden opportunity" regardless of one's birth is our unfulfilled task. And a very real part of this task is access to education and learning—not just at the elementary or secondary level but in college, to the extent of an individual's potential.

The College Work-Study Program, through employment and the benefits of earned income, is providing that access to higher education for young men and women. In no sense is this effort the final answer. But in serving a certain level of need—as do direct loans and grants and insured loans—it becomes an integral and vital part of our total task in affording educational opportunities to our young people.

We sometimes fail to realize how substantial a portion of our population is composed of young people of college age. There are now 14 million Americans, seven per cent of the total population, between the ages of 18 and 21.

Today we honor Roxanne Lahti—the one-millionth student to participate in College Work-Study. In honoring her, we also express tribute to the hundreds of thousands of young men and women who are defraying or partly defraying their college expenses through this program. We commend their initiative and their accomplishments.

As a member of the Senate Education Subcommittee, it was my privilege to actively work on the legislation authorizing this program in late 1964. Its purpose was: "to stimulate and promote the part-time employment of students, particularly students from low-income families, in institutions of higher education who are in need of earnings from such employment to pursue courses of study at such institutions."

And now one million students have been aided, with over two thousand colleges involved. This is a remarkable record. College Work-Study has been an effective means of assisting students in financing their education through meaningful and, in many cases, career-related employment.

I can assure those present today that the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare chaired by the able Sen. Ralph Yarborough and the Subcommittee on Education under the direction of the diligent Sen. Claiborne Pell, remain alert to the needs of higher education and responsive to ideas for making education more readily available to our young people.

Roxanne, congratulations! I commend and congratulate those in the Office of Education who have made such a concerted and splendid effort in achieving the first million. They share—and rightly so—genuine gratification in this accomplishment. Now, let us look to the second million. We hope, Roxanne, that

you and the other young women and young men who have benefitted, will help toward this goal.

The late Henry Kaiser, a great industrialist, in his 85th year, said to me: "Tell our young people that we have only scratched the surface. There is so much yet to be done." In College Work-Study there is indeed much to be done. It is a challenging future.

#### MILITARY REVIEW BOARDS— SOCIO-MILITARY EXPERIMENT CONTINUES

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 9, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, in discussing race riots in the military no interest is being displayed in retaining an effective armed service; rather the crux of the investigation is directed toward defusing the explosive effects of forced integration. Social differences have been, heretofore, an unknown consideration of the military which has successfully mixed all classes through the use of strict discipline and uniform dress.

Yet, the self-styled experts whose only concern is admittedly purely racial, with no interest in maintaining an effective military force, refuse to face the reality—that the cause of the problem is of their own creation in misusing the armed services as a massive, prolonged and failing social experiment in integrated living. How can the race problem be solved until it is understood that race mixing is the problem.

The attacks against the military as racist must be exposed as a farce. For if they were true, the solution would be very simple—merely to segregate the troops by color so that there could be no question of an order's being racist. But the socio-military experimenters abolished segregated troops on the theory that segregation was racist. But, at least, under the segregated troops, we did not have the race riots and tension now being investigated.

Military officers and men have no free speech to "sound off" publicly as to what has caused the erosion of morale and breakdown in disciplinary conditions. So, it is incumbent upon retired military men to tell the American people before the entire military is destroyed.

One of the more outrageous recommendations offered as a solution to race riots would handcuff officers in command with biracial committees—a type of civilian military review board—which would examine and analyze orders to eliminate any racist overtone before being given, and probably even the right to countermand the order.

The Commandant of the Marine Corps, one of the best disciplined military organizations in the world has now approved of black marines being granted the special privilege of wearing "Afro" haircuts. Once permissiveness is accepted, what is to stop marines from wearing peace medallions over their uniform, hippie beards and haircuts, and even authorize Black Panthers to wear leopard skins in lieu of the usual marine uniform.

Career military men—those who have developed a pride for and a love of discipline in the service of their country—are and can be expected to decline serving in an undisciplined mob wherein any serviceman can be indulged in special privileges merely because of the color of his skin or other personal tie.

The present undermining attacks against our armed services as well as appeasement by those in position to know better are not conducive to reenlistment or extended service by the caliber of men that are needed to defend our people and our country.

The President's promise of a volunteer army is being precluded by this policy of compensatory military privilege. Based upon the human behavior displayed elsewhere in our society under similar attack, as conditions now exist and faced with the present recommendations, we can expect few enlistments and career servicemen from the Caucasian race. As conditions of service become more disagreeable and discriminatory against merit any volunteer army of the future could be expected to be composed predominantly of Negroes.

Vast appropriations of tax money and statistics indicating large numbers of men in uniform do not constitute an army. Without discipline, without responsible leadership including the commensurate authority to carry out that leadership, there can be no fighting force.

Mr. Speaker, I insert several newspaper clippings following my remarks: [From the New York Times, Aug. 18, 1969] MILITARY WEIGHS BIRACIAL COUNCILS—PENTAGON ALSO CONSIDERING REVIEW OF JUSTICE SYSTEM

(By William Beecher)

WASHINGTON, August 17.—The Defense Department is considering requiring all American military posts throughout the world to establish biracial human relations councils.

The councils would consist of officers and enlisted men and would seek, among other things, to determine the causes of racial friction and try to eliminate or minimize them.

Although the idea has been studied before, racial incidents at Camp Lejeune, N.C., and at other posts have given it new impetus, according to Pentagon officials.

Other actions under consideration include the following:

A review of the entire system of military justice to determine whether nonwhites have been regularly discriminated against, as is sometime alleged.

Special indoctrination courses, not only for incoming recruits but for troop commanders as well, on the need for racial harmony if the military is to perform its missions effectively.

The busing of young women to isolated posts for weekend dances in an attempt to minimize the natural frustration of young servicemen lacking female companionship.

#### A NEW DIMENSION

"There are problems within the military that we must tackle," said L. Howard Bennett, acting deputy assistant secretary of defense for civil rights. "But there is a new dimension to the recent troubles. They represent a spill-over from the problems of the civilian community."

Mr. Bennett, who is a Negro, cited a conversation he had recently with a Negro marine at Camp Lejeune. He quoted the marine as saying:

"I've been to Vietnam. A good many of my brothers died over there. And I exposed myself to all the risks. I've come back home and

found there hasn't been much change for my brothers and sisters in New York, Chicago, Louisville and Cincinnati. It's as bad as before."

Mr. Bennett, a tall, white-haired man who was a municipal judge in Minneapolis before going to the Pentagon to work in the civil rights area nearly six years ago, said Negro servicemen were not talking that way as recently as two years ago.

Their complaints then, he said, centered on such things as promotion policies and the housing available near camps.

#### ARTICULATE AND ANGRY

"The young black today is aggressive, articulate and angry," Mr. Bennett said. "He even looks at his Negro sergeant as an Uncle Tom, someone who has achieved his rank by working hard, keeping his mouth shut, ignoring insults."

Mr. Bennett and other defense officials feel there has been a breakdown of communications in the military, both from top commanders down and from low-ranking servicemen up. Senior noncommissioned officers and junior officers are blamed by many.

#### GENERATION GAP

Officials talk of a generation gap problem. Some sergeants, for example, tend to consider as cry-babies some of the young servicemen who resent barracks harassment and name-calling by those who outrank them. In addition, if the sergeants pass along many individual complaints, this tends to reflect on their own leadership.

Prejudice does exist in the military, as it does in civilian life, officials concede, but in the military a man is not as readily able to walk away from it. He is often forced into daily contact with his tormenter, and is sometimes assigned the bunk next to him.

The human relations councils would be intended to force men at all levels to tackle local problems. Proposed orientation courses would be aimed at reminding officers and enlisted men of the value of getting along, as well as the dangers of not trying.

On July 20 at a Camp Lejeune dance, 30 Negro marines attacked 14 white marines, one of whom later died.

After talking with a number of Negro servicemen there, Mr. Bennett said that a frequent complaint was that there were not many women around, either on the post or in nearby Jacksonville, N.C.

"You put 10 to 15 girls in a club with 200 men and you have a volatile situation if only because of the mixture of blacks and whites," he said. "You add dancing and drinking and it becomes increasingly volatile."

#### MILITARY JUSTICE

Mr. Bennett, who was an official of the United Service Organizations in World War II, would like to borrow a page from U.S.O. experience and bus in women from Raleigh, Wilmington, Wilson and Rocky Mount, N.C., to ease this problem.

Similar activities should be considered for other posts that are far from large cities, he said.

Mr. Bennett recalled a Negro marine's complaint that he got a stiffer sentence for being absent without leave for 15 days than did a white marine who had been away for five months.

"I don't know if this is true, or of the extenuating circumstances," Mr. Bennett said. But complaints of discrimination in military justice are frequent and a major study is contemplated.

Among other things, he would recommend that race be noted in the original docketing of a case. This would allow the Pentagon to compare the treatment of whites and non-whites for similar offenses.

The striking of racial identification from most records, once thought to be a device to reduce discrimination, often has the opposite effect, Mr. Bennett said.

He said that troop information programs should go out of their way to publicize certain racial information. For example, various young Negro marines have asserted that the Marine Corps has only about half a dozen Negro officers.

"But the marines have a good record. From 65 Negro officers in 1965, they now have 271," Mr. Bennett said. "But who knows that?"

Mr. Bennett, pushing his steel-rimmed glasses back on his nose, conceded that the military had a major, growing problem on its hands. "But, I'm convinced we can get hold of this with vigorous, affirmative action," he said.

#### [From the Washington Post, Sept. 4, 1969] MARINES TO PERMIT "AFRO" HAIRCUTS IN MOVE TO DISPEL RACIAL TENSION

(By Fred S. Hoffman)

Acting to cool racial friction, the Marine Corps commandant yesterday granted black Marines permission to wear limited "Afro" haircuts and moved to remedy what he said were some "valid causes of complaint."

At the same time Gen. Leonard F. Chapman Jr. sent messages to his commanders around the world emphasizing the requirement for "total impartiality" in dealing with Marines of all races, colors and creeds and ordering measures "to dispel the racial problems that currently exist."

The commandant, whose corps has been embarrassed by recent racial disorders at bases in North Carolina and Hawaii, stressed that acts of violence between marines "cannot be tolerated, and must stop." The message is to be read to all marines within 24 hours.

His message, and a subsequent news conference, showed that Chapman felt it necessary to permit Negro Marines more leeway in expressing racial pride, provided everything remains within regulations.

So far as the Afro haircut is concerned, Chapman's message said "commanders will permit the Afro-natural haircut providing it conforms with current Marine Corps regulations." He read a regulation which suggests that the Afro haircut would have to be quite limited. The rule says:

"Hair should be worn neatly and closely trimmed. It shall be clipped at the sides and back so as to present an evenly graduated appearance.

"The hair on top must not be over three inches in length. Long or conspicuous sideburns are prohibited."

Marines are supposed to keep their faces clean shaven, although they are allowed what is termed "a noneccentric mustache."

Chapman said "such gestures as the Black Power clenched-fist salute should be discouraged, but not banned except during formation or when rendering military courtesies to colors, the national anthem, or individuals."

"They are . . . expressions of individual belief and are not, in themselves, prohibited," Chapman said. "However, they are grounds for disciplinary action if executed during official ceremonies or in a manner suggesting direct defiance of duly constituted authority."

Chapman suggested that regulations and other materials avoid provocative wording such as paleness to describe a symptom of heat prostration.

He also urged commanders to remedy minor annoyances. For example, he said, there is sometimes a lack of "soul music" in juke boxes at servicemen's clubs on base.

"That sounds like a small thing, but it means something to my black Marines," Chapman said.

He told newsmen his message was an attempt to re-emphasize, especially to younger officers and noncommissioned officers, what he described as the "father-son relationship" between the enlisted man and his superiors.

[From the New York Times, Aug. 17, 1969]  
BLACK SERVICEMEN, LAST TO BE CALLED UP IN  
PAST, MAY BE IN VANGUARD OF DRIVE FOR  
SOCIAL CHANGE

(By Thomas A. Johnson)

While supervising a security guard detail at the dusty, sun-drenched First Infantry base south of Saigon in South Vietnam, S. Sgt. James Frost mopped perspiration from his nut-brown face and told a visitor why he was a "lifer," or career man in the United States Army.

"The Man can't overlook talent when he wants the job done," he said. "That's pure and simple."

Black career men in the nation's military—especially the Army and the Air Force—have frequently expressed this idea since the armed forces were integrated during the early nineteen-fifties.

For while the military restricts the mobility a civilian enjoys, it has provided career opportunities nonetheless for many persons of varied, or very little skills.

While there are still problems of racial discrimination in the military, as pointed out by recent reports of some racism and some violent outbreaks in the Marine base at Camp Lejeune, N.C., black career men insist that the idea of equal opportunity is more a reality in the military than in most civilian occupations.

#### REENLISTMENT RATES HIGH

This attitude is reflected in re-enlistment statistics in recent years. These consistently show black servicemen re-enlisting at rates at least twice as high as those of whites in the Air Force, Navy and the Marines and about three times as high in the Army.

Pentagon statistics show that Negroes in the armed services number more than 320,000, or about 9.4 per cent of the total. In the Army, black soldiers come to some 11.5 per cent of the total.

While Negro privates and privates first class in the Army range from 12.4 to 13 per cent, black sergeants first class come to 20.6 per cent and master sergeant 15.7 per cent, showing a concentration by Negroes on military careers.

Two out of three of the Army's drill sergeants in the United States are black, as are one out of four front-line supervisors in Vietnam.

Among Army officers, there is one black general, Brig. Gen. Frederic E. Davison; 42 full colonels (0.7 per cent of the total); 620 lieutenant colonels (3.7 per cent); 1,302 majors (5.5 per cent); 1,322 captains (3.7 per cent); 1,129 first lieutenants (2.9 per cent) and 616 second lieutenants (2.3 per cent).

#### LARGEST NUMBER IN ARMY

The Army has the largest number of black Americans of the military services, with some 167,599. This compares with 32,934 (4.5 per cent) for the Navy; 33,420 (10.7 per cent) for the Marine Corps and 78,879 (8.9 per cent) for the Air Force.

Black officers in the Navy total 373 (0.4 per cent), while in the Marine Corps they come to 231 (0.9 per cent) and there are some 2,417 officers, (1.8 per cent) in the Air Force.

The highest ranking Negro in the military is Air Force Lieut. Gen. Benjamin O. Davis Jr., former commander of the 13th Air Force in the Far East. He is scheduled to retire soon after 30 years service.

The war in Vietnam has given black fighting men what they call "a sudden visibility" as it is both "the world's first television war" and the first major conflict since the armed forces were fully integrated.

The percentage of Negroes on the front line far exceeds the 10.5 per cent figure that reflects their participation in Southeast Asia.

This is in part because their mostly disadvantaged backgrounds, say Army officials, place them in the basic soldier or rifleman

classifications and also because black youths have volunteered at a very high rate for combat and elite military units.

Front line visitors who watched Airborne units in Vietnam found rifle and reconnaissance platoons that were almost completely black. Large numbers of Negro marines are in the volunteer Community Action Platoons that live in isolated Vietnamese villages.

NEGRO CASUALTIES

Since 1961, Negro combat deaths in Vietnam have come to 13.3 per cent of the total. As of March, 1969, some 3,044 soldiers, 1,410 marines, 24 sailors and 16 airmen had been killed.

Historically, Negroes have fought in every war in which this nation has been engaged. Ironically, the pattern was always to keep them out of the military but then to relent, as the need for manpower grew.

Gen. George Washington set the pattern during the Revolutionary War, ordering his army not to enlist "any deserter from the ministerial army, nor any stroller, Negro or vagabond or person suspected of being an enemy to the liberty of America."

He relented as the British, promising freedom for black slaves, began enlisting them into Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment. By the war's end 5,000 of the 30,000 soldiers who fought against the British were black.

The pattern of using Negroes as a last resort continued until the Civil War. The first permanent black military units, the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 24th and 25th Infantry, came out of that war. These regiments fought in the Indian wars on the frontiers, in Cuba, the Philippines and in World Wars I and II.

UNIT SCORES VICTORY

The 24th Regiment, just before it was phased out as an all-Negro unit, scored this nation's first military victory against the North Koreans in 1950 at the South Korean town of Yechon.

Like every other institution, today's military has been greatly affected by the new black consciousness.

Many Negro career men, who rejected the militants' accusations that they are "mercenaries," contend that they are as much involved in the black struggle as any one else. "We're holding the line," Lieut. Col. Felix L. Goodwin in Longbinh, South Vietnam, insisted, "making sure that Negro youths have alternatives so they can go either into the military or into industry."

A Negro intelligence officer in Saigon, Lieut. Col. Robert B. Burke, stressed the point that "we need a 'brother' in every phase of American life, in everything 'the Man' has going."

The military's public position is that there is no difference between white and black servicemen, but many Negro youths are now insisting that they are "black first" and servicemen second. In recent months Negro youths in the service have insisted on having Afro-styled haircuts.

The Defense Department's director for civil rights, Judge L. Howard Bennett, said in a recent interview that he had noticed in recent months "a dramatic new dimension in young black troops expressing a far greater concern for their black brothers and sisters on the outside than had their predecessors."

Much of the racial outbreaks in recent months on military bases, Mr. Bennett said, can be traced to black reactions to acts of discrimination in the civilian society.

Judge Bennett, who is a Negro, also said part of the current military's difficulties was that the services had become an instrument for social change and that many career men were not used to this new role.

He said it was necessary that the military return young men to the civilian community with positive experiences of racial cooperation and mutual respect because "they can either become the seeds for a dangerous discontent or cadre for leadership in building a better society."

[From the New York Times, Aug. 17, 1969]

RACIAL VIOLENCE MARS THE INTEGRATION RECORD

(By Thomas A. Johnson)

CAMP LEJEUNE, N.C.—"Frequently a marine or a paratrooper doesn't believe he's had a weekend unless he's had a fight," the marine officer said. "But racial clashes put this on another plane. The normal brawls help build individual confidence, unit spirit too, but racial fights could destroy the corps."

In recent weeks this camp and several other military installations have been witness to serious outbreaks of racial trouble. Here at Camp Lejeune the racial conflict has already resulted in the death of one white enlisted man. A feeling of concern and urgency felt by marines at the base is shared by civilians. And members of Congress, Pentagon investigators, and journalists have flocked to this sprawling eastern North Carolina amphibious training camp in days to look for themselves.

FLOCKING TO MILITARY

The United States military, in many respects a totalitarian society, is at the same time probably the most thoroughly integrated society America has produced. Many of its Negro members have praised its efforts to assure equal opportunity.

Black Americans have flocked to the military services in unprecedented numbers and their re-enlistment rates have been consistently at least twice as high as the rates for whites.

But racial discrimination still exists within the military. In addition, the civilian patterns of discrimination prevail in localities close by the military installations.

The question raised by a black civilian during a "soul session" in Saigon some months ago is pertinent to the present. The civilian asked: "Can that black cat [the Negro serviceman] walk like a dragon in Vietnam and like a fairy in the land of the big PX [America]? And can America expect him to?"

A major fear in the Pentagon is that many black servicemen and especially veterans of Vietnam will react violently to continuing patterns of racial discrimination in and outside of the military services.

Judge L. Howard Bennett, director for civil rights in the Department of Defense who warned recently of the danger of racial explosions, rushed to Camp Lejeune where most of the marines are recent Vietnam veterans for a first hand inspection last week.

"We find a new dimension in Camp Lejeune," Judge Bennett said: "There is a far greater concern among young black marines for their brothers and sisters in the civilian community who are suffering discrimination."

He found, too, that they were far more vocal in criticizing both the civilian community and the marines than had been their black predecessors.

A white marine officer suggested this was because the mostly teen-aged marine enlisted men "grew up during the civil rights movement . . . with the boob-tube (television) as their babysitters."

One black marine, a decorated veteran of Vietnam, who was branded a "militant," or troublemaker, on the base, told a newsman that he had grown tired of trying to make it in the corps and being thwarted by discriminatory practices. "You get tired of trying behind that action," he said. "One day Chuck (white people) gets down wrong and you try to take that beast's head off."

A report by Negro and white marine officers here in April had warned of the danger of "an explosive situation of major proportions" primarily because of some white officers and sergeants who "retain prejudices and deliberately practice them."

Some whites here have charged, too, that "black power" advocates and "other militants" have infiltrated some black marines to fight other marines.

"They always cry outside 'agitators,'" said Hurts Coleman, a Negro barber on the marine base, "because they don't want to admit that they are prejudiced and mistreating black people."

VIETNAM VETERANS

Much of the racial difficulty at Camp Lejeune comes from the non-racial situation of working thousands of marine enlisted men, recently returned from Vietnam, into new organizations and into new patterns of peacetime, barracks life.

One marine colonel has noted: "They have been rushed and scared and catching hell without letup for many months. First, at Parris Island, they were screamed at, pushed around and harassed during basic training. Then there was 13 months in Vietnam, fighting a war, killing and seeing their buddies killed. Suddenly, while they are still teenagers, they are combat veterans and expected to quickly and easily adjust to the spit and polish routine of Stateside."

And, of course, they cannot "quickly and easily" adjust.

The question of race in America today both complicates and exacerbates their adjustments.

RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE

HON. JAMES W. SYMINGTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to provide for the RECORD the results of the opinion survey I recently conducted among my constituents. Questionnaires were returned by over 10,000 families living in the Second District of Missouri, which I represent. I invite readers of the RECORD to draw their own conclusions and impressions from these results. I do want, however, to observe that this profile of public views has been highly informative and useful to me, and that I greatly appreciate the time and thought invested by the thousands of my constituents who completed and returned questionnaires. Results of the questionnaire follow:

OPINION SURVEY, 1969, SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, MISSOURI

[Answers in percent]

- Concerning the Vietnam war, which of the following policies do you think the United States should follow?
  - Expand the war on all fronts in an attempt to achieve a military solution. 14.0
  - Establish an accelerated time table for U.S. withdrawal, shifting responsibility for the war to the South Vietnamese government, with or without agreement in Paris. 57.4
  - Continue to prosecute a limited war, with no major U.S. withdrawal, continue negotiations with the South and North Vietnamese and the Vietcong at the Paris talks. 6.2
  - Accept a substantial compromise in Paris as the basis for early mutual withdrawal of the U.S. and North Vietnamese troops from the South. 15.2
  - No response. 7.3
- There have been several suggestions for the reform of our present system of drafting men into the armed services. Which do you favor?
  - Creation of a draft lottery system which selects men from a nationwide pool of 19-year-olds and recent college graduates. 46.8

OPINION SURVEY, 1969, SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, MISSOURI—Continued

[Answers in percent]

Creation of an all volunteer army----- 31.5  
Retention of the existing Selective Service System with local draft boards----- 16.2  
No response----- 5.5

3. Congress is currently debating two new nuclear arms programs, the ABM and the MIRV. The proposed ABM is designed to defend our offensive missile sites; the MIRV would equip U.S. offensive missiles with multiple nuclear warheads designed to hit several enemy targets. Which of the following would you prefer?

Deploy the ABM missile site defense estimated to cost \$11 billion; develop and deploy MIRV----- 33.1

Delay nuclear arms expansion pending a decision on a strong arms-control agreement with the Soviets at the upcoming arms-limitation talks----- 33.4

Do not develop either of these systems because they may trigger a dangerous and expensive escalation of the arms race----- 26.0  
No response----- 7.5

4. There have been several proposals for changing the present electoral college system. Which do you prefer?

Direct election of the President----- 66.7

Abolish the electoral college but retain the electoral vote, which would be cast automatically for the winning candidate in each State----- 9.2

Abolish the electoral college; apportion each State's electoral votes among candidates, based on their popular vote either statewide or by Congressional district----- 15.6

Retain the present system----- 5.5  
No response----- 3.0

5. Should the voting age be lowered to 18?

Yes----- 49.4

No----- 47.3

No response----- 3.3

6. Do you approve my legislation which would provide grants for schools and communities to conduct special educational programs concerning drugs and drug abuse?

Yes----- 75.9

No----- 18.4

No response----- 5.7

7. I have introduced a bill to permit parents to deduct the major portion of higher education expenses from their total income tax liability. Do you favor this proposal?

Yes----- 82.0

No----- 15.6

No response----- 2.4

8. The House Ways and Means Committee is now analyzing tax reform proposals. Please indicate whether or not you agree with these possible changes.

Should religious and charitable organizations be required to pay taxes on their outside business activities?

Yes----- 89.9

No----- 7.7

No response----- 2.4

Do you feel the oil industry's 27½% oil depletion allowance should be decreased or eliminated?

Yes----- 74.9

No----- 15.6

No response----- 9.6

Should the personal exemption of \$600 be raised?

Yes----- 84.2

No----- 11.9

No response----- 3.9

9. To fight inflation, do you favor extension of the 10% surcharge on personal and

OPINION SURVEY, 1969, SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, MISSOURI—Continued

[Answers in percent]

business income, coupled with the repeal of the 7% investment tax credit?

Yes----- 46.6

No----- 44.0

No response----- 9.4

10. Of the following, which should be given the highest priority by Congress and the Administration?

Ending the Vietnam conflict----- 69.9

Strengthening law enforcement and crime prevention----- 10.7

Pollution abatement----- 3.9

Reforming Federal tax structure----- 3.3

Federal assistance to education----- 1.8

Building an ABM and/or MIRV system----- 1.3

Strengthening the peace-keeping function of the United Nations----- 1.1

Developing adequate housing----- 1.0

Settling campus disorders----- 0.7

Exploring space----- 0.3

Building mass rapid transit----- 0.2

No response----- 5.7

11. In dealing with the problem of campus unrest, which of the following do you feel is most necessary?

Tougher enforcement of existing rules and laws by college administrators and local officials----- 41.3

Greater university, government and business effort to be more responsive to student and citizen involvement----- 29.3

Additional Federal legislation denying financial aid to those students who participate in disorders----- 13.2

No response----- 16.2

BOGGS FAMILY HELP REBUILD MISSISSIPPI GULF COAST

HON. WILLIAM M. COLMER

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. COLMER. Mr. Speaker, there is an old saying to the effect that lightning never strikes twice in the same place. Unfortunately, this is not true about hurricanes. The beautiful and prosperous little city of Long Beach on the Mississippi coast was the victim of the 1947 hurricane and again was the victim of the recent destructive storm Camille. This attractive little city is the birthplace of our assistant leader, Congressman HALE BOGGS. The Boggs family, including his mother, still resides there. The Congressman's aunt was killed in the 1947 hurricane. While the family suffered substantial property loss, they were more fortunate with Camille in that there was no loss of life.

Mr. Speaker, Long Beach, hurricanes, and the Boggs family seem to be inseparable as is illustrated by the enclosed story from the New Orleans Times Picayune:

BOGGS COMPOUND TO BE REBUILT IN LONG BEACH

The Boggs Compound in Long Beach will be rebuilt!

Spearheading the undertaking of rebuilding the five homes destroyed by the hurricane is the 81-year-old matriarch of the family, Mrs. W. R. Boggs, whose spirit and courage is so exemplary it is spurring the younger generations to get on with it.

Hurricanes are not new to the Boggs family.

The compound was partially destroyed in the 1947 hurricane in which the aunt of Rep. Hale Boggs (D-La.) lost her life. The homes were rebuilt.

But in the great blow, the family portraits, heirlooms and antique furniture dating back over 150 years to the Stanley, Morrison and Boggs plantations were saved.

Camille in her onslaught spared nothing this time—not even the new wedding gifts for Claire Josephine (Jo Pepper) Morrison and her groom, John Tuepker, which were on display for family and friends at their wedding reception Saturday afternoon, Aug. 16.

The young couple was married at 5:30 p.m. in St. Thomas Catholic Church of Long Beach where the bride was christened, as was her mother before her, her uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters and cousins; where the Boggs family had attended worship services for several generations. Jo Pepper's wedding was the very last in the old church, now heavily damaged by wind and water.

The reception in the Boggs large community living room, reception halls and smaller family living rooms were filled with friends and neighbors although the weather was threatening.

The bride's aunt, Miss Mary Boggs, had used native flowers from the gardens to decorate the rooms. She had transformed two antique hatracks into indoor bowers with Confederate jasmine. Single majestic stalks of Yucca, or, Our Lord's Candles, stood straight in old-fashioned floor baskets.

Passion flowers from the yard encircled the 60-pound wedding cake made by Mrs. Jacobie, Bay St. Louis, a close friend of the bride. Champagne toasts were drunk to the bride and groom by the guests. One of these happy guests became one of Camille's victims later Sunday night.

The bride and groom, who were sent on their happy way in showers of rice, returned early Monday morning to the site of their wedding reception to help the family pick up the debris; to shovel mud from the summer home of Dr. James T. Nix, New Orleans, at 419 E. Beach, Pass Christian, which he so generously offered the Boggs Clan. They are using the home as a base to oversee the rebuilding of the compound. They still come to Gulfport for fresh water. There is no electricity or telephone service as yet, but they are determined people.

The entire Boggs family, including grandchildren, great-grandchildren and in-laws, had gathered at the home for the wedding. All but Congressman Boggs, who was on the West Coast visiting his daughter. According to his niece, Mrs. Daniel Shoemaker, Dallas-town, Pa., messages were sent East to Pennsylvania then relayed to Mr. Boggs' secretary in New Orleans thence to California to inform him of the family's safety. Also here to officiate at his niece's wedding was the bride's uncle, the Rev. Robert Boggs, S.J., Mobile.

Helping in the cleanup were not only the bride and groom, but most of the members of their wedding party; her brother, Robert Morrison, the best man and bridesmaid, Ken and Judy Pober, all three former Peace Corps members; the bride's uncle, Daniel Shoemaker, father of the four-year-old ring bearer. William Boggs Shoemaker, the bride's brother-in-law, Bobby O. Homes Jr., New Orleans, and of course, the parents of the bride, Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Morrison, nee Claire Boggs.

The Boggs family lost not one house, but all of the homes in the compound. They included the homes of Miss Mary Boggs, Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Morrison, Archie Boggs (his summer home), and Mrs. W. R. Boggs and son, William R. Boggs, Jr. All will be rebuilt, including a new home planned by Representative and Mrs. Boggs. In fact, if the contractors had been a week earlier than the hurricane, the foundation for this new home would have been down.

The family took refuge in New Orleans during the hurricane but returned to the Coast early Monday, as did the bride and groom, who had gotten to Meridian, and the rebuilding began.

Following the 1947 storm, the compound was named Will-Stan, a play on the first names of Mrs. Morrison's father and husband with the connotation, "It will stand."

When Mrs. Morrison and Mrs. Shoemaker, both dressed in sturdy work clothes came to Gulfport for fresh water and to give an account of the wedding, they could laugh at the idea that they are thinking of calling the new compound Stan-Dee.

Spirited, proud families like the Boggs will build back the Coast. The true pioneers can never be washed away.

Although the Morrison-Tuepker wedding was the last in the historic little Catholic church with its many side altars, there will be other weddings, christenings and funerals in the new church that the determined congregation in St. Thomas Parish is already making plans to build.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy that Camille was better to the Boggs family insofar as the loss of life is concerned and I am delighted to know this splendid family is to continue to retain its Mississippi ties by rebuilding.

#### PENTAGON POLICIES PROMOTE DISORDERS

### HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, last week I addressed a letter to President Nixon concerning the policies of the Department of Defense in reference to personnel, manpower, and race relations. This was the latest of a series of communications on this subject in which I was fervently seeking clarification and, hopefully, positive results.

Our intense concern with the Military Establishment is not incidental. No single institution has pervaded so many aspects of our life as the military.

In sheer magnitude of Federal expenditures, about \$80 billion annually, the military is in a strategic position to substantially affect economic trends and influence the quality of American life.

Of the 50 million males over 18 in the labor force, more than half are veterans or are currently in the services. In fact, almost all young men will spend 2 to 3 years on active duty during their lifetime. However, less than 1 out of 4 servicemen engages in combat activity. Most are used in logistic support requiring technical skills comparable to those used in civilian life. Thus, the potential for counseling, training, and skill development in the military is tremendous.

The military is our largest "employer," our most elaborate "boarding school," the biggest "contractor," an effective public affairs agency, and an international radio and television operator, but still, it is an arm of the Federal Government subject to the same laws and rules as other departments.

Earlier this year many of us criticized the Department for signing contracts

with Southern textile mills whose employment policies violated Executive order 11246. Such violations were illustrative of vague and often contradictory policies emanating from the Pentagon.

Subsequently, in questioning the Department's policies on personnel, I received a report regarding Negro civilian personnel in supergrade positions which revealed the lily-white character of the Pentagon. This letter—April 11, 1969—is herein being submitted for the RECORD together with my most recent letter addressed to President Nixon. In addition, I am including a recent statement from the editorial page of the Washington Post, September 9, 1969, issue, and an article by Carl T. Rowan from the August 27, 1969, edition of the Evening Star titled "Racial Strife at U.S. Military Bases Ominous":

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., September 4, 1969.

THE PRESIDENT,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Since March of this year I have sought some clarification of the policies of the Department of Defense in reference to its personnel, manpower, and race relations policies as they affect minorities. I have expressed grave concern about the absence of Negro civilian personnel in policymaking levels a fact which has great bearing on the overall policies and the image portrayed by this Department of the Federal Government. To date my concerns have not been eased but on the contrary have been justified as being of the highest importance to your administration and in the national interests.

The Pentagon has had its warnings. What has been happening in a few camps and posts may soon erupt throughout the military establishment. If it does there will be none to blame but the heads of our forces—military and civilian—who refuse to believe that manpower (black and white) is the key essential to adequate military posture. It is not guns or ships or airplanes or the material used by these which really counts. Rather, it is the men who must make these things work who make the difference between victory and defeat.

Manpower and its enlightened management have been relegated to the lowest position in the order of things in the Pentagon philosophy. What attention is given to this key area is limited to the logistics of getting men into service, into training, into technical schools, into units, into battle, into camps and stations which can absorb them. Little, if any, attention is given to the personnel which should be the key element in manpower or personnel management. Small wonder, then, that manpower finds its morale at a low point. There is even less mystery in the developing discontent of the black men who having served well in combat are looked down upon, maltreated, and given the dirty end of every detail without regard to their qualifications.

When the explosions begin seriously to rock the complacency of the "big brass" in the Pentagon and the White House, it will be too late to look for ways to avoid what has happened. Even now it may be too late. Certainly the clouds of disaster will not be lifted by the efforts of a meager civil rights staff in the office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense. Even if the staff were to be increased in size grave doubt exists as to whether any real achievements could be expected. What seems to escape the thinking of the brass is that "civil rights" cannot be separated from those key functions of managing the military. These rights are a part of

every action which makes the machine operate. They are in Logistics, Research and Development, Budget and Finance, and in every major or minor division which together constitute the Pentagon organization. There are no key black policymakers in these divisions. There is no confidence that a black person can contribute to their functioning. But when a problem arises in which racial considerations appear the tendency is to look to the "Civil Rights" division for instant solutions. Let the Pentagon be forewarned—there are no instant solutions. With its absence of early planning for the welfare of all military manpower, planning which embraces its total responsibility for men coming into service, being utilized and being separated, the inevitable result is disaffection and distaste for the military. Add to this the special problems of the black soldier, sailor, marine or airman, and you have the ingredients of a major breakdown in discipline. Such a condition will not yield to the hasty "justice" and traditional military way of quieting discontent.

The Pentagon created a policy but has not awakened to the consequences of that policy. World Wars I and II involved masses of manpower the quality of which many field commanders attested was too low. So, responding to their pleas and the ready availability of better qualified personnel, standards for entry into the services were raised well beyond the true requirements of the duties to be performed. It appears only natural that these better educated men (black and white) would seek for their understanding something more than a mere order or command. They have been taught to think and to question. This is the essence of education. Why, then, should they not question what happens to them in the matter of performing duty, in the discipline to which they are subjected, and in all the vital details of their living and dying for what appears to many to be a remote and useless cause.

The black serviceman shares the concerns of the white serviceman. He carries another burden which is hard to bear. He sees promotions given where there seems to be less attention to qualification than to skin color. He sees discipline as harsh when the color of the disciplined is black but lenient if the color of the individual is white. He knows from experience that life is tough for his black brothers outside of the military services. He sees himself going back to civilian life where no one cares whether he risked his life for his country when he seeks a job. He knows of no special efforts to assure him that life for him will be better because he has sacrificed something for those who could make life better. He hears talk of equal opportunity but finds few evidences of it in or out of the services. He concludes that if the military can ignore policies intended to provide equality there is even less hope for such a condition in areas beyond the control of the military.

The Pentagon must be charged with many failures. It has failed to place black men in key policy positions. It ignores the advice of the few blacks to which it infrequently turns. The paucity of uniformed blacks in key roles in the Pentagon and field establishments is proof enough that opportunity is limited in the extreme. Programs which should address themselves to easing the return of servicemen to civilian life are seldom supported with any enthusiasm by the military. What hope, then, is there? One thing our service personnel have been taught and this they will remember; they, individually and collectively, constitute a force. As such, when applied, the force which they are gets results. What recourse is there for them if all other measures have failed? They, these black servicemen, are beginning to see that what is hoped for in far away places like Viet Nam

may be possible here at home if the same tactics are applied. We have taught these men to think. We have taught them to fight. How do we expect them to do anything different from what they may do if our teaching has been effective.

The Pentagon may yet have time to do something. It can place some blacks in key policy positions throughout the Pentagon and its field establishments. It can learn to listen to these blacks and act on their recommendations. It can constitute a task force which includes informed blacks to advise them as to conditions which exist and solutions which hold promise. It can cease to be the defense and it can respond positively to enlightened counsel. There is little time left. What there is of it should be utilized wisely by those who control our military establishment.

Respectfully yours,  
 AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS,  
 Member of Congress.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,  
 Washington, D.C., April 11, 1969.

Hon. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS,  
 House of Representatives,  
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HAWKINS: Secretary Laird has asked that I respond to your letter of March 18, 1969 regarding Negro civilian personnel in policy positions within the Department of Defense. Your comments and suggestions on this matter have been carefully reviewed by this Office. Please accept our assurance that such affirmative action, to assure equal employment opportunity at all levels within this Department, is a matter of first priority. As you may know, President Nixon's statement of March 28 on equal employment opportunity expresses his strong support for this program.

You also request that we supply a report on the presence of Negro civilian executives in key positions in this Department. In supplying this report we follow the paragraph order indicated in your inquiry:

1. The total number of supergrade positions currently allocated to the Department of Defense is as follows:

Army .....	136
Navy .....	88
Air Force .....	96
OSD & Defense Agencies.....	203
Total .....	523

2. The number and grade of Negro executives occupying three of the above positions together with a description of functions is as follows:

(a) Stanley P. Hebert, Esquire, Deputy General Counsel, Department of the Navy (GS-17):

Provides legal advice and counsel on all aspects of Department of the Navy operations. Serves as a top legal officer in the Office of General Counsel of this Department and supervises civilian attorneys supplying legal analysis and advice to the Navy Department. (Served in 1967-1968 as Deputy Director of Investigations for the Kerner Commission.)

(b) Mr. James C. Evans, Civil Rights Counselor, Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Civil Rights and Industrial Relations) (GSC-16):

Reviews, audits and advises on policy formulation in equal opportunity programs for military and civilian personnel throughout the Department of Defense. Advises on all aspects of this program for the Armed Forces. Member of OSD Central Clearance Group.

(c) L. Howard Bennett, Esquire, Director for Civil Rights, Department of Defense (GS-16):

Responsibilities include policy formulation and program supervision of equal opportunity and equal treatment in the Armed

Forces including special responsibilities for Military Academy recruitment and personal reviews of DoD installations to audit equal opportunity and equal treatment programs. Advises the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Civil Rights and Industrial Relations) on equal opportunity and equal treatment policy for all Military Departments and Defense Agencies.

3. The total number of positions by Department and level are provided in the attached summary of Executive Level Positions in the Department of Defense. At the present time all positions listed are filled by incumbents. However, in past years this Department has experienced periodic changes in assignments to these positions.

I wish to assure you that my personal attention will be supplied to all equal opportunity matters within the Department of Defense. The Secretary of Defense has directed us to formulate goals and methods to assure solid results at all levels of our civilian employment. In addition, we administer a similar program for contractors of all elements of DoD.

I am also supplying an attached copy of a recent statement by the Secretary of Defense expressing his personal support of the Equal Employment Opportunity Program. I hope that the above will supply the information requested.

Sincerely,  
 W. P. MACK,  
 Vice Admiral, U.S. Navy, Deputy.

MEMORANDUM FOR ALL EMPLOYEES

THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,  
 Washington, D.C., April 3, 1969.

Subject: Equal Employment Opportunity for Civilian Employees of the Department of Defense.

I am pleased to take this opportunity to affirm the merits of our Equal Employment Opportunity Program in the Department of Defense. This program, which is based upon Presidential Executive Orders, assures all employees of the Federal Government that their working careers will be free from discrimination on account of race, color, religion, sex or national origin. In the past the Department of Defense has provided strong support for such efforts and for parallel programs of equal opportunity in the Armed Forces. This policy of equal opportunity and equal treatment will be continued and expanded by me.

Although we have made some progress in this respect under past Presidential Executive Orders and equal employment opportunity programs, we must make a much greater effort in the months to come. The social implications of this program, and elementary fairness, require that a great deal be accomplished in a short time.

The affirmative action aspects of equal employment opportunity must include equal opportunity in recruitment, career development, progression, selection for supervision, awards and other recognition, and all other aspects of employment. The requirements of this effort will make demands upon the initiative and creativity of employees, first-line supervisors and all elements of management above them.

Consistent with our function of preserving and protecting freedom in the world, we have a parallel and supporting obligation to assure this nation that our actions result in beneficial social consequences. None of these consequences is more important than equal opportunity in a lifetime of employment with this Department. Proper administration of our program must necessarily include actions to remedy employment problems created in the past.

I shall require such development and achievement during my tenure as Secretary of Defense and will personally review our progress. We must produce solid results at every employment level consistent with the

high standards of the Department of Defense.

MELVIN R. LAIRD.

EXECUTIVE LEVEL POSITIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

- LEVEL I  
 Secretary of Defense.
- LEVEL II  
 Deputy Secretary of Defense.  
 Secretary of the Army.  
 Secretary of the Navy.  
 Secretary of the Air Force.
- LEVEL III  
 Director of Defense Research and Engineering.
- LEVEL IV  
 Principal Deputy (DDR&E).  
 Assistant Secretary of Defense (Comptroller).  
 Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower and Reserve Affairs).  
 Assistant Secretary of Defense (Installations and Logistics).  
 Assistant Secretary of Defense (International Security Affairs).  
 Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs).  
 Assistant Secretary of Defense (Administration).  
 The General Counsel.  
 Under Secretary of the Army.  
 Assistant Secretary of the Army (FM).  
 Assistant Secretary of the Army (I&L).  
 Assistant Secretary of the Army (M&RA).  
 Assistant Secretary of the Army (R&D).  
 Director of Civil Defense.  
 Under Secretary of the Navy.  
 Assistant Secretary of the Navy (I&L).  
 Assistant Secretary of the Navy (M&RA).  
 Assistant Secretary of the Navy (R&D).  
 Assistant Secretary of the Navy (FM).  
 Under Secretary of the Air Force.  
 Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (FM).  
 Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (I&L).  
 Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (M&RA).  
 Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (R&D).
- LEVEL V  
 Assistant to Secretary of Defense (LA).  
 Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary (ISA).  
 Chairman of the Military Liaison Comm. to the AEC.  
 Director, Advanced Research Projects Agency.  
 Deputy General Counsel.  
 Deputy Director, DR&E (Research & Technology).  
 Deputy Director, DR&E (Strategic & Space Systems).  
 Deputy Director, DR&E (Tactical Warfare Programs).  
 The Special Assistant to Secretary & Deputy Secretary.  
 Deputy Director, DR&E (Electronics & Information Systems).  
 Deputy Director, DR&E (Southeast Asia Matters).  
 Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary (Comptroller).  
 Assistant to Deputy Secretary.  
 DASD (Reserve Affairs).  
 General Counsel, Army.  
 General Counsel, Air Force.  
 General Counsel, Navy.  
 Governor, Panama Canal Zone.

RACISM IN UNIFORM

Since the United States Marine Corps is as American as baseball, it can hardly be thought astonishing that, like the rest of the country, it has been infected with the cancer of racism. That cancer has manifested itself of late in some shocking instances of violence among men wearing their country's uniform. Gen. Leonard F. Chapman, the Marine Corps' commandant, is entirely right, of course, in

asserting as he did in strong, clear tones, that such violence "cannot be tolerated and must stop."

But the general's order is easier to issue than to enforce. For the unrest in the Marine Corps reflects a deep unrest in the society at large. The corps is composed, in part at least, of young white men brought up to believe, as an abstract proposition, that all men are created equal but nevertheless accustomed, as a matter of course, to conditions of life under which white men are entitled to perquisites not available to black men.

The corps is composed also, in part, of black men who have been imbued lately with a belief that the American ideal of human equality must be made a living reality and that acceptance on their part of any sort of racial discrimination is a betrayal of their race and of the very values they entered the Marine Corps to defend. In combat in Vietnam, these men learned that race makes no difference when white men and black men are exposed in common to mortal peril.

Returning from Vietnam, however, Marines are often stationed at bases in the deep South where ancient patterns of prejudice still persist among white civilians and where scorn for the uniform they wear, as an emblem of the "white establishment," is common among black civilians. They are caught up, in short, in the currents of racial antagonism and distrust which are now so prevalent in American life.

It is not to be supposed that the hostilities which exist within the Marine Corps are to be extirpated by a command any more than the hostilities existing outside the corps. But General Chapman has embellished his order with certain specifics which can help to eliminate discrimination. Most significantly he has declared that no one should stand in the way of any Marine, regardless of his rank, who may wish to lodge a complaint about racial discrimination with his commanding officer. Discrimination is a form of injustice which the Marine Corps authorities can deal with. Hostility and prejudice, being states of mind, are harder to get at. They will diminish and disappear in the Marine Corps only as they diminish and disappear in the nation.

#### RACIAL STRIFE AT U.S. MILITARY BASES OMINOUS

(By Carl T. Rowan)

From Defense Secretary Melvin Laird right down through the ranks, the Pentagon suddenly is moving urgently to adopt programs that will prevent an epidemic of racial violence on military bases.

They have been proudeed, of course, by the outburst in Camp Lejeune, N.C., in which one white Marine died and another was seriously injured, by serious fighting among black and white Marines in Hawaii two weeks ago, and by at least three racial outbreaks in Vietnam which the Pentagon classified as "serious riots."

The ominous implications of these violent episodes ought to be obvious: an army full of dissension, where various factions are at each other's throats, can never be an effective army. So the Pentagon does well to act with a sense of urgency, for the nation's security is far more threatened by racial hostility within the military ranks than is it by that \$3 billion budget cut that Laird says will "weaken our worldwide military posture."

There is a tragic aspect of the current racial outbreaks that is not so obvious to the public. It is the fact that leaders at the Pentagon had plenty of warning of what was coming, but out of arrogance (and the notion held by some white liberals that they knew more about the problems than the Negroes who were warning them) nothing was done. So we have drifted into a situation that is far more serious than most of the public realizes.

In 1967 racial conflict broke out among U.S. troops in Germany. The Pentagon played down this conflict publicly, but Thomas D. Morris, then assistant secretary for manpower and reserve affairs, quietly ordered all military installations to "take affirmative action" to preclude racial violence.

But in June, July, and August of 1968 a series of racial eruptions occurred at Cam Ranh Bay in South Vietnam. There were "serious riots" at Long Binh and Da Nang. Then on Oct. 15 and 16 "a real donnybrook" of racial rioting broke out at Camp Tien Sha, a Navy base in Vietnam.

L. Howard Bennett, a Negro who is now acting deputy assistant secretary of defense for civil rights, went to Vietnam last fall with Jack Moskowitz, who then held the job in which Bennett now is acting.

Upon return, Bennett filed an urgent warning that if the Pentagon did not move rapidly to deal with inequities and grievances and to combat racial hostility the military could face "riots and demonstrations of epidemic proportions."

Al Fitt, a Michigan liberal and former colleague of G. Mennen Williams, had then replaced Morris. Fitt professed to be stunned by Bennett's report which he seemed to consider "alarmist." He called in Moskowitz who allowed as how he hadn't observed any signs of racial strife such as Bennett had referred to.

So Fitt and Moskowitz ignored Bennett's report.

The incoming Republicans were ironically blessed in that almost none could profess to be an expert on civil rights, human relations, or Negroes. Some of them saw the trouble that was brewing within the military and they admitted they needed help in doing something about it.

Still, a big "interdepartmental task force" on the subject did almost nothing. It did conclude that draftees coming off the nation's troubled streets and volunteers from the nation's strife-ridden high schools were bringing racism with them. So there was talk—but mostly talk—of "threshold orientation" designed to strip new GIs of their racism during their first days in the service.

Now there is frantic talk of human relations programs at West Point, the Naval Academy, schools for noncommissioned officers, in basic training and about anyplace else in the military that anyone can think of.

This may help. But it does not come to grips with the fundamental problem. This new breed of black GI feels that he is being discriminated against in a variety of ways. Reports have been coming into the Pentagon of white officers referring to black GIs as "boy" and "nigger," actions just about guaranteed to produce a fight.

Black soldiers say they are cut off from the ranking people who might do something about their grievances. They say black GIs receive inordinately severe punishment for minor offenses. They say the promotions too often go to white GIs who don't work as hard or efficiently as the passed-over blacks.

And they speak bitterly of something I warned about in a column a few months ago: the civilian hierarchy at the Pentagon is and always has been illy-white, and it is not much better at the top level of the military side.

This is the first problem that the President and Laird must do something about. Before this tense problem of racial strife within the military is solved, some top-level teams of blacks and whites from the Pentagon are going to have to visit a lot of bases and talk to a lot of men.

The magnitude of the Pentagon's problem will become obvious when Laird discovers he has a real paucity of top-level blacks to put on such a team.

#### OIL IMPORT PROGRAM IS VITAL TO AMERICA'S SECURITY

### HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, a recent article appearing in the Bartlesville, Okla., Examiner-Enterprise newspaper carried some important comments from one of the industry's leading authorities on our oil import program.

Mr. John Houchin, president of Phillips Petroleum Co., was quoted in regard to a study made by the Charles River Association on proposed changes in our import program. I commend Mr. Houchin for his very thoughtful analysis of both our present import program and his comments on the Charles River study, and include his remarks in the RECORD at this point:

#### HOUCHIN CRITICIZES CHARLES RIVER STUDY

"The nation's security could be gravely imperiled, and its petroleum consumers and domestic oil business harmed if some of the conclusions made in the Charles River Associates study of the oil imports program were made a part of the import policy," John M. Houchin, president of Phillips Petroleum Company, said.

Houchin pointed out that the study, which was prepared for the office of Science and Technology and has been submitted to the Cabinet Task Force on Oil Import Control, was full of faulty assumptions, inconsistencies, and inaccurate methodology. "For example," Houchin said, "the report assumes that reserve producing capacity in 1975 without import controls and prorationing would remain at the present level of about 1½ million barrels a day, and that an increase of one million barrels a day would be readily obtainable from new drilling. This results in an overestimate during emergencies of about two million barrels daily for the conditions assumed."

Houchin also pointed out that in its hypothetical example of an emergency condition the analysis does not consider the widening gap between current oil demand and domestic production which would occur in the absence of import controls. "Because it ignores this fact, the amount of storage for emergencies, and the cost of this storage would have to be much higher than assumed in the report," Houchin stated. "These inaccuracies alone could result in a critical shortage of petroleum supplies during a national crisis," he stressed.

A wrong assumption in the study which is a deception to consumers is that foreign prices of crude oil would not increase if U.S. import controls were removed," Houchin continued. "Like so much in the Charles River report this assumption ignores reality. If the United States should become dependent on foreign nations for its petroleum, the governments of these nations would inevitably raise the price of their oil. The evidence that they would do this is clear. An announced goal of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) is higher prices for crude oil for member countries. A recent resolution by OPEC calls upon members to deny oil contracts or concessions to consuming countries whose policy is to reduce prices of imported crude oil."

Houchin said that it follows that the assumption in the Charles River's study that the import control program costs 6.2 billion dollars is "completely out of the ball park." He said, "the January 1969 report by the Department of the Interior which is the most

comprehensive published report on the cost of the import control, concluded that savings in oil prices as a result of elimination of import controls might be about a billion dollars a year, but warned that higher prices for foreign oil would come with increased U.S. dependency on foreign supplies. These higher prices would, of course, offset the billion dollars.

"The CRA report adopts the time-worn argument of economic theorists that state proration encourages drilling of marginal wells," Houchin continued. "This argument ignores the inherent risk in finding and developing oil reserves. Few operators deliberately drill marginal wells and no one intentionally drills a dry hole. It is not normally possible to determine until after a well is drilled whether it will be good, marginal or dry," Houchin stated. "Abandonment of prorationing would not only result in wasteful use of oil and gas, but would virtually wipe out the small, independent producers who are so vital because they discover most of the new petroleum supplies in our nation," he added.

The Charles River study also does not give consideration to the cost to consumers resulting from reduced production of natural gas which would result from eliminating import controls, according to Houchin. "Some 25 percent to 30 percent of gas produced in the U.S. is oil well gas, much of which would be lost as a result of eliminating import controls," Houchin concluded.

HAROLD A. PATTEN

**HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 8, 1969

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to join with my colleagues in paying special tribute to our esteemed friend and distinguished former colleague, the late Harold A. Patten, who passed away on September 6. He was a warm and genuine human being who spent much of his life in the service of his fellow man and his country.

As we pause to honor the memory of the gentleman who so ably represented the First District of Arizona for 6 years in this Chamber, from 1948 to 1954, we recall the accomplishments of this very able legislator.

"Porque" Patten, as we affectionately knew him, served with distinction on the Committee on Armed Services and the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. As such he was a most effective man.

He was also a very active member of the Air Force Reserve, who went on active duty every year. He was very proud of his commission and of his connection with the Air Force.

The confidence of the thousands of constituents who elected Harold Patten to the 81st, 82d, and 83d Congresses was not misplaced. He was dedicated to the highest ideals of public service and to our American democratic system. He was never too big to do a little thing—never too busy to help when help was asked, never too worried or preoccupied with his own affairs to spare a smile or a friendly greeting to visitors in his office.

Seldom does one find a man of this stature so wholeheartedly dedicated and responsive to the needs of people he

served. "Porque" Patten's record in Congress earned for him the genuine admiration and deep respect of his colleagues. I extend my most profound sympathy to his bereaved family.

**GREATER WASHBURN RISES**

**HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER**

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, many Members of Congress are aware of the devastating toll in lives and property taken by tornadoes and hurricanes each year in our Nation. In 1966 a killer tornado ripped through Topeka, Kans. While great damage was suffered throughout the capital city, a crippling blow was dealt Washburn University. Nearly all of the older buildings on the Washburn campus were demolished.

However, the university has survived and indeed has grown in the months following that terrible disaster. New buildings have risen to take the place of the old, and students in greater numbers have been attracted to Washburn. Incidentally, on Saturday, September 27, the Washburn Law School of which I am an alumnus, will dedicate a new law school building.

The recovery and restoration of Washburn University results from the untiring efforts of its administration and board of regents with the wholehearted cooperation of the public, and assistance from both private and public sources.

I include in the RECORD the following editorial from the Topeka, Kans., Daily Capital which discusses Washburn University's progress. The editorial follows:

**GREATER WASHBURN RISES**

The sounds of construction continue on Washburn University's campus, marking progress being made since the 1966 tornado ripped it apart.

As classes open with greater enrollment Sept. 8, another new building will go into use for the first time and work has been started on still another, which, when completed in a couple of years, should make possible removal of the temporary classroom buildings.

The new law school building, to be occupied this fall for the first time, will be dedicated in three-day ceremonies ending Saturday, Sept. 27, when U.S. Supreme Court Justice Byron R. White is scheduled to speak.

A good start has been made on the Learning Resources Center, estimated for completion in 1971. It will house numerous classes, including those to meet this fall in the temporary buildings.

Until then three clusters of metal buildings along 17th—Crane, Boswell and MacVicar Villages—will house classes in psychology, sociology, business and economics, and classroom work in physical education.

The new Fine Arts Building, used and enjoyed for the first time last spring, adds beauty to the campus in addition to providing some of the finest auditoriums and classrooms in the Middle West.

Most of the scars of the storm have been erased in the 39 months since it demolished nearly all of Washburn's older buildings. Within a short time after the debris had been cleared away, the Memorial Union addition was completed, as were the west wing of Morgan Hall and repairs to Stoffer Science

Hall. Carnegie building was restored and renovated, Benton Hall repaired, and the roof on Whiting Fieldhouse made whole again.

All this, in addition to the new buildings, has modernized Washburn's campus, even more than programmed before the tornado.

That students are appreciating advantages offered by Topeka's municipal university is shown by enrollment forecast for this fall. It is expected to be 4,400—which would be 1,178 more than the number attending the fall before the tornado.

Washburn, undaunted, is moving ahead.

**NINTH ANNUAL QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS**

**HON. JAMES HARVEY**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, I am again taking this opportunity to further report on our annual congressional questionnaire conducted throughout the Eighth Congressional District of Michigan. This was the ninth consecutive questionnaire, and I am pleased that interest and participation in this opportunity to vote on issues of major importance remains high.

I am further indebted to the weekly and daily newspapers throughout the district which devoted considerable space to the questionnaire and, in most instances, even published the 10-question ballot. This type of public service enables us to make absolutely certain that every citizen has the opportunity to participate and to make his views known.

The results, which are listed below along with the questions, are based on the tabulation of approximately 10,000 returns. It is likely that over 15,000 individuals took the time to vote.

The results are:

**9TH ANNUAL QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS**

	Yes	No
1. If the Paris peace talks do not progress, do you favor:		
a. Gradual withdrawal of all U.S. forces in Vietnam regardless of enemy reaction?	4,211	5,843
b. Gradual withdrawal only on a mutual basis?	3,911	6,134
c. Intensifying the war effort?	2,335	7,710
2. Do you favor President Nixon's proposal to deploy the antiballistic missile system around 2 ICBM sites, to safeguard our nuclear deterrent?	6,123	3,922
3. Would you favor U.S. support for admission of Red China to the United Nations?	3,512	6,533
4. Are you satisfied with the performance of the United Nations?	2,091	7,954
5. Would you favor a constitutional amendment which would allow Congress to override a U.S. Supreme Court decision by a 2/3 vote?	6,513	3,532
6. Should the electoral college be abolished and the election of the President and Vice President be accomplished by popular vote?	8,486	1,558
7. Should the voting age be lowered to 18 years?	3,489	6,556
8. Should Federal financial assistance be withheld from those students who disrupt the academic operations of colleges and universities?	9,313	
9. Should the farm program be changed to gradually reduce dependence on price supports?	7,994	
10. Do you favor converting the Post Office Department into a Government-owned corporation to operate on a self-supporting basis?	7,424	2,618

IRISH CATHOLICS BEMOAN YEARS  
OF SECOND CLASS CITIZENSHIP

HON. CHARLES W. SANDMAN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. SANDMAN. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks various stories concerning the rebellion in Northern Ireland have appeared in the press. I am pleased to share with my distinguished colleagues a firsthand account of the situation as reported to the Vineland Times Journal, Vineland, N.J., by Cyril J. O'Brien who covered the story while vacationing in Ireland at the time of the outbreak:

IRISH CATHOLICS BEMOAN YEARS OF SECOND  
CLASS CITIZENSHIP

(By Cyril J. O'Brien)

DERRY, NORTH IRELAND.—"We are treated worse than the Black Man in some parts of the United States."

The young man who said that was about 22, dressed in soiled tweed coat he had slept in for two nights, and he carried an axe handle. He would not give his name because "I've been in jail too many times already . . ." for civil defiance.

But because I was an American the rebel barricade was let down and the young sentry and a compatriot named Francis Oakley let us across the rampart of steel rimmed beer barrels, scaffolding and debris.

Inside was Bogside, the Catholic ghetto of this ancient walled city. Although the majority population, they had been bound to their inferior housing for half a century by blatant prejudice, job inequality and gerrymandered voting districts.

Now they were tired of successive city administrations which spurned appeals and maintained a special sectarian auxiliary police force called "B-Specials" to uphold the establishment.

In their soft Irish voices the young men explained what they wanted told across the sea: how employers ask the school you attended to scratch Catholic applicants; how an archaic property-based voting system disenfranchises the poor—Protestants and Catholics alike.

The young men, in their rumpled suits with sleep-starved eyes, crowded around in relaxed poses, holding their cudgels like walking sticks and pocketing the egg-sized cobblestones they had been heaving to keep the constabulary out of the Bogside.

For two days now they had been holding off the Royal Ulster Constabulary which they considered a sectarian body which sided with the anti-Catholic extremists.

The trouble had started Monday, Aug. 12, when more than 12,000 of the Orange Apprentice Boys organization came here from all over Ireland and from Scotland to march around the Derry walls. They sang provocative anti-Catholic songs and then walked along the Bogside ghetto. Then on-lookers came out to pelt the marchers. The police then pushed the Bogside back into their enclaves, aided by a swarm of Paisleyites who were around for just an event and about 300 of the Apprentice Boys themselves.

However, the police stopped at the fringe of the Bogside as the people inside the ghetto returned with a barrage of stones and petrol bombs (Molotov cocktails).

The bombs were being made by a "factory" of young girls, boys and older women.

This battle for the Bogside was in its second day when the "rebels" let me through their barricade.

A block away from our flanking position came the sounds of falling rocks and the scramble of feet and rattle of shields as the RUC's charged. There followed the hail like

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

patter as the shields deflected the shower of rocks. This continued all day.

Headquarters for the rebels is a nine-story apartment building which houses the leaders, civil rights supporters and such protagonists of the Catholic position as pretty brownette Bernadette Devlin—a member of the British (Westminster) Parliament. From its roof flies the Tricolor of the Republic of Ireland. They briefly flew the Stars and Stripes of the United States, as a tribute.

Today, all of the Apprentice Boys have gone home while Derry men, and neighbors, fight among themselves. Paisleyites (named for the extremist anti-Catholic Rev. Ian Paisley) support the police and have been blamed for burning a Catholic-owned factory. The rebels, however, had been getting support and reinforcements from foreign students out of Belfast and a few that dribbled up from the South.

"Tell them back in the States," said Oakley, "that all we want is one man, one vote . . . that there should be a house for every family, Catholic or Protestant . . ."

"Is that too much to ask?" queried a blond fellow who had a steel helmet he had wrested from the police.

"Here, I want you to meet Herbert." Oakley joined in again. "He lost an eye to the police."

Herbert Francis McCauley, 24, with his shaggy red hair and his tweed coat turned up at the collar, was the prototype of the Hollywood IRA man of the troubles with the Black and Tans following 1916.

"They kicked it out in the Victoria (police) barracks," the young man said, brushing his hand across a false eye that looked too small for its red-rimmed socket.

Another flurry of stones and steps and most of the crowd around me moved to the wide alley off William st. where the battle line had been drawn.

"See we use rocks, not guns . . ." one youngster explained. He demonstrated by a running throw in the direction of the police.

Another had no such aversion to firearms: "If we had guns it would be all over by now . . ." However, in an earlier skirmish an armored police van had been burned which contained rifles and Bren guns—and not a one had been removed.

"Mind now," said Oakley, "we are fighting for our homes, our women and our children. The police should go and leave us alone. The men, women and children here did nothing to the police. But they make our homes a battleground. Why don't they go away?"

"Last night," said Charles Meehan, "they came, 500 of them, and the police did not a thing to stop them. They were Paisleyites, bigots, full of hate and they fought for four hours to get at the Cathedral . . . The police even helped them with tear gas . . . But they never got to the church . . . They did not."

"There's the flag, we are fighting for," said another young fellow who grabbed the lapel of my coat.

He pointed to the brazen Tricolor over the Derry apartment building. It countered the many Union Jacks which extremists often hoist in defiance of the Nationalists (who want union with the South) as much as a nod to Great Britain.

Oakley, McCauley and the unnamed others who came around told how they considered the arrival of British troops a victory. It would show the world, they felt, that the Northern government could no longer maintain control. Their contempt for police is that the constabulary is not an impartial force.

"It can only do us good," said McCauley. "It will be a moral victory at least. The British troops will not be on one side."

(As this story was being written Thursday, the arrival of British troops in Derry was announced. The Bogside have stopped

throwing stones and there were reports of soldiers and rebels sharing canteens of tea).

Dorman Malachy told us how things will never be the same in Northern Ireland now that the events in Derry and Belfast have centered world attention on the situation.

Earlier, John Hume, civil rights leader and member of the North Ireland Parliament, expressed the same conviction. Hume, who like Martin Luther King has pressed for non-violence among his followers, told of attacks on Catholic homes by mobs who threw petrol bombs in windows. In Ku Klux Klan fashion, the night riders have also affixed warnings to the doors of Catholic workers' homes.

Yet, Hume holds that much of the problem in Derry and Northern Ireland is economic. Religious bigotry simply exacerbates the situation.

Of course, the matter of a United Ireland is always on the minds of many of the Catholic majority. However, Hume sees no imminence of a united nation. It may come some time, he holds, when, economically feasible and agreeable to the majority. Many liberal Protestants and civil rights activists who are strong for the equality of all in North Ireland are not impressed with the political aspects of national unity.

Back at the barricades, it was obvious that the gap between Derry men will exist a long time.

A rosy cheeked constable pulled up the visor on his steel helmet and shook his head at the fury of it all. He and his colleagues seemed much restrained in light of the Bogside accusations that they had invaded Catholic homes without provocation.

Asked how he felt about getting the brunt of attacks from both sides on the Derry confrontations:

"Not both sides," he made very clear. "We've got only one enemy—and he's there." And he pointed to the Bogside.

SPOTLIGHT ON BRUTALITY

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas, Mr. Speaker, the Saturday, September 6, edition of the Evening Star carried an editorial relating to our prisoners of war in North Vietnam and the treatment they are receiving from their captors.

I have been very active with a group of wives and families of these prisoners of war in the last several months in an effort to bring public opinion to bear throughout the world on the North Vietnamese with the hopes that it will change their attitudes toward the treatment our men are receiving as well as force them into releasing information on them and seeing to it that they are treated under the terms of the Geneva Convention.

The editorial follows:

SPOTLIGHT ON BRUTALITY

The press conference of Lieutenant Robert Frishman and Postal Clerk Douglas Hegdahl at Bethesda Naval Hospital marks a new phase in this government's approach to the prisoner of war problem.

Hitherto, administration spokesmen have bitten their tongues and gone along with the falsehood that the North Vietnamese were treating American POWs in a humane way. The object of this restraint was to avoid possible retaliatory action against military men still in captivity.

But, clearly, this policy has counted for nil with the hardhearted leadership of Hanoi.

Not only have the North Vietnamese continued to deal out beatings and other torture as a routine affair. They also have rejected all appeals to announce the names of their prisoners—which means that relations and friends have no way of knowing whether these men are alive or dead. Further, the prisoners are denied their basic rights under the Geneva Protocol to receive mail from home and to have access to competent medical care.

It was in these grim circumstances, then, that Lieutenant Frishman and Seaman Hegdahl fulfilled their pledge to their buddies back at the camp to reveal how brutal their treatment at North Vietnamese hands really has been. They spoke of solitary confinement in broiling human ovens, fiendish tortures such as exposure to swarms of mosquitoes and the yanking off of fingernails, callous disregard of injuries, and worse. They told their story, moreover, in the certain knowledge that their luckless comrades will get an extra ration of the same.

Perhaps the harsh glare of publicity will shame the North Vietnamese to modify their unspeakable behavior toward their charges. In any event, this shift in approach is worth a try.

**"MR. DEMOCRAT OF GIBSON COUNTY" PASSES**

**HON. ED JONES**

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. JONES of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, one of the "grand old men" of west Tennessee, Mr. Charley C. Berry, died on Monday, August 25, 1969, at the age of 89. His life is such an outstanding example of service that I feel it should be brought to the attention of my colleagues and the Nation. I would, therefore, like to insert the following tribute to my warm friend, Mr. Charley, which was written by Don E. Chevalia, now chairman of the division of social studies and education at Jackson State Community College in Jackson, Tenn. As a young man, Don Chevalia grew up in Mr. Charley's hometown of Dyer, Tenn., and loved and admired him as we all have through the years.

The article follows:

A TRIBUTE TO "MR. DEMOCRAT OF GIBSON COUNTY, TENN."

(By Don E. Chevalia)

Mr. Charley C. Berry, former Mayor of Dyer, Tennessee, died Monday, August 25, 1969. "Mr. Charley", as he was affectionately called by his friends, was 89.

Mr. Charley was known far and wide as "Mr. Democrat of Gibson County" because of his unswerving loyalty to the Democratic Party. He developed his party interest in 1896, when as a boy of 16 he heard William Jennings Bryan, Democratic nominee for President of the United States, speak in Humboldt, Tennessee.

His personal political career began in 1916, when he was appointed postmaster at Dyer by President Woodrow Wilson. He held this position for eight years. He served a total of sixteen years in the trustee's office in Gibson County, from 1932 to 1947. In 1947, he was elected Mayor of Dyer and was re-elected nine times by his fellow townsmen. Because of failing health, he declined to seek re-election in 1967.

While serving on various boards and in various offices, Mr. Charley remained loyal to and active in his party. He was a member of the Democratic Executive Committee of

Gibson County for 55 years. He served as chairman of the committee from 1951 to 1968.

In recognition of the many years of service of Mr. Berry, the Legislature of the State of Tennessee voted unanimously to name the bridge over G M & O Railroad on South Main Street in Dyer the "Charley C. Berry Bridge." The Legislature further directed the State Highway Department to keep the bridge so posted forever.

Mr. Charley was a steward in the First Methodist Church for sixty years. He was a member of the Sons of the American Revolution, the Dyer Lions Club, and had been a member of the Masonic Lodge since 1914.

Mr. Charley's death leaves a great void in Gibson County politics. There are few who have come our way who have left a greater heritage. He had undoubtedly done more things for more people than any man in Gibson County. He will be sorely missed by all of us.

**ERLANGER SOLDIER KILLED**

**HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER**

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, August 16, Mrs. Marion L. Zipp received notice that her husband SP/4 Marion L. Zipp had been killed when the helicopter in which he was riding was shot down by enemy fire.

Marion Zipp thus becomes another of the valiant men who has given his life in defense of his country and in protecting the free world.

The sympathy of thousands of other families who have paid this sacrifice goes out to Mrs. Zipp and the Zipp family. To them also goes the sincere gratitude of those of us whom Marion died protecting.

The Kentucky Post article of August 18, written by Burl Russell, which reports the loss of the 102d upper Bluegrass soldier to the war in Vietnam, follows:

VIET SHOOT DOWN 'COPTER AND KILL  
ERLANGER SOLDIER

(By Burl Russell)

"Honey, you can circle Dec. 12 on your calendar and start counting the days. That's the day I'll be leaving Vietnam."

This was part of a letter received Saturday by Mrs. Helen Zipp, 459 Buckner street, Elsmere, from her husband, Sp. 4 Marion L. Zipp, 23.

But she won't circle Dec. 12.

Instead she will have emblazoned in her memory Saturday, Aug. 16, the day she received the letter.

At 8 a.m. just hours before, an Army sergeant knocked on the door.

"Are you Mrs. Zipp?" he asked.

"When I told him yes, he said it very quickly: "Your husband has been killed," she recalled.

The soldier was a crewman aboard a troop-carrier helicopter. It was coming in for a landing at Da Nang airstrip when shot down by the enemy.

"It was not the first time he had had a brush with death," his wife said. "He wrote that about three months ago he was walking at Da Nang with a friend when a mortar attack came.

"The friend was killed."

He had been in Vietnam since Dec. 10, and in the army since July 5, 1967. He was a graduate of Campbell County High School.

The letter Mrs. Zipp received after she learned of his death stated "I'll be coming out of the field any day now."

Besides his wife the specialist leaves his mother, Mrs. Omega Martin, Alexandria, and two brothers, Robert, Alexandria, and William, Covington.

The death of the helicopter crewman marked the 102nd casualty for Northern Kentucky and Kenton County's 40th.

**PROPOSALS PRESENTED BY THE OREGON STATE LEGISLATURE**

**HON. EDITH GREEN**

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, developing the harbor, recreation, and land transportation facilities of the Pacific Northwest are concerns which hold importance for the future growth of this country.

Aware of this, the Oregon State Legislature recently passed a number of joint memorial resolutions advising action by the National Congress. The proposals are presented here for consideration by my fellow colleagues:

**SENATE JOINT MEMORIAL 2**

To His Excellency, the Honorable President of the United States, and to the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:

We, your memorialists, the Fifty-fifth Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, in legislative session assembled, most respectfully represent as follows:

Whereas the Port of Coos Bay, Oregon, is one of the great natural port sites on the west coast of North America; and

Whereas full development of this port will create new heavy manufacturing and other industries and encourage the growth of existing manufacturing, distributing and construction industries, provide full and fair employment and insure a better life for all in this area and provide Oregon and the west coast of North America with an additional major access to world trade and the ocean's wealth; now, therefore,

Be It Resolved by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon:

(1) The President of the United States and the Congress of the United States are memorialized to:

(a) Institute a plan to develop the Port of Coos Bay, Oregon, into a major world seaport.

(b) Coordinate all federal agencies toward development of this plan, including the agencies involved in commerce, atomic power generation, oceanography, geology and mineral recovery, outdoor recreation, timber management and sale, highway, rail and water transport, pollution control, fish and wild life habitat, and developmental finance.

(c) Cooperate with private businessmen and investors and with state and local governmental agencies including the port commissioners of the Ports of Coos Bay and Bandon and the county commissioners of Coos County in providing aggressive but orderly comprehensive development of the port site, the estuarine and ocean resources and the industrial potential of the area; and

(d) Adopt a program to provide sufficient funds for the establishment of atomic power generation facilities, improvement of the existing highway system from the port inland to the Willamette Valley with long-range plans to create a new direct freeway route inland and other such developments that will promote access to and facilities for the Port of Coos Bay.

(2) A copy of this memorial shall be transmitted to the President of the United States, each member of the Oregon Congressional

Delegation, the Secretary of Transportation, the Secretary of Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce, the Director of the Bureau of Public Roads, the Bonneville Power Administration, the United States Army Corps of Engineers and the Federal Power Commission.

#### SENATE JOINT MEMORIAL 7

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled:

We, your memorialists, the Fifty-fifth Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, in legislative session assembled, most respectfully represent as follows:

Whereas the Federal Government has established and is assisting the several states in the construction of the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways; and

Whereas the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways is designed to connect principal metropolitan areas, cities and industrial centers, to serve the national defense; and

Whereas Astoria, because of its strategic location, has served and is serving military establishments, business, industry and recreation on the Coast of Oregon, is a center for business and industry from a large area of the coast with substantial new industries now locating in the area and even greater potential for expansion and development since the opening of the Astoria Bridge on the Columbia River, is a recreation center for Oregon and the Pacific Northwest, is the base of a Job Corps Center and the location of a new United States Coast Guard installation; and

Whereas United States Highway No. 30 extends between Astoria and Portland and Portland is on Interstate Highway No. 80 North and the designation of this part of United States Highway No. 30 as part of the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways would complete the route to the Pacific Coast; now, therefore,

Be It Resolved by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon:

(1) The Congress of the United States is memorialized to direct the Secretary of Transportation, acting in cooperation with the Oregon State Highway Department, to designate as part of the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways that portion of United States Highway No. 30 which extends between Astoria and Portland, Oregon.

(2) A copy of this memorial shall be transmitted to the Secretary of Transportation and to each member of the Oregon Congressional Delegation and to the Oregon State Highway Commission.

#### SENATE JOINT MEMORIAL 9

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, and to the Honorable Secretary of Agriculture:

We, your memorialists, the Fifty-fifth Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, in legislative session assembled, most respectfully represent as follows:

Whereas the United States of America constructed Timberline Lodge as a public recreation facility in 1937 at the 6,000 foot elevation on the slopes of Mount Hood within the boundaries of the Mount Hood National Forest in the State of Oregon, at a distance of approximately 60 miles from Portland, Oregon; and

Whereas Timberline Lodge is under the administration of the United States Forest Service and has been operated since 1937 for the benefit of the public as a recreation facility; and

Whereas Timberline Lodge has been called the world's most magnificent wooden structure and is one of the outstanding architectural wonders in the United States; and

Whereas in excess of 600,000 members of the public annually visit Timberline Lodge, both during the winter skiing season and the sum-

mer tourist season, by reason of which Timberline Lodge has become and is one of the outstanding tourist attractions of the State of Oregon; and

Whereas the facilities of Timberline Lodge for some time have not been adequate to provide proper recreation facilities for such extensive use by the public; and

Whereas Timberline Lodge also lacks many vital service facilities needed for an economic, businesslike resort accommodation; and

Whereas the United States Forest Service has undertaken studies and prepared detailed plans for improvements and additions to the present facilities of Timberline Lodge; and

Whereas it has come to the attention of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon that consideration is now being given by the Congress of the United States to providing funds for the implementation of such studies and plans by the construction of additional facilities and improvements; and

Whereas the citizens of the State of Oregon and the members of the Legislative Assembly believe that the best interests of the general public and of the United States would be promoted by the construction of the additional public recreation facilities at Timberline Lodge proposed by the United States Forest Service; now, therefore,

Be It Resolved by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon:

(1) The Congress of the United States and the United States Forest Service are urged to take all necessary steps to construct the additional facilities and improvements at Timberline Lodge within the Mount Hood National Forest in the State of Oregon as proposed by the United States Forest Service.

(2) A copy of this memorial shall be transmitted to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture and to each member of the Oregon Congressional Delegation.

#### CITY OF WATERTOWN, N.Y., CELEBRATES ITS 100TH YEAR

### HON. ROBERT C. McEWEN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, the city of Watertown, N.Y., is celebrating its 100th anniversary this year. The city has been recognized in the July-August issue of the Industrial Bulletin of the New York State Department of Labor in an article entitled "Watertown's Centennial Year, Bright Future Seen for Garland City." Because the story is well written, and because it so accurately describes the exciting atmosphere of the centennial year, I would like to share it with my colleagues. The article follows:

#### WATERTOWN'S CENTENNIAL YEAR, BRIGHT FUTURE SEEN FOR "GARLAND CITY"

"A proud heritage—a bright future" . . .

The bustling city of Watertown, heralded as the International Shopping Center of Northern New York and "the Gateway to the Thousand Islands," could not have selected a more perfect theme for its year-long Centennial celebration. From the establishment of the settlement on the shores of Black River some 169 years ago by a handful of far-sighted pioneers, who foresaw its development as an industrial and business center, Watertown has enjoyed a proud heritage.

And as far as the future is concerned, the prospects have never been brighter, what with expansion of existing industries and businesses and the building of new plants—all part of what is being described as the greatest building boom in the city's his-

tory. The picture for 1969 shows projects estimated at \$33 million to be completed or started during the year.

Biggest of the jobs slated to begin this year will be the \$8.5 million New York State Office Building at Washington-Sterling-Academy streets. Second comes the \$4.25 million Mercy Hospital community mental health project, followed in size by the proposed \$3 million elementary public school complex.

A \$2.6 million high-rise, 16-story federally sponsored apartment building for senior citizens is scheduled to be started this year, along with the first of three commercial complexes of the city's \$11 million Court-Arsenal streets urban renewal development.

Million dollar projects will be fairly common this year as at least eight other projects of this magnitude are initiated.

In looking ahead, one mustn't overlook Watertown's stake in the mushrooming tourist business. Only a "stone's throw" from the Thousand Islands area and the Canadian border, less than 30 miles from the St. Lawrence Seaway and only 100 miles from the St. Lawrence Development, Watertown stands to reap a good share of the benefits as hundreds of thousands of outdoor-minded Americans and Canadians pass through the city en route to vacation havens.

A prosperous city of 34,000 population situated in the heart of Jefferson County, "New York State's vacationland," Watertown can rightfully take pride in its colorful history, its industrial growth and its burgeoning economy, but by far its most important asset is its people. From the business executive to the policeman on the corner of Public Square, the service station attendant and store clerk do more to "sell" Watertown and the nearby resort area than all the posters and brochures. They always have time for a friendly greeting and are quick to sing the praises of "their city."

This has been especially true during the Centennial observance. It's safe to assume that 99 per cent of the populace have identified with the Centennial and have become self-appointed promoters. This highly successful yet surprisingly inexpensive venture has taken the city and surrounding area by storm.

The idea for the Centennial Celebration was first broached by Mayor Ted Rand and got off to a flying start when the Common Council designated two community-minded citizens, Richard M. Hollenbeck, sales representative for Niagara Mohawk Power Corporation and Tony C. Malara, manager of Radio Station WWNY as co-chairmen of the Centennial Committee.

Their initial step was the appointment of an Executive Committee and monthly chairmen to organize the special programs and activities to be held each month throughout the year.

From the outset, this has been a labor of love for key personnel and the hundreds of citizens who either volunteered or were recruited for this gigantic project.

According to Dick Hollenbeck, upwards of 1,500 people are working on the Centennial. "Cooperation has been nothing short of phenomenal."

Hollenbeck is immensely proud of the fact that this is strictly a "do-it-yourself" project. "We felt that we could save a lot of money and do as good a job of promoting this Centennial as could any of the professional promotion outfits, and I think we've proven our point."

Members of the upper echelon are easily identifiable at Centennial functions and on the streets of Watertown in their bright red blazers carrying the Centennial patch.

Among the more important aspects of the celebration has been the publishing of an impressively-done Centennial magazine, 10,000 copies of which will be given away free to Watertown residents.

In addition, heritage plaques have been placed on more than 40 city landmarks that

are 100 or more years old. For the souvenir seekers, the committee has provided hundreds of silver coins retailing at \$7.50 and several thousand brass coins at \$1.50.

For the younger set, coloring books depicting the history of Watertown have been made available.

By far the biggest attraction is the huge birthday cake on display in Public Square. The three-tiered "cake," 16-feet square, is made of fiber glass and cheese cloth and is the handiwork of carpentry students at Jefferson Vocational-Technical Center. The cake was unveiled Feb. 1 and was to have come down after one month. However, it generated so much interest that it was decided to leave it up for the duration of the celebration.

"It's been repainted once," says Dick Holtenbeck, "and is in surprisingly good condition, considering the weather, etc. That cake cost us only \$165 but has given us thousands of dollars worth of publicity."

As for the monthly programs, it has been and will continue to be one special event right after another, including band concerts, parades, exhibits of century old articles and materials, barbershop concerts, essay contests, art shows, historical pageants, visits by the mayors of Watertown, South Dakota and Watertown, Mass., etc.

Long known as the "Garland City" and as the metropolis of Northern New York, Watertown is actually commemorating the 100th anniversary of its becoming an incorporated city on May 8, 1869.

The community has a balanced economy based on small diversified industry and trade from a large dairy farming and resort region. Heavily contributing to the economy base are several major industries which manufacture papermaking machinery, paper products and air brakes.

It has a non-partisan City Council presided over by the energetic mayor, Ted Rand, and city manager form of government.

In addition to its attractive downtown park area, known as Public Square, the city boasts of a fine developed park of 200 acres that features a zoo, swimming pool, golf course, etc.

A number of flourishing concerns were doing business in Watertown more than 100 years ago. These include the Agricultural Insurance Company, Knowlton Brothers, Inc., Jefferson County Savings Bank, the Watertown Daily Times, the Woodruff Hotel, and the James R. Miller Clothing Store.

Knowlton Brothers, Inc., manufacturers of special industrial papers since 1804, is Watertown's oldest industry. It is the third oldest paper mill in the United States in uninterrupted operation on the same site. Since 1808, when the firm's predecessor established the Pioneer Mill, Knowlton has been a leader in the development of special industrial papers.

Aside from Knowlton Brothers, the city's industrial community includes Black Clawson Manufacturing Company, Aco Machinery; New York Air Brake Company, a unit of General Signal Corporation, which has helped build the proud heritage of Jefferson County over the last 78 years; Fisher-Gage, Inc., a precision die-casting company that moved from Ontario in 1964; Chesebrough-Pond's, Inc., Faichney Instrument Division, which is presently building a new clinical thermometer plant; Hall Ski-Lift Company; Bomax, Inc., manufacturers of small electric motors, a recent acquisition of Gould National Lead, and others.

The city has many famous landmarks including the Arcade and the century-old dam at the Knowlton plant but perhaps the best known of them all is the ornamental fountain in Public Square which dates back to 1853 or 1854.

The fountain came close to disappearing from the scene in 1959, but was restored through the efforts of public spirited citizens and officials and foundry workers at New York Air Brake Company.

The fountain was originally set up during the administration of Joseph Mullin. It was originally dubbed "Cary's Punch Bowl" because it was advocated by Benjamin Cary, a member of the village board of trustees.

In the early morning hours of August 22, 1959, it was knocked down by two reveling out-of-town firemen. The two men told police they climbed to the top of the 15-foot high fountain "to see where the water came from."

The lion's share of the credit for restoring the fountain which was dedicated on May 31, 1960, went to officials of the New York Air Brake Company and representatives of Local 78, International Molders & Foundry Workers of North America, AFL-CIO, who donated labor and material for the project. It was decided that the new fountain would be constructed of cast iron sections molded from parts of the original structure.

Two men who were deeply involved in Local 78's restoration effort nine years ago are still active in the union at Air Brake: Antonio Castro, then president of Local 78 and Clarence Pringle, corresponding secretary who was then vice president.

Early in the 1920's, Watertown businessmen united with village leaders to advertise the Thousand Islands on a regional basis through a single agency. This was the beginning of a long continuing effort on the part of Watertown to promote the tourist and vacation business within its trade territory.

The next eventful project undertaken was to get a State Regional Park Commission established to help boost the Thousand Islands area. Watertown civic leaders used their influence to have such a commission created by Congressional legislation in 1932. First chairman was Charles A. Winslow, a past president of the Watertown Chamber of Commerce, who later became mayor of the city.

The Thousand Islands Park Commission now has under its administration 17 well-developed parks ranging from Sackets Harbor to Massena.

The Thousand Islands Bridge was another area asset promoted during the depression years. Watertown civic leaders, headed by civil engineer William T. Field, successfully promoted the project of a bridge across the St. Lawrence at Collins Landing, to be built and financed by a bridge authority whose members would be appointed by the county government.

Executive Secretary of the Bridge Authority these many years is W. Grant Mitchell. The Authority's secretary is Clinton W. Marsh of Watertown, a member of the Centennial's Executive Committee.

What about the labor picture? Veterans in various building trades view the volume of construction in Watertown, stemming from 1969 starts, as the biggest for any single period in the city's history. The package of local projects is expected to provide at least three years of employment, almost on an uninterrupted level, for those in the building and allied trades.

The man with his finger on the labor situation in Watertown is the highly respected Milton Frey, business manager of Carpenters Local 278, AFL-CIO, president of the Central Trades and Labor Council and secretary-treasurer of the Adirondack and Vicinity District Council of Carpenters of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

"The outlook for employment is bright," says Frey, "taking into consideration the possibility of problems caused by weather and delays in the urban renewal negotiations."

As for labor-management relations in the Watertown area, Frey notes that the labor record has been good and "our relationship with management has been equally as good."

Frey doesn't share the opinion of some area executives that the building boom will bring about a shortage of labor in the building and allied trades. "I do not foresee any

labor shortage. . . . In the past, there have been very few times when we have experienced a lack of workers. The possible exception would be in July and August and would involve those with special skills."

"When these jobs are ready to go," Frey says, "we will be able to scour the 14-county area covered by the Adirondack and Vicinity District Council . . . we have a big area to draw from."

Frey, who has been business agent of Local 278 for 17 years, maintains his office in the Watertown Labor Temple which houses the following organizations: Adirondack Carpenters Pension Fund; Adirondack Carpenters Welfare Fund; Building and Construction Trades Council; United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 910, AFL-CIO; Jefferson, Lewis and St. Lawrence Counties Central Trades and Labor Council, AFL-CIO; Plumbers and Steam Fitters Local 117, AFL-CIO; Laborers Union Local 322, AFL-CIO, and the Truck Drivers and Helpers Local 687.

The multi-million dollars worth of physical assets now invested in Watertown, the additional millions committed to expansion and new construction by governmental agencies and private business, combined with the organized effort now directed toward creating more industrial employment opportunities combine to assure a bright future for Watertown.

#### OUR ENVIRONMENT: COMMITMENT OR COMPLACENCY

HON. LOWELL P. WEICKER, JR.

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. WEICKER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

#### OUR ENVIRONMENT: COMMITMENT OR COMPLACENCY

(Keynote address by Congressman LOWELL P. WEICKER, JR., 4th District of Connecticut, before the Southwestern Connecticut Girl Scout Council Conference on Natural Resources, Hartford, Conn., Monday, August 11, 1969)

In Ohio, they say that anyone who falls into the Cuyahoga River does not drown. He decays. This river caused a fire because of its oil slick.

The Potomac River reaches Washington as a clear stream. It oozes from the area with 240 million gallons of waste per day.

Yellow-brown is the color of the Charles River in Boston. Sailboats in college regattas seem to crawl, rather than drift over its murky depths.

Of 62 beaches along Lake Erie's U.S. shores, only 3 are rated completely safe for swimming. Even wading is unpleasant because 30,000 sludge worms may be found in each square yard of lake bottom.

To breathe for half a day in New York City is similar to smoking a pack of cigarettes.

Industries fill Lake Erie with 15 billion gallons of wastes. The lake is being strangled by lack of oxygen. Weeds are the only form of life which survives.

When you dive into Long Island Sound you are diving into 196 million gallons of waste that comes from 46 municipal plants, 59 industrial plants, and 7 federal installations every day.

In many instances we have abused natural resources to the point where it is no longer possible to repair the damage. This situation is a direct result of our nation's lack of will and wisdom rather than a lack of ability to solve these pollution problems. In our na-

tional list of priorities, conservation of our natural resources has always ranked low. Clearly, what this country lacks is a resolute national commitment to solving the pollution crisis. Nothing less than a total commitment will solve the problems of dirty air, clogged rivers, inadequate waste treatment and destruction of public lands.

It's too easy to put off appropriating funds to preserve our national resources. And we have been guilty of doing so for too long.

Truthfully, our national attitudes are not much different from the attitudes we exhibit at home. Given the choice of a new septic field or a color television set, the average American will opt for the tube. And yet, the future value of his home is much more dependent on that septic field than on the initial oohs and ahs of his friends viewing a Saturday night special.

So the question must be asked as to whether or not this generation of Americans is interested in the future value of their nation's natural resources and national beauty and clean environment or whether we will continue to indulge ourselves in an orgy of resource revelry.

What is the situation today? The tremendous growth of population and expansion of industry have doubled the waste. Less survives to be wondered at, while our capacity for wonder is leaping. You and I just now can see tell-tales of past negligence. We can't let the problem slide by anymore. It could be that talk sufficed to meet yesterday's commitment. But today, the distance has closed and we're standing eyeball to eyeball with the truth—and that is that our commitment must be in the form of action and money.

Traditionally, the Federal Government has not played a large role in conservation. The citizen sector took the initiative. When sent to research expenditures, my staff found it difficult to pinpoint Federal conservation spending before 1965. That's only 4 years. But waste and pollution problems existed 10 years ago. They existed 50 years ago. They have existed since the industrial revolution. Landmark conservation bills have been few and far between. The 79th Congress enacted the coordination act which protected wildlife in connection with Federal drainage and water projects. Then the 89th Congress passed the Federal Pollution Control Law which provides benefits to state and local communities. This also helps in protecting wildlife habitats in streams, lakes, marshes, and coastal waters. Legislation has increased somewhat in recent years. The Water Quality Act of 1965 was followed by the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966.

The national interest is interlocked with the problem of preserving natural resources. This makes it a federal, local, state, industrial, and individual responsibility.

Federal financial commitment has been minute in the past. In 1967, only 2% of the federal budget was spent on natural resources. In 1968, it dropped to 1.9%. And in 1969, still only 1.9% of the federal budget was spent on natural resources.

The past few years have not been encouraging. Specific federal programs would be more meaningful if they had sufficient funds.

There are five prime areas of conservation: wetlands reclamation and land acquisition, air pollution, water pollution, and wildlife preservation.

Wetlands reclamation received attention in the 90th Congress. This attention was all talk and no action. While we're waiting for bills to reach the floor of the House which would provide money for the national wildlife refuge fund, valuable marshes and swamps are being filled in. This causes wetlands animals to flee the area and upset environmental balance. Originally we had 140 million acres of swamp and marshland in the U.S. Recent investigations show we have about 76 million acres left. Drainage

of these areas is proceeding at an alarming rate: in the 12 year period 1943-1954, nearly one million acres were drained and lost to marsh-wildlife production. When we unthinkingly plot the destruction of a wildlife habitat, we are undermining the whole structure of one part of our natural resources.

In the second area of land acquisition, we do not have a very bright picture. There have been many bills concerned with parks introduced into the House, but they have no financial muscle. In 1969, 15 million dollars less than requested was given to the National Park Service. The National Park Service received one-half the amount it is supposed to from the land and water fund.

Encouraging efforts have been made in the third area, air pollution. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has set up a National center for air pollution control. Another good sign is the 96 million dollars appropriated for the clean air act. Also, tax incentives have been given for the control of air pollution.

Of course, I must confess to wondering why those that make the mess shouldn't clean it up without a carrot paid for by the American people. Money for air pollution has increased from 5 to 32 million dollars for the states to set standards in 70 air quality control regions. The major attack on air pollution in 1970 has been preceded by a 150% increase in state and local expenditures on air pollution since 1965. In addition, 45 states now have air pollution statutes compared with only 17 states before 1963. This shows concern at the local level. However, federal research will be needed to provide the scientific basis for air quality standards and to develop more effective equipment to control air pollution. Emphasis will continue to be given to research and control activities related to pollutants from automobiles which account for approximately 60% of all air pollution. With the increasing number of automobiles on the road, carbon monoxide in the air would be expected to increase 50% by 1980, if left uncontrolled. New controls required by federal regulations on 1970 and 1971 model cars will prevent an increasing amount of these harmful wastes from ever being emitted to the air. However, the controls alone will not be sufficient to achieve the low level of auto exhaust emissions believed necessary for health protection in our cities.

The fourth area is water pollution. Some important legislation has occurred in this area. The water quality improvement act has passed the House and has been reported to the Senate.

This bill would finance the building of municipal waste treatment plants. A 50 million dollar revolving fund to provide for financing effective waste removal would be set up. The Secretary of the Interior would set up standards of performance for marine sanitation devices.

Practically every important water resource in this country is polluted to some degree. No one can say just how much it will cost to clean up the nation's polluted waters and to keep the still-clean waters from becoming polluted. At today's prices, the bill could run as high as a hundred billion dollars. When we shortchange water pollution control, we have agreed to give our children a toilet bowl, rather than the clear spring that was left to us.

In the Department of the Interior, for example, the 1969 budget for the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration for waste treatment plants was 214 million dollars. It is the same amount for 1970. In the Department of Agriculture, water and waste disposal grants totalled 28 million for both 1969 and 1970. When taken by themselves, these may seem like large amounts of money to be spent to clean up the nation's waterways. They aren't. In a recent four volume report for the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, it was estimated that approximately 25 billion dollars will be

needed over a five year period for municipal and industrial waste treatment works and sewer construction in order to launch a meaningful cleanup of our nation's waterways. These estimates did not even include cleanup costs for dealing with problems of combined sewers, agricultural runoff, mine drainage, or oil pollution. Programs proposed by 40 states indicate that municipal waste handling investments from 1969 to 1973 amount to 6 billion dollars, roughly equal to that spent during the last five years. At the same time, costs of plant expansion and replacement have climbed by about 20 million dollars a year in the last four years and may exceed the costs of new plant construction during 1969. What this means is that if construction costs continue to rise as they have in the past, and this seems likely, total clean water costs are expected to amount to 28 billion dollars in the next five years. The gap between what is needed and what we are getting is frighteningly obvious.

In the fifth area, while man neglects his natural resources he is not the only one who suffers. The wildlife of North America is being pushed back as the wilderness disappears. Many species have totally vanished from existence, and many more are in danger. How many of you, if you have visited National Park and Preserves, have seen alligator, panthers, eagles, wolves, and falcons? These are well known animals our fathers and grandfathers once took for granted as part of their surroundings. Now many of these species exist only in zoos. Indeed, the time is not too far off when you will be parents. But if we continue at this rate, your children may know these animals only through textbooks, for they will have vanished from the scene. Our wildlife is an indispensable part of our heritage and it must be protected. I was shocked by a recent Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife Study which listed 89 species of wildlife: 14 mammals, 46 birds, 8 reptiles, 21 fish, which are now threatened with extinction. Equally appalling is the long list of extinct species which once were a part of the fauna of North America.

The picture is bleak, common sense tells us that. But the Federal Government is beginning to put its house in order so it can adequately deal with environment control.

The President has recently created the Environment Quality Council. This council is a cabinet-level advisory group which will provide the focal point for this administration's efforts to protect all of our natural resources. The Council will review existing policy and suggest ways of improving it. In other words, it's an effort to unite all the government operations into an efficient coordinating body.

A national policy must include the following to be effective: First, environmental quality must be considered in a worldwide context, extending in time from the present, far into the future. Second, purposeful, intelligent management to recognize and accommodate the conflicting uses of our environment must be a national responsibility. Third, information required for systematic management must be provided in a complete and timely manner. Fourth, educational efforts developing are essential in individual citizen understanding and appreciation of environmental relationships and participation in decision making on these issues. And finally, science and technology must provide management with increased options and capabilities for enhanced productivity and constructive use of environment.

We need money. There is no question about that. We can do everything else, but if we don't have funds, we won't solve the problem. I'm not talking just about milking the taxpayer either. Industry and business must take more initiative and responsibility than they have in the past. For years our environment has been sacrificed to individual laziness and corporate profits. Our rivers have

provided the dumping ground for garbage, chemicals, and other waste products. That which is burned is poured into the air in the form of dangerous gases which, after a long period of time, can seriously impair health and shorten life.

Some industries have responded. Others have made token gestures. Most, however, will not risk even the smallest investment in the future of the environment because it might mean some loss of profits. Nobody's fooling anyone on this account—it will amount to some loss in overall profits. Any expense does that. The thrust of public opinion must be strong, because laws alone cannot police all the activities of government, industry or your neighbor. And actions have to be backed by finances. In its latest report to Congress, the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration stated that over the past fifteen years, private industry and business had contributed 700 million dollars to public facilities for water pollution control and \$2.2 billion to waste treatment facilities of their own. New plants usually are equipped with waste control facilities, but most older plants have no facilities and do little in this area. It must be considered that by meeting minimum standards, our waterways could be kept clean, assuming that they were clean—which they are not. There is inadequate private response to address the task of compensating for the almost irreparable damage done in the past.

According to the Department of Commerce and the National Air Pollution Control Board, there is only 400 million dollars worth of air pollution equipment sold in a year. New industries, in publishing the amount of their profits used for conservation, will sometimes include the entire cost of the plant, saying that the entire factory is contributing to reduction of air pollution. How is that possible? If you drive through any city, you have to roll up the windows to be able to breathe. Four-hundred million dollars is a very small percentage of the total profits of all industries. Industry must be willing to invest in cleaning up the air and water. In short, the business community has an obligation to preservation of natural resources which it, by and large is not facing up to. Good environment is profitable.

We have to decide on how much progress toward achieving the zenith of our own comfort should be exchanged for the rape of our environment. As the pollution increases, people will demand more cars, more houses, more refrigerators, more boats, more one-way containers, more flip-tops, more airplanes, and so on. This means more pollution and more garbage and more wastes.

The task is monumental. It increases when you consider that misuse of our natural resources is expanding each year. As technology increases, new pollutants and chemicals are fed into our air and waterways. These in turn need specific scientific research for each pollutant.

I think we all know, as was the case with the moon landing: that when the nation commits itself to a goal, that goal is achieved. Why not apply the lesson that we relearned from the success of Apollo 11 to the crucial conservation problem on this planet.

The underpinnings of reaching our goals must be a greater care for future man and hard cash.

What I am asking for is nothing less than a total commitment on the part of each citizen of this nation to be prepared to act as well as pay for the preservation of our environment.

In my capacity as a representative of the people of this state and nation, I will work for the cause of conservation at the federal level.

I am deeply impressed with your concern and awareness. It is unparalleled by any other generation in our history. Each of you here has made a commitment to the preservation

of our environment and it is an excellent beginning. But we will not solve the pollution until the commitment is total and national. It is your task to return to your communities and get your friends, neighbors, and legislators committed to the goals discussed here today. Your actions and hopes will create the realities of the future.

There is a popular song that was at the top of the charts recently and it begins: In the year 2525, if man is still alive . . . This is a pretty grim outlook. It is up to each one of you and it is up to me—all of us—to make sure that man does survive.

#### REVENUE-SHARING AS A MEANS OF MODERNIZING STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, current discussion of revenue-sharing is sharpened by a recent editorial broadcast on Boston's radio and TV station WBZ:

#### WITH STRINGS ATTACHED

We've long urged federal revenue sharing with states and communities. So basically we back President Nixon's plan to get this type of program started. But we've always envisioned revenue sharing as a way of bringing about some basic changes in the way state and local government operations are run. This is an issue President Nixon has ducked. And we think the final version of his revenue sharing program should be amended to include some definite reform provisions.

Accepted standards of state and local government operations have been spelled out in a whole series of public and private reports in the past few years. The federal government obviously can't make these changes from above. But there's no excuse for it to subsidize obvious waste and inefficiency.

Here in Massachusetts substantial progress has already been made toward reforming the structure of state government. The big needs now are for strong administration, real political leadership and a major upgrading of the personnel system. At the local level, though, darn little has been done, here or elsewhere. Prospects for action are still dim without some outside prodding. And there's no better prod than the danger of being cut off from a new and expanding revenue source.

Rep. Henry S. Reuss of Wisconsin, one of the early Congressional backers of revenue sharing, argues that the Nixon plan would be a "crutch to perpetuate ineffective state and local government." Instead Mr. Reuss would like to see it as a catalyst to bring about badly needed reforms. We think he's right. We hope many of you will back him up, too.

The editorial sets out quite rightly the view that revenue-sharing should be seen as a means of bringing about some fundamental changes in the way State and local governments operate. But it is in just this crucial respect that President Nixon's revenue-sharing proposal fails.

First, it seems that the States are to be given their money at once, without being required to undertake any reforms, indeed, without even being required to develop any plans for reform.

Second, the pass-through formula will apparently make all units of general local government eligible for a share of the money, thus assuring the most ar-

chaic jurisdictions and the tiniest of suburbs of support while failing to create any incentive toward consolidation.

Third, the formula for distributing funds within the State will do little to alleviate the scandalous disparity between the revenues of various localities with the same population. Community X may at present receive far more revenue than Community Y simply because it has several wealthy income-tax payers, or a vast public utility installation, or a sales tax generating shopping center. Moreover, Community X may have set minimum building cost limitations which in effect zone out poor people, particularly those with children. But if each unit of local government is to receive a sum "based on its share of total local government revenues raised in the State," rich Community X will get still richer, and poor Community Y will get only a little less poor. Although the Nixon administration's proposal would permit States to develop alternative distribution plans, I see little incentive in the proposal for States to change present inequitable distribution formulas.

H.R. 11764, a bill introduced by me this year to make revenue sharing a "catalyst" for needed reforms, would provide block grants to the States and localities for a 3-year trial period, of \$5 billion, \$7.5 billion, and \$10 billion, respectively. For later years, annual contributions at the \$10 billion level are envisaged. There is only one big initial string attached to these funds—that the State develop in good faith a program setting out plans to modernize and vitalize its local governments and the State government.

Each State wishing to participate in the revenue-sharing plan of H.R. 11764 would develop a modern government's program over a 2-year period. H.R. 11764 would authorize \$50 million to cover the full cost of all State planning.

The bill would create four regional coordinating committees of Governors—Eastern, Southern, Midwestern, and Western—also financed by Federal planning funds. Draft State programs would be completed within 18 months, and then forwarded to these Governors' committees for review and suggested improvements. The regional coordinating committees, after 6 months of dialog with State planners, would by majority vote send to the President those State government programs which they found reflected "sufficient creative State initiative" to qualify them for Federal revenue sharing.

Within a year, the President would make his own independent finding as to whether a State's modernization program qualifies it for revenue sharing. In reaching his decision, the President would be authorized to seek the advice of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, an independent and respected body of Federal, State, and local officials created by Congress in 1959. Only States whose programs were approved by both the coordinating committee of regional Governors and the President would be eligible for block grants.

In order to qualify for revenue-sharing grants, a State's modern govern-

ment program must include enough reforms to demonstrate bona fide "creative State initiative." The list of possible reforms includes recommendations made over the years by such organizations as the Committee for Economic Development, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, the Council of State Governments, the National Municipal League, the National League of Cities, the Mayor's Conference, and the National Association of Counties.

These reforms are at three levels—interstate, State, and local. They would involve constitutional, statutory, and administrative changes.

Reforms at the interstate level include regional agreements among States, and interstate compacts, for cooperative efforts in health, education, welfare, and conservation, for the government of metropolitan areas overlapping State lines, and for dealing with other interstate regional problems.

At the State level, possible reforms include the short ballot, longer terms for constitutional officers, annual sessions of the legislature, adequately paid legislators, the merit system, modernized borrowing powers, rationalized boards and commissions, improved tax systems—including a progressive income tax—and assistance to local governments.

A first set of reforms at the most important local level would be designed to make local government operations more efficient, economical, and responsive. These reforms would include reduction of the number of counties, towns, and other unnecessary local units, promotion of all forms of metropolitan government and true home rule, adoption of the short ballot, modern borrowing power, the merit system, and decentralization of local government in order to make it more democratic and humane.

A second set of local government reforms would be aimed at removing economic disparities between various local governments, and supporting current efforts by big-city mayors and the Federal Government to save the central city. Among current inequities to be corrected are local zoning regulations which keep out low-income housing, or in some cases all homes. Related reforms would entail the revision of State grants-in-aid for local health, education, welfare, and housing activities, as well as State formulas for sharing of tax revenues, in order to eliminate preferences given to wealthy communities at the expense of poor communities.

Other economic reforms which have been proposed include easing restrictions on local taxing and borrowing powers, improving local tax administration, authorizing local governments to use non-property taxes, and furnishing State financial and technical aid to metropolitan areas for planning, building codes, urban renewal, and consolidation.

If H.R. 11764 were enacted in 1970, States qualifying for Federal block grants could begin receiving payments as early as 1973—the first year when a sizable Federal fiscal dividend can reasonably be expected. The only "string" on the block grants would be the demonstration of State initiative through the

filing of modern governments' programs. These programs would be screened by the Governors themselves, and then reviewed by the President. There would be no statutory strings with respect to compliance with the State plans. However, some incentive to follow through on the plans would be provided by the requirement of annual reports to Congress and by the fact that the initial program would run for 3 years only.

For the initial 3-year period of 1973-75, the sums stipulated for revenue-sharing are in the annual range of \$5 to \$10 billion. They would be authorized and appropriated by the usual congressional processes. Some have argued that a trust fund would be preferable in that it would give the States more assurance that funds would be available on a continuing basis. In H.R. 11764, I have opted for the annual appropriations process in the belief that Congress, for better or worse, must be the final arbiter of national priorities. Continuity in revenue-sharing is indeed vital, but Congress should probably retain the power, in a fiscal pinch, to share adversity between revenue-sharing and such competing claims as direct Federal spending, or the level of private spending as reflected by the Federal tax bite.

H.R. 11764 would allocate revenue-sharing funds on a basis which would make funds available via the States to cities and urban counties of more than 50,000 population, with the most money going to those of over 100,000 population. The allocation to each State and its localities would be based on population as a percentage of total U.S. population, but with an adjustment for relative tax effort, and a credit based on the State's revenues from its income tax. By giving extra weight to revenue from State individual income taxes, States would be encouraged to increase their reliance on this type of tax, which has not yet been adopted by a third of the States, and is only very modestly used by a large number of others.

Under H.R. 11764, allocation of funds to localities would proceed as follows: The share of each large local government within the State—cities and urban counties of over 50,000—would be derived by the ratio between its own local tax revenues and the total revenues from all State and local taxes in the State. Cities and urban counties would be entitled to these shares of their State's revenue-sharing payments: if population is 100,000-plus, twice the ratio; if population is 50,000 to 100,000, the product of the ratio times the percentage by which its population exceeds 50,000. In 1960, there were 310 over-500,000 cities, with 63.4 million inhabitants, and 407 over-50,000 counties, with 103.1 million inhabitants. Without double counting, the aided population was 121.7 million. Thus, only 717 of the Nation's 80,000 local units would be directly aided—avoiding staggering administrative complexities.

On a nationwide basis, this formula using 1966 statistics would allocate 65 percent of the revenue-sharing payments to the State governments, 22 percent to the cities, and 13 percent to urban counties. Based on past performance, a large portion of the States share would be rechannelled to local areas. In the

case of a large urban State like New York, the percentages are respectively 22 percent, 67 percent, and 11 percent. In the case of a rural State, Wyoming, the percentages are 99, 0, and 1, respectively. In the case of a combined rural-urban State, Tennessee, the percentages are 47, 26, and 27 respectively.

The great advantage of this allocation formula for the localities—which was devised by the National Advisory Commission on Urban Problems headed by former Senator Paul H. Douglas—is that it would give smaller communities an incentive to consolidate into more workable metropolitan systems. By basing the formula on local taxation, it favors local governments that try to provide adequate services, and seeks to allocate payments between cities and urban counties which have overlapping boundaries.

I have outlined the essential features of H.R. 11764 in order to demonstrate how revenue sharing can serve as a catalyst to creative reform rather than as a mere crutch for our outmoded State and local governments. When the Nixon administration comes forward with all the details of its revenue-sharing proposal, I hope that we will find that it has changed its mind in some important respects, and come around to the view that revenue sharing should be used as an incentive to large-scale and progressive reforms at the State and local level of government.

#### RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY GEORGIA OILMEN'S ASSOCIATION

HON. ROBERT G. STEPHENS, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, the Georgia Oilmen's Association has adopted a resolution expressing the concern of its membership over the methods used by the Internal Revenue Service in the collection of the Federal income tax. This resolution calls for a complete reassessment and reevaluation of the Federal Revenue laws.

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

#### RESOLUTION BY GEORGIA OILMEN'S ASSOCIATION

Whereas, The Officers and Directors of the Georgia Oilmen's Association have a vital and growing interest in government financing and the method of providing the revenue for such purpose, and

Whereas, the Georgia Oilmen's Association is now gravely concerned over the loss of certain constitutional guarantees to many citizens of our great nation, and

Whereas, the method of collecting federal revenue under the present Income Tax Laws is too complex and oppressive for compliance by the average citizen of this country.

Now therefore be it resolved that the Georgia Oilmen's Association petition the members of Congress from the Sovereign State of Georgia to encourage, promote and actively support a complete reassessment and reevaluation of the Federal Revenue Laws, and

Be it further resolved that the Georgia

Congressional Delegation be requested to give its most serious consideration to adoption of a National Sales and Gross Receipts Tax in lieu of the present income tax with the elimination of all such Federal Income Tax Laws as may be possible through the adoption of such procedure, and

Be it further resolved that the members of Congress from the State of Georgia be requested to use all means at their disposal to insure the constitutional rights of the individual and the privacy of one's affairs in the enactment of all Federal Revenue Laws, and

Be it further resolved that the Georgia Congressional Delegation, and the news media, be furnished a copy of this resolution.

Adopted this 18th day of June 1969, at Atlanta, Georgia.

Buddy M. NeSmith,  
President.

Attest:

Harrison W. Bray,  
Executive Director.

### TAX REFORM

## HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial piece from the Boston Herald Traveler for August 13 relating to the actions of the Congress with respect to tax reform:

#### THE INVESTOR (By Edson B. Smith)

QUARTER EARNINGS BELOW ESTIMATES; TAXES, LABOR COSTS RISE RAPIDLY

The second-quarter earnings in the cases of many important companies were not as good as had been generally expected. Labor costs, and particularly taxes, have been moving up more rapidly than have prices in several industries.

Declining earnings plus continued monetary stringency and the highest interest rates on record have made the going tough for the stock market. Most Wall Streeters have given up hope on Vietnam. Apparently today Russia is the only hope of persuading the North Vietnamese to quit. In the meanwhile there is little sign of the inflation slowing down. Stocks and bonds go down, so do business profits. But the prices of goods on average continues to rise.

The Nixon economists and the Federal Reserve have said they wanted to dampen inflationary expectations. There is little to indicate that their efforts have been successful but they have dampened about everything else, including the security markets and the feelings of business men about profits in the months ahead.

This exhibition Congress has been putting on about tax "reform" has made many investors sick at their stomachs. A lot of people thought that when they voted for Nixon last fall and he was elected we were about to get a decent conservative government. One thing which is increasingly clear is that Nixon can't control the left-wing gang in Congress, which seems to be getting worse than ever.

While Wall Street at the beginning of May was none too happy about bonds, the outlook for stocks and for business was generally deemed O.K. Now it is getting so one needs a magnifying glass to find even a little bull.

OIL COMPANIES TO FIGHT BACK AT "REFORMS"

The Texaco earnings for the second quarter of 1969 were definitely disappointing, \$1.28 a share compared with \$1.38 a year before.

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Gross was up but wages and taxes were up more with the resultant loss in net.

At last reports Congress was busily engaged in trying to cut the depletion allowance for the oil companies. They try to hold the price of gasoline and fuel oil down and our politicians at the national level slap them with more taxes.

Everybody with an ounce of brains knows that the combination of the labor unions and the tax collectors is going to boost the price of gasoline and other petroleum products. The Chase National Bank of New York, which has a department which is really expert in matters pertaining to the oil industry, says that profits are too low now, which is amply demonstrated by the current Texaco and other leading oil company figures.

Pretty soon the price of petroleum products will start upward. The people that run companies like Texaco and Shell are not going to sit idly by and let forces over which they have little or no control hurt them financially.

Secretary of Labor Shultz recently warned that a lot of men are pricing themselves out of jobs by the exorbitant wage demands. One of two things is bound to happen. Either prices are raised to offset rising costs or men are fired. And when a company's profits go down, the tax collectors' take drops proportionately.

Obviously one of the things there is no shortage of in the United States today is fat-heads.

### HOW TO LOSE A WAR

## HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, with reference to the recently unearthed secret plan of the administration to end the war, does the following sound familiar? [From the Indianapolis Star, Sept. 10, 1969]

#### HOW TO LOSE A WAR

The proposal to settle the Vietnam war by 18 House Democrats including 11th District Representative Andrew Jacobs Jr. should make Hanoi happy.

The plan calls for free elections in South Vietnam with the participation of all parties—including the National Liberation Front (NFL), the political arm of the Viet Cong.

The 18 House Democrats also urged that all foreign troops be withdrawn on a gradual, reciprocal basis following the elections.

How to get negotiations underway to accomplish all this was not included in the statement of the 18. It did call for a pre-election cease-fire, banning military operations and terrorist acts.

This is a totally unrealistic program. In the first place the development of the NFL is the work of Ho Chi Minh who attempted, following the partition of Vietnam in 1954, to capture the government of South Vietnam by political means. When this failed the acts of terrorism began. Villages were brought under the control of guerrillas armed from the north, brought in from the north and commanded from the north. This brought the plea from the late South Vietnam President Diem which led to the first American advisers being sent to Vietnam. Since then North Vietnamese regulars have invaded South Vietnam. Aided by the guerrillas they have conducted attack after attack culminating in the current offensive against the cities of the south.

The original aim of the NFL to win the south by political means failed. That led to a military attempt to seize control. So any agreement by the U.S. or South Vietnam

which would allow their participation in the affairs of South Vietnam would be handing the NFL its original goal. It would be an admission to the world that the U.S. had failed in its commitment to South Vietnam.

It is possible the NFL might not win in a first election. But in the confusion of war and in the war's wake, what would be left to stop an infiltration of "voters" from the north? Who could stop the same terrorist tactics from influencing the vote of others, if the "foreign troops," meaning the U.S., had been withdrawn?

The proposal of the House Democrats, if accepted, would cause us to suffer a political defeat. It would hand to the Communists the objective they have sought since the beginning. It is a way to give Communist aggression another victory.

BARRATT O'HARA, A GREAT  
MIDWESTERNER

## HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, Barratt O'Hara, oldest Member of the 90th Congress and its only Spanish-American War veteran, was one to whom the words "first" and "only" were often applied. Although a native of Michigan, most of his life was spent in the State of Illinois—a life of public service—and it was thus I came to know and respect him. Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to comment on this son of the great Midwest.

Much has been said and written since his passing, most of us are familiar with his adventurous role as a schoolboy explorer in Central America, particularly in the jungles of Nicaragua and Costa Rica. A teenager, he later enlisted in the 33d Michigan Volunteer Regiment to fight with the Cubans seeking their freedom from Spain. He was able to lay aside his uniform and return to high school to be graduated with honors, but he could not put aside the gratitude of those for whom he fought and he was awarded the Order of Military Merit by the Republic of Cuba.

There were the years in newspaper work, in the editor's chair from the Mississippi to the Great Lakes. After attending the University of Missouri and Northwestern University at Evanston, Ill., he began the study of law and graduated from the Chicago-Kent College of Law in 1912. That same year he was elected Lieutenant Governor of Illinois—the youngest in its history, a mere 30 years of age. He often served as Acting Governor when Gov. Edward F. Dunne was out of the State. Admitted to the bar in 1912, he resumed the practice of law in Chicago, in 1917, following his term in office of Lieutenant Governor.

It was in his role of alumnus of the Chicago-Kent College of Law that I knew him first. A student at the same law school 20 years later, I joined in the admiration of and respect for him as one of the most colorful and successful members of our alumni. He had been chief officer of a film company in Hollywood from which he resigned to enlist in the military service with the entry of the United States into the war with Ger-

many. He served as a major and as a division judge advocate.

On his return to civilian life, he resumed law practice and served as an attorney for the city of Chicago. He served as a radio commentator over WCFL—the voice of the American Federation of Labor—for a number of years. After less successful attempts, he was elected to Congress in 1948, serving in the 81st, 83d, and subsequent Congresses—the last of which was the 90th. It was in the Congress that his wealth of experience could be well utilized. As a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and of the Subcommittee on Africa, he was warm and understanding in his attention to the developing countries. As a delegate to the 20th General Assembly of the United Nations, he gave conscientious service.

For more than three decades, I have followed the career of Barratt O'Hara. Alumnus, fellow alumnus, fellow lawyer, fellow citizen, eloquent orator, and dedicated public official. It was my good fortune to be here when he was praised by his colleagues on the 50th anniversary of his career as an elected public official. He accepted our attention with characteristic humility and graciousness. Melting by the years, his devotion was undimmed, and his loyalty to his traditional background and his constituents was undiminished.

He has moved forward to answer a roll-call that we cannot hear and to receive an award we cannot see. For him adjournment and rest deserved.

**JOEL PERWIN WINS NATIONAL COLLEGIATE DEBATE CHAMPIONSHIP**

**HON. DANTE B. FASCELL**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, several years ago I was pleased to be able to call to the attention of our colleagues in the House the accomplishment of a young constituent of mine, Mr. Joel Perwin of 500 Santurce Avenue, Coral Gables, Fla.

At that time Mr. Perwin had won the Florida State championship in debate and went to Omaha, Nebr., to represent Florida in the national high school debate competition.

Last summer I again heard from Mr. Perwin as he was about to enter his junior year at Harvard University. In the time that had elapsed, he had won many championships and been named best speaker in a number of tournaments. The Miami Herald's coveted Silver Knight Award had been bestowed on him.

But last summer young Mr. Perwin set his sights on the greatest prize of all for a debater. He wanted to win the national collegiate debating championship. I am proud that he received his first information on the national topic "Resolved: The Executive Control of U.S. Foreign Policy Should be Significantly Curtailed," from my office.

It was a long and often frustrating year for Joel Perwin. Victories in the routine tournaments were hard to come

by, but he never lowered his vision of the final goal. He and his colleague qualified to represent their region of the country at the national championships, and entered the grueling 4-day competition in New York.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud and happy that, at the end of that tournament, Mr. Perwin and his colleague were judged to be the best collegiate debaters in the Nation, giving Harvard its first national championship in many years.

Mr. Perwin deserves the congratulations and respect which is due those whose persistence and determination combine with talent to bring them to great accomplishments.

I think it only fair to warn other aspiring debate champions that Joel Perwin has recently written again for information on the coming year's national collegiate topic. I know our colleagues will join me in wishing him congratulations and success in the coming year.

**PRUDENT COURSE**

**HON. BENJAMIN B. BLACKBURN**

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, all of us desire peace and I am sure none of us desire it more than President Nixon.

Peace, however, is not always easy to come by and peace at any price can be too costly. Therefore, the President must move carefully and prudently in the quest for it.

The Atlanta Journal of August 28 carried an editorial that makes this point very well:

**PRUDENT COURSE**

President Nixon's announcement that he will defer a decision on further withdrawals of U.S. troops from Vietnam is the only rational approach to the upsurge of Viet Cong attacks.

The President made his initial unilateral offer to withdraw American forces from Vietnam as a conciliatory gesture toward the Cong. He clearly indicated that any sort of favorable response from the enemy would bring about further troop withdrawals.

The initial offer was ignored for awhile and then denounced. But a lull of a sort did descend on the battlefield and this was interpreted as a favorable response from the Cong.

The enemy's decision to break this lull and escalate hostilities could only serve to give President Nixon pause.

To continue to lower our strength while the enemy was increasing the intensity of his attacks would be little short of foolhardy.

Mr. Nixon is as anxious as the most ardent dove in Congress to terminate the fighting in Vietnam—perhaps even more so, for he has more at stake.

But the difference is that Mr. Nixon realizes the United States cannot simply cut and run, as some doves seem to think. We have a position of trust and we have responsibilities which we cannot eschew.

And as much as the President would like to see us out of the Vietnamese abyss, he realizes that it must be accomplished in orderly fashion and with a modicum of self-respect.

Consequently, for Hanoi to step up operations just at the time when the President is supposed to announce further troop with-

drawals constitutes a well-considered slap in the face.

Mr. Nixon took the only course open to him in deferring his decision.

To proceed with the announcement of further withdrawals in the face of escalated enemy action would be tantamount to waving the white flag of surrender.

Mr. Nixon has taken the prudent course.

**AIR FRANCE, ALITALIA, AND BRITISH OVERSEAS AIRLINES SHOULD BOYCOTT OPENING CEREMONIES AT DAMASCUS**

**HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, my attention has been called to the fact that on September 15 the Syrian Government plans to open its new airfield at Damascus.

The Syrian Government is arranging a colorful program of festivities in connection with the opening of this new air facility.

Among those who have been invited to participate in these opening ceremonies are three international carriers that operate substantial flights into the United States. These are Air France, Alitalia, and BOAC.

It would be my hope that all three of these airlines would boycott the opening of the Damascus airfield in Syria until such time as the Syrian Government releases the two passengers who have been held hostage by the Syrian Government since the TWA airliner was hijacked to Syria more than 10 days ago.

It is inconceivable to me that these three international airlines would dignify the opening ceremonies of an airport in a country that is the first nation to seize international passengers as hostages for a bunch of hoodlum hijackers.

The hijacking itself is indefensible but the fact that Syria would be a party to this hijacking by illegally detaining these two Israel passengers on an American carrier is contemptible.

I call upon the management of Air France, Alitalia, and British Overseas Airways, in the name of decency, to announce they will not participate in the opening ceremonies of the airport at Damascus until these two Israel citizens who were legitimate passengers on an American carrier are released forthwith by the Government of Syria.

If these three airlines do participate in these opening ceremonies, I am going to call upon the International Association of Machinists and all other labor organizations in the United States to refuse to handle any work on aircraft belonging to these three airlines landing at American fields.

I have called for a boycott of Syria until these two American passengers are released. I cannot see how three international airlines which do a substantial traffic in the United States can remain aloof to the fact that two passengers on an American airliner hijacked in midair and taken to Syria continue to be held hostage by the Syrian Government in violation of every code of moral conduct by nations.

Mr. Speaker, it is my hope that the Governments of France, Italy, and Britain will impress upon these three airlines which carry the flags of these respective countries to refuse to participate in the Syrian ceremonies.

The detention of these two American passengers in my judgment is an act of international piracy and deserves the strongest condemnation by all nations.

#### CARGO DECLINE STIRS FEARS OF SMALL SHIP COMPANIES

**HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, for the past 8 months I have included in the RECORD a number of statements and articles on the deplorable condition of our merchant marine, which has been allowed to deteriorate and dwindle, while the Soviet Union is placing a high priority on the building of their maritime industry. The merchant marine is our fourth line of defense, and it has performed exemplary service whenever there has been a call to arms.

Another example of the bleak future facing a maritime industry is the once profitable two-way hauling of ocean cargos between the United States and India by four American steamship companies, which is now almost extinct. Why? The Indian Government now has a fleet of fast ocean freighters which our foreign aid program indirectly brought into being. And so the U.S. propellers churn. Where to? Either toward extinction or healthy revitalization.

Further details on this subject are found in the following New York Times article by George Horne published on the 31st of August entitled "Cargo Decline Stirs Fears of Small Ship Companies".

#### CARGO DECLINE STIRS FEARS OF SMALL SHIP COMPANIES

(By George Horne)

An important segment of the merchant marine is facing a serious crisis, with the threat of ship lay-ups and possible bankruptcy for numerous small companies, operators warned last week.

Nearly 40 ships have been made idle in recent weeks, most of them World War II-vintage vessels on the verge of obsolescence.

One operator wrote a letter to Federal authorities and warned that various shiplines would have some 50 vessels in idleness for lack of cargoes by this week.

#### FOREIGN-AID CARGOES OFF

The companies are unsubsidized concerns, tramp operators, mostly small outfits with one or two ships that depend almost wholly on Government-aid cargoes and military shipments for their existence. There are however, some larger lines facing the same problems.

For the most part, they blame the Government for retaining in service, particularly in the Vietnam emergency sealift, a fleet of Federally owned warbuilt ships that were withdrawn from the National Defense Reserve Fleet bases during the height of the Vietnam operation.

But they also say that the volume of foreign-assistance cargoes has sharply declined in the last few months.

There is considerable bitterness among the threatened operators, who feel that they are being slighted by the Navy's Military Sea Transportation Service. At the height of the Vietnam sealift in 1965 and 1966 they responded to tonnage calls and put their ships in the emergency service, and now the Navy is letting them "whither and die" they said.

At the peak, the M.S.T.S. was using 172 of the old vessels withdrawn from reserve and patched up and made operable at a cost of more than \$400,000 each. At the same time, the Navy agency had 239 ships under charter from various companies, the small ones and the big ones.

The reserve ships were being operated for the Navy by commercial concerns, under what is known as General Agency Agreements.

According to figures available last week, the fleet of G.A.A. ships is now down to about 70 vessels, and the chartering of privately owned ships has been reduced to about 140 craft.

Thus, the industry does participate in all of these operations in one way or another, but the critics of the Government say that as long as one privately owned ship is idle, the Navy should not be employing a Government vessel.

They have appealed to Maritime Administrator Andrew E. Gibson, in the Department of Commerce, and he has taken the matter to Under Secretary of the Navy John W. Warner, who is, Mr. Gibson said in a telephone interview, doing "everything that he can" to reduce the Government fleet.

Rear Admiral Thomas King, deputy commander of M.S.T.S., said last week that there was a "firm schedule" to withdraw the G.A.A. ships "as circumstances permit." But he added, "it has to be done with judgment."

Admiral King said that berth liner ships carrying parcel M.S.T.S. cargoes, together with outright charters of private freighters and tankers, were carrying about 80 per cent of the agency's entire sealift.

But the affected industry also complains that M.S.T.S. is keeping its charter rates for private ships at levels below what it costs them to operate their ships.

All of the lines say that their costs have increased by about 15 per cent in the current inflationary advance, but owing in part also to this year's wage rises for seamen. The M.S.T.S. rate for a C-2 class vessel is around \$3,520 a day but many owners have escalation clauses to cover wage increases. Some of the small lines are refusing to charter; instead they are laying up their ships, and a few have taken a cargo on a one-way voyage that ends in the sale of their ships for scrap in a foreign port.

The plight of the private vessels is worsened by their age and inability to compete in the world market for regular commercial cargo. Prohibitive insurance rates on old ships inhibits them. Many of them are close to a juncture at which expensive survey and repairs must be incurred. Moreover, a number of the critic companies are thinly financed, and the Navy is calling for a showing of financial stability before granting long-term contracts.

In both the shipping industry and the Government, bankruptcies are regarded as inevitable, just as they were in the aftermath of the Korean conflict in the 1950s, when more than 50 companies, mostly those relying on a one-ship operation, went out of business or failed.

The gloomy picture in this segment of the fleet is a part of a whole chapter in merchant marine deterioration. Although the country has many fine ships built by the hard-core subsidized segment (with as many 20-knot freighters as all the other major maritime nations combined), the main body of the fleet is old and worn out. In another year or two, 80 per cent of the merchant marine will be past the 25-year useful life span.

What worries the small independent lines, the tramp operators and some of the larger unsubsidized companies like States Marine-Isthmian, which owns fifty war-era vessels, is what they consider to be the inconstant support from the Government, particularly the Navy.

"One thing we can't survive," said A. Theodore DeSmedt, president of States Marine-Isthmian, "is governmental competition. They want us to be there if they have an emergency. The question we ask is this: for a future emergency do you need us, do you need conventional break-bulk ships, and if so, what support will you give us now, so we will be ready?"

Not all the irritation of the small lines is aimed at Federal agencies. They also complain that subsidized companies, already sustained by programed Government assistance, nose out the unsubsidized operators in competing for non-commercial cargoes because they have better fleets, including new tonnage, which only the aided lines can afford to build.

#### MEMORIAL TO A GALLANT MARINE

**HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, the loss of a son is always a cause for family sorrow. But how much more so when the loss of the young man occurs on a foreign battlefield under the cruel and frightening conditions of modern warfare. Indeed, such a tragedy is often attended by bitterness and despair.

Recently I received a letter from the parents in honor and eulogy of their fallen hero son. In its brevity and simplicity it is an expression of love for a son and faith in our great country so moving I am constrained to place it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a permanent memorial to their son, and to honor the families and sons in my congressional district who have similarly demonstrated courage and devotion to our country; those who have made sacrifices and endured anguish far beyond the understanding of most of us.

The letter is as follows:

Representative JAMES GROVER,  
Capitol,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Our Beloved and Precious Son Robert, a very brave and heroic Marine was killed in action April 16, 1968.

This obituary seems so light but its impact is heavy. In his short 20 years of life he lived and accomplished much. He loved his family, friends and college. He left all to serve his country which he loved best.

He was at Khe Sanh throughout the 77 day siege. His Battalion took the worst beating in Khe Sanh. After surviving the siege and being sent out continuously on search and destroy missions, He lost his precious life five days before He was to leave, in a battle that His Buddies told us "as bad as Khe Sanh was this last one was truly Hell."

We feel it would be fitting and proper if it is possible to have a flag that has flown at the Capitol, to be flown at our home in Honor and Memory of our Precious Son Robert D. Cicio.

Respectfully,

NELLIE and VITO CICIO.

Mr. Speaker, I will indeed send a flag to Mr. and Mrs. Cicio, and one which will be flown over the Capitol, in honor of Marine Robert Cicio, beloved son and patriot.

### THE WAR

## HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Pete Hamill, one of the most stimulating columnists and reporters in New York, has written a very moving and justifiably angry column on some of the human aspects of the war in Vietnam. This column, on a subject about which so much has been written that it seems all the phrases would be worn thin, stands out from the torrent of words. A number of my constituents were as impressed with it as I am, and feel it deserves wider attention. For the RECORD, I am, therefore, submitting a copy of Mr. Hamill's article, "The War," from a recent issue of the New York Post:

### THE WAR

(By Pete Hamill)

The day was fine and lovely, one of those late summer New York days when all the girls are beautiful and all the men are polite. In dark afternoon saloons, there was warm talk about the Mets. Men headed for the parks to play ball with children. On the piers, you saw longshoremen taking off their shirts to spend a few sweet hours watching the barges slice up the rivers. It was a day made for small wonders, but Roy Peterson, Gerald Silverstein and Richard Doria were not here to celebrate them. Roy Peterson, Gerald Silverstein and Richard Doria are dead.

They died in the swamps and muck of Vietnam, and their blood is on our hands. We have rather given up on stopping that war; it has become some strange and terminal disease, one that seems out of human control. The slick diplomats sit in Paris, Richard Nixon and his agents sit in San Clemente, and every week the best young people we all know are shipped out to die.

It is Richard Nixon's war now, but nobody seems to care. Nixon got a lot of publicity by ordering 25,000 men home, but there was little notice that at that rate it would take 23 years for us to get out of Vietnam. Some nerve of moral outrage seems to have died in us; the Green Berets get involved in a gangland-style murder, and we read it as if it were a movie, and not the act of men from a democracy. The troops of Company A, sick and bone-weary, their nerves shredded by too much death and slaughter, refuse to move out and their action is treated as a one-day curiosity, instead of one of the most damning judgments yet made about our filthy commitment.

Already there are 38,000 young men dead. There are hundreds of thousands who are maimed and crippled, men with steel and plastic where their bones once were, men with poisonous dreams in the dark of night, men whose eyes will never see a flower in spring, men who will never play ball with their children at dusk because it takes arms and legs to do so. Those young men will carry the infection of the Nam across all the summers of their lives.

Roy Peterson, a Pfc. in the Army, will hear no brass bands at Seattle; he will never loll on the corner of E. 17th St. and Av. S in Brooklyn, watching the girls go by, or talking about the Mets. Warrant Officer Gerald

Silverstein will not walk the Grand Concourse with his wife, or play a radio on a stretch of summer sand, or feel himself tickled by the rub of love. SP/4 Richard Doria will never hold a son in his arms, or feel wonder, or have a beer with his friends in White Plains. For them, the war is over. They had the worst luck of all; to be young and brave in a bad time.

And yet we owe them something. We owe them the promise that no more of their friends will die. It should be our duty to change all of this around, to stop this slow and filthy dance on the killing ground, and let our young men live out their lives. It is a measure of how much Vietnam has corrupted our sensibilities that we seem unable anymore to act on such promises.

The other night in Brooklyn I was drinking with some young men, all of whom had survived the Nam. Not one could think of anything he had done there which was sweet and honorable. They hated the war when they were there; they hate it more now.

You can con a generation just so much. And these young men know now that they were conned, that the brave politicians had never had the guts to bring this war to an end. They know that if every Congressman, Senator and employe of the Defense Dept. were sent to Vietnam as troops, the war would be over tomorrow. If Mendel Rivers had to carry an M-16 up Nui Lon Mountain he wouldn't be so brave with his mouth. But we know how wars are put together: old men, rheumy with bitterness, corruption and power, start the wars; young men fight them.

And this time we have asked them to fight on the wrong side. Our allies are the most debased, corrupt government in Southeast Asia, a collection of blackmailers, thugs and totalitarians. They are fighting for the integrity of their Swiss bank accounts; when the war is over, they will lie on the Riviera; Roy Peterson, Gerald Silverstein and Albert Doria will not share their champagne.

When my brother John was there as an airborne medic earlier this year, he found himself searching the bodies of North Vietnamese soldiers who had been killed somewhere near Bong Son. In the pockets of one of them he found a wallet. The wallet contained pictures of the dead man's wife and children, and a magazine photograph of John F. Kennedy. There was no way to find out why, but I would certainly have preferred to talk for a few hours with that young Vietnamese than with Melvin Laird. That, of course, will never happen because like 38,000 of our brave children, he too was dead.

### WASHINGTON, D.C., TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS

## HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, some time back the City Council of the District of Columbia under pressure from this Congress bowed to congressional demands for the construction of the bridge and freeway system. In return the District believed funds for construction of a much needed subway system would be freed. Those funds have not been freed and the public and journalistic reaction to the arbitrary demands of Congress becomes more bitter.

So that we may see ourselves as we are seen by the public, I ask that a letter published in the September 6, 1969, edition of the Washington Afro-American be reprinted in this RECORD along with an article published in the New York Times

on August 24, 1969. Both are representative of the reaction to the congressional use of force in this dispute:

### CASE AGAINST FREEWAYS

Dear AFRO:

President Richard M. Nixon would surely be well-advised to keep the following points in mind as he and Department of Transportation Secretary John A. Volpe go forward with their new freeway program in the District of Columbia. For example:

1. A local newspaper pointed out that "most Washingtonians who would be displaced are black and most suburbanites are white, and the suburbanites would presumably make greater use of the roads. Everyone who has studied the problem at all knows that these roads are for white suburban commuters, and question the use of 90-10 Federal funds to build commuter roads, disguised as interstate highways.

2. The second victim of President Nixon's new road program was the D.C. City Council, it is now clear. The Black United Front, for instance, has asked those black councilmen who voted for the Nixon highway program, the Rev. Jerry Moore, Sterling Tucker, Joseph Yeldell, and Mrs. Margaret Haywood, to send their resignations to President Nixon, and have also demanded home rule. This issue will heat up.

3. The first victim of President Nixon's new highway program for the District is peace and stability in the District of Columbia. More black citizens and their families will be displaced by Pres. Nixon's highway program than were displaced by the Eisenhower-Nixon Southwest Urban Renewal Project in 1953. 23,500 citizens were displaced from the SW urban renewal project, 70 per cent of them low-income Blacks.

4. The shape of the dismal future in the District was predicted at a St. Louis meeting of the American Road Builders Association by Richard J. Whalen, a writer for the Saturday Evening Post and a recognized national authority on the Federal Highway Program, who said that black citizens of Washington, D.C. will refuse "to allow white men's highways to run through black men's bedrooms. And behind this refusal lies raw, violent, physical power."

5. Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins of the Watts area of Los Angeles has introduced a new bill, H.R. 13487, "to reduce the number of homes and small businesses destroyed by Federally-aided programs which use eminent domain powers to excess," a measure which is long-overdue in the District of Columbia.

This bill should be supported by all citizens opposed to the destructive new road program approved by the City Council, and by those who realize that home ownership and "a piece of the action" will stabilize black residential and business areas. This bill would provide the black business areas on U Street and elsewhere in the District the same kind of favorable zoning given the white areas to prevent slum and blight.

City planners in Tokyo have now provided high buildings to relieve pressure on the soaring price of land which will make it possible to compete with the suburbs which, as here, are getting the jobs and new housing. We can and should learn from other cities from Los Angeles to Tokyo, how they use land and prevent slums and blight and rebuild burned out areas devastated by war, arson, slums, blight, poor planning, etc.

6. The Evening Star, which was largely responsible for the new Nixon Highway Program, published on August 10, 1969, page A-6, a map showing the freeway related to the Three Sisters Bridge in a tunnel under K Street. This route would not displace a single family or business. However, if this freeway is built in the Florida Avenue-U Street corridor, thousands of black citizens and hundreds of black small business will be displaced. President Nixon must see to it that this freeway is built in a tunnel under K St., and citizens, black and white, of the

District and of suburban Virginia and Maryland must join together on this issue, to make certain it is built there and not in the black areas.

7. Secretary of Transportation Alan Boyd dropped the Three Sisters Bridge and its related freeway. The Washington Post (Aug. 19) said: "ECTC's view was lent some legitimacy by former Transportation Secretary Alan S. Boyd. He once recalled publicly that the North Central (Freeway) had been shifted from the predominantly white Wisconsin Avenue corridor to a predominantly black area of Northeast Washington." Secretary Boyd also said that the Wisconsin Avenue corridor is the logical route for the North Central. He said white political clout moved the freeway.

We are convinced that the study of the North Central Freeway required by the Federal Highway Act of 1968 if carried out in a fair and objective way, as it must be, will show one of two things (a) that it is not needed, or (b) that Secretary Boyd was right and that the Wisconsin Avenue corridor is the logical place to build the North Central.

Clearly, the North Central should not be built in Northeast Washington and, wherever it is built, it should be built in a tunnel to avoid displacement of families and businesses—just as the Evening Star has said the freeway related to the Three Sisters Bridge will be built in a tunnel under K Street. Wisconsin Ave. surely deserves to have the same protection as the Evening Star would provide for K Street—and this goes for all areas traversed by the North Central and the Three Sisters Bridge freeway connector.

8. The Emergency Committee on the Transportation Crisis has labelled as "an unprecedented intervention" in court matters President Nixon's statement, in a "Dear Bill" letter to Chairman William H. Natcher of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on the District of Columbia, that he has directed Attorney General Mitchell and Transportation Secretary Volpe to help the D.C. Government "vigorously defend" any law suits attacking the new Nixon Highway Program.

Surely, such manipulation of the courts—coming on top of the plans of President Nixon to build the North Central Freeway, and the Freeways related to the Three Sisters Bridge, in the black areas of Washington to protect and preserve the white areas—are the very things which will heighten racial tension and harden the resolve of District citizens in Northeast Washington, and in the Florida Avenue-U Street corridor, to preserve their homes and businesses.

At a time when so many people of both races have been working for good race relations, it is clear that President Nixon has been very ill-advised, indeed, to take positions and advance programs which are so clearly destructive of the homes and businesses of black citizens.

President Nixon should be the first to recognize that his Administration, as well as the courts, will suffer if the courts come to be dominated by the highway-parking-trucking-big-business-white-only lobbies, and the suburban country club set, which are pushing the new Nixon Highway Program. The courts will undoubtedly react strongly to any suggestion that they are the "willing tools" of the white suburbs against the inner city.

And, President Nixon owes it to the black citizens of Washington to take special and definitive steps to avoid the kind of thing which took place in Nashville, Tennessee. Here is what the Saturday Evening Post wrote about the Federal Highway Program in Nashville on December 14, 1968—

"A three-mile segment of the inner loop of Interstate Highway 40 will pass through North Nashville, the city's oldest ghetto, destroying or seriously disrupting 234 colored-owned businesses with a gross annual volume

of \$11,700,000. These represent more than 80 percent of all the colored-owned businesses in Nashville's home county . . . As I-40 marches through the ghetto, and feeder streets such as Jefferson are widened, the bulldozer will level about 650 houses, 27 apartment buildings and several churches. An area of almost 100 square blocks will be walled off. Even those businesses not marked for physical destruction face financial ruin as their customers flee.

"The route of I-40 was briefly discussed at only one poorly advertised public hearing in May, 1957. For a decade, when colored people inquired about it, they were told that the route was 'preliminary' and 'subject to change.' Without further hearings, the state quietly committed \$10 million to engineering studies and land acquisition. In a suit that they fought to the U.S. Supreme Court, the colored people, organized as the I-40 Steering Committee, contended that inadequate public hearings and the lack of any study of the economic and social consequences of the highway violated federal law. Beyond that, they charged that the right of way was chosen on a racially discriminatory basis. (Note—there has been no such study here.)

" . . . The expressway is needed, so the local, state and federal governments maintain, to speed through traffic across the state from Memphis to Knoxville. In practice, the road will be most useful to white commuters from the suburbs of East and South Nashville on their daily trips to work in West Nashville's growing industrial complex. The unemployed and underemployed colored people of North Nashville, who number one in four of the working-age population, will be able to sit on their crumbling porches and watch the white men's cars whiz by. In countless ways the expressway will remind the colored people that they stand outside the 'system' that built it. The construction of Nashville's self-destructive expressway is a symptom of the deepest crisis of the American environment."

9. Many diverse groups have aided in fighting the destructive freeways in Washington, D.C. These groups include the two old-line citizen and civic Federations, the Midway Civic Association, the Kalorama, and DuPont Circle, and Georgetown, Citizens Associations, the Emergency Committee on the Transportation Crisis, the Democratic Party, the Committee for the Rights of the Washington, D.C. Business Community, the Committee of 100 on the Federal City. The Democratic Party put the D.C. freeway issue on the ballot last year and the citizens demanded a referendum to decide freeways by a vote of 93,000 to 4,000.

The Federation of Citizens Associations on July 24 (it is largely white) recommended that consideration of additional gateways and freeways in the District of Columbia "be deferred until the rapid transit system is in operation and the need for such additional freeways has been demonstrated. Included in the programs which we recommend be deferred are the Three Sisters Bridge and the North Central Freeway." This clearly is not just a cause for black citizens.

The D.C. Federation of Civic Associations voted on July 25 to participate in a lawsuit, if necessary, to stop construction of the Three Sisters Bridge and the North Central Freeway as a price for a start to the subway system. The Evening Star (July 26) also reported that the Federation voted to lobby on Capitol Hill against the Three Sisters Bridge and its related freeway, and the North Central Freeway.

These are the groups, representing all but a tiny handful of District citizens, which the Post and Star regularly denounced as "noisy extremists." Most of those pushing the freeways and parking plans are white suburbanites, whom these papers support.

10. The Emergency Committee on the Transportation Crisis (ECTC), which has fought the freeways hard and well, will begin circulation of charts in the Florida Avenue-

U Street corridor in a few days showing the homes and businesses which will be destroyed to make way for the freeway connector to the Three Sisters Bridge, we have been advised by R. H. Booker, chairman, and Sam Abbot, publicity director. Buildings to be taken include the headquarters building of Pride, Inc. at 16th Street and U Street, NW.

11. Rep. Hale Boggs, a leading Democrat in the Congress, on August 11 in a speech on the House floor, called for the formation of an ad hoc committee here composed of civic and citizens groups and individuals which will bring all factions together to meet with top Federal officials. It is high time that such an all inclusive ad hoc committee was formed to deal with the highway issue, instead of letting the freeway issue be dictated by the highway-parking-trucking-big business lobbies which are big contributors to the Republican Party. Rep. Boggs helped stop the Freeway in New Orleans, after two were stopped in New York. The issue was aptly framed by Rep. Edwards (D-Calif.) in a speech on the House Floor on August 11, in which he said this about the situation here:

"I am ashamed of the recent misuse of Congressional power in this District, I am ashamed of the use of blackmail, withdrawal of funds, aid threats used to blackmail the City Council of Washington, D.C., into accepting a freeway plan and the Three Sisters Bridge.

"I wonder if this House of Representatives might consider allowing the citizens of Washington to have their views represented in our deliberations. In particular, I would suggest the Congress allow the people of Washington to vote on the freeway and on the bridge—a referendum as has already been proposed—and that Congress abide by the wishes of the people of Washington. We are, or at least we are supposed to be, a Republic and we do, or at least we are supposed to, represent the wishes of the people.

"For those who decry civil disorder, and I am one of them, I would remind them of the duties of government. In December 16, 1773, the people of Boston made known their feelings about taxation without representation. I do not recommend such a party to the people of Washington, D.C., but I do hope they will be allowed to make their wishes known to this Congress and that this Congress will respond to them."

Mrs. SARAH E. ELLIS,  
Chairman, Committee for the Rights of  
the D.C. Small Business Community.

GEORGE FRAIN,  
Delegate, D.C. Federation of Citizens As-  
sociations.

CATHERINE McCARRON,  
Past President, DuPont Circle Citizens  
Association.

PHILIP BROWN,  
Delegate, D.C. Federation of Citizens As-  
sociations.

SYLVIA L. KOHRN,  
Property Owner, Silver Spring, Md. and  
Washington, D.C.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, TO GAIN SUBWAY, AC-  
CEPTS BRIDGE AND FREEWAY IT DID NOT WANT

(By Paul Delaney)

WASHINGTON, Aug. 23.—The District of Columbia, after decades of controversy, is getting a new subway to help solve its transportation problems. It also will get a \$105-million Federal contribution to its budget. Its authority to tax real estate and personal property will not be tampered with.

But it will also be given a new bridge across the Potomac River and another freeway, which its City Council does not want. The passions over the issue are so strong that they have produced a physical clash that resulted in the arrest of two elected officials.

The arrests came earlier this month during a meeting at which the council, bowing to Congressional pressure, voted to approve a package deal in which it, in effect, accepted

the bridge and the freeway as the price for winning the subway and other benefits it wanted.

#### FIGHT FOR HOME RULE

To Washington citizens, the freeway-subway battle is symbolic of the long fight for home rule.

When President Johnson issued a 1967 executive order that established a new city government under the Reorganization Act, most officials knew they were not really taking any authority for running the city away from Congress. But many had hoped that Congress would not seek to thwart the new City Council if it was acting in a united fashion to carry out the clear will of the people.

Now, such leaders as Vice Chairman Sterling Tucker say that the freeway-subway fight has made it clear that the city is still under the rule of a national legislature that it can neither elect nor greatly influence.

They fear that the present city government may have been permanently damaged and may never gain the confidence of the people.

"Of course our image suffered," commented Mr. Tucker. "It may come to the point where we all might have to resign, the Mayor and council."

#### "CONGRESS PREDOMINATES"

Councilwoman Polly Shackleton remarked: "The significant thing about the fight was that Congress showed us who was boss. Everybody was much too optimistic that we had power and really were a City Council. But when we get into a crunch, Congress predominates. That's the way it is. We should have known it."

Adding to the frustration of District residents is the fact that antifreeway forces are winning some battles against new urban roads in such cities as Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans and New York.

The bridge plan was strongly backed by Washington merchants, who believed the proposal would bring carloads of suburban shoppers into their downtown stores.

But it was vigorously fought by residents who said its approaches would obliterate a scenic section of the historic Georgetown shoreline and further congest crowded city streets. Many black residents feared the freeway would sweep through their neighborhoods, displacing hundreds.

#### RELUCTANT ACTION

The council, making it clear that it was acting against its will, finally voted 6 to 2 to accept the bridge and freeway, with the provision that an alternate freeway route would be studied. Thus the council cleared the way to get the subway, whose funds had been held up in an 18-month fight with Congress.

Throughout, Representative William H. Natcher, Democrat of Kentucky, who holds a key voice over District of Columbia funds, was adamant: no bridge, no subway.

Funds for the bridge and freeway had been included in the original transportation plan approved by Congress for the city, and he apparently believed that it was a good program with construction well under way and that the council opposition was irrelevant.

The lines in the freeway-subway fight were clearly drawn. On the one side was the nine-man city council, appointed by the President but representing the city's largely black populace. On the other side was Mr. Natcher, intervening on behalf of Congress.

#### NAMED BY JOHNSON

The council, composed of six Negroes and three whites, was named originally by President Johnson and told to "act as though you were elected." The members worked hard at that assignment, often championing the black community.

Mr. Natcher, from the conservative tobacco-and-corn country around Bowling Green in south central Kentucky, holds the purse strings of the city as chairman of the

House Appropriations subcommittee on the District.

The new City Council, taking office in 1967, was directed by President Johnson to work with the National Capital Planning Commission to develop a major comprehensive transportation plan for the District. The commission and the old form of government, the three-man Board of Commissioners, had never been able to agree on a plan, though freeway construction was proceeding from plans adopted by the old board.

In a series of public hearings directly and indirectly involving freeways, testimony from public groups was overwhelmingly against the Three Sisters Bridge and the North Central Freeway. Support for the freeway project was voiced by the Metropolitan Board of Trade and several representatives of trucking concerns.

#### PROJECTS ELIMINATED

Responding to what appeared to be the expressed demands of the people, the new council and the newly constituted planning commission adopted a plan that omitted the bridge and freeway, thereby eliminating the two projects specifically called for by the Highway Act of 1968.

That act was the basis of Mr. Natcher's persistence. He would not tolerate the council's defying an act of Congress. He then tied release of money to begin construction of the \$2.5-billion 98-mile subway to the start of construction of the bridge and finding an alternate route for the freeway.

The council, in its opposition, was acting on direction of President Johnson, who noted that he would have vetoed the act if he had thought the council would have to follow what he considered to be an illegal attempt of Congress to tell the District it had to build a bridge and freeway it did not want. Freeway foes have already notified the city they intend to file court suits to test the legality of the provision of the act that forces the city to build the bridge and freeway.

The first indication that some members of the council were sympathetic to the cause of the freeway foes came during consideration of the 1969 budget. A motion to cut freeway money out of the budget lost by only one vote.

Two months later, in February 1968, a Federal court ruled that the city had violated an old statute in failing to hold public hearings on freeways, and work on four projects was stopped.

#### ORGANIZATION REVIVED

Those two events put new life into an organization that had been fighting freeways for several years, but with little success—the Emergency Committee on the Transportation Crisis.

The committee's leaders were R. H. Booker, a 28-year-old dashiki-wearing black clerk with the General Services Administration, and Sammie Abbott, 58, a slightly built white resident of Maryland who operates a business here.

The committee exerted a major influence on the council and its first chairman, John W. Hechinger, owner of a chain of hardware-lumber stores who was converted to the cause of the black poor in Washington and kept the pressure on the entire city government.

But Congressional overseers of the District were accustomed to be obeyed. Two men accustomed to carrying out Congressional orders in the District were Mayor Walter E. Washington and Deputy Mayor Thomas W. Fletcher. They urged a compromise, and Mr. Fletcher at one point accepted the Congressional plan in a deal that Mayor Washington later disclaimed.

#### THREE VACANCIES

After the election of 1968, it was felt that President Nixon would fill three vacancies on the council, including those of chairman and vice chairman, with persons who would accede to Congress. But he did not.

He appointed as chairman Gilbert Hahn

Jr., a Republican lawyer and former money raiser for Republicans in New York City; as vice chairman, Sterling Tucker, a Democrat who is an Urban League official, and as the third member, the Rev. Jerry Moore Jr., a Republican, pastor of a middle class black Baptist church a few blocks from the White House.

Mr. Hahn was not committed either way when he took office in March, but a month later he came out forcefully against the projects "because my clients, the people of the District, don't want them."

With this stand, Mr. Hahn, whose family owns a chain of shoe stores in the Washington area, gained many supporters and the confidence of both white conservatives and black militants.

#### CONGRESS DEFIED

The Hahn-led council defied Congress, taking on all challengers. Corporation Counsel Charles T. Duncan ruled that Mayor Washington could let contracts for the Three Sisters Bridge without council authority.

Mr. Hahn dared the Mayor to do it.

But Congressional pressure mounted and appeared irresistible to a majority of councilmen.

In Washington the freeway-subway issue had been made part of nearly every issue. The budget was in jeopardy. Programs were being cut from appropriations, and revenue proposals were threatened. The pressures mounted. When Mr. Hahn finally called a meeting for Aug. 9, the end was already in sight.

After the meeting was disrupted and violence broke out, 14 persons were arrested, including Mr. Booker and Mr. Abbott. Also jailed were Julius Hobson, a member of the school board, and Bruce Terris, chairman of the District Democratic Central Committee. Ironically, Mr. Hobson and Mr. Terris are members of the only two political bodies directly elected by the citizens of Washington.

After the vote, Mrs. Shackleton a tough former District Democratic national committeewoman and Councilman Stanley J. Anderson, the two who cast the two dissenting votes, both broke down and wept.

"This whole episode shows that we are a creature of Congress, a kind of amoral creature," Mr. Tucker said. "Our political soul belongs to someone else."

#### TRIBUTE TO THE HONORABLE CHARLES S. JOELSON

#### HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to pay tribute to the Honorable CHARLES S. JOELSON as he leaves the House to become a judge of the Superior Court of New Jersey.

I know that Mr. JOELSON will exhibit the same kind of insight, creativity, compassion, and diligence in his new judicial role that he did as a legislator. Through his exemplary work on the House Education and Labor, and Appropriations Committees, Mr. JOELSON gained a richly deserved reputation as a man of integrity, responsibility, and high intelligence. Possessed of such qualities, he is a valuable addition to the New Jersey bench.

Personally, I wish Mr. JOELSON the best as he departs the House. However, it is saddening to know that his considerable wit shall be absent from the House floor. His legislative ability also shall be missed.

Mr. JOELSON is a truly dedicated public servant, one who has never ceased to

strive in the public interest. Aside from his distinguished 9 years in the House of Representatives, he has been a deputy attorney general in the State of New Jersey. Mr. JOELSON entered public life 20 years ago as city counsel for the city of Paterson, N.J. His record speaks for itself.

CHARLES JOELSON has set an admirable example, both in word and deed, for his House colleagues during his tenure. Perhaps this has been his most valuable contribution to this body. It is as a model of excellence in public service that we who remain in the House shall continue to know him.

#### SMOKING DDT

### HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, many years ago the poet Carl Sandburg wrote a poem called "The Fog," which became quite popular and is quoted often. It goes as follows:

The fog came in on little cat feet. It sat looking over harbor and city on silent haunches, and then moved on.

Recently I read two small items which reminded me of that poem.

One was an editorial in the Wausau Record Herald. It told of research at North Carolina University which found that DDT residues in cigarettes and cigars are six to seven times as high as that permitted by the Food and Drug Administration for leafy products such as cabbage, lettuce, and spinach.

Another article appeared in the latest issue of Conservation News, published by the National Wildlife Federation. Quoting from information received from the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources, and entitled "DDT Cuisine," it gives pointers to every camper and fisherman who looks forward to cooking a Lake Michigan trout on the day he catches it. Again, the problem is DDT, and the residues of this pesticide which are found in the fatty tissue of trout and other fish which live in the waters of Lake Michigan.

The idea of smoking DDT or providing recipes for cooking it out of fish would undoubtedly be funny, if the situation were not so serious. So, Mr. Speaker, it is not fog, but DDT which is lurking over harbor and city, lake and stream. It sits on silent but deadly haunches, and moves on from place to place, where it pollutes the environment and dooms the fish and wildlife with which it comes in contact.

Unfortunately, it is not difficult to turn Mr. Sandburg's beautiful image into a deadly one.

The articles mentioned above follow: [From the Wausau Record Herald, Aug. 14, 1969]

#### SMOKING DDT

The surgeon general has identified certain substances in tobacco that can cause cancer, chronic bronchitis and pulmonary emphysema.

But there's even more bad news for smokers.

North Carolina University researchers have found 38 parts per million of DDT in cigarettes and up to 53 parts per million in cigars. In addition, it found 100 parts per million on the green tobacco leaf after harvesting.

It is interesting to note that tobacco is the only consumable agricultural crop that does not have a tolerance level specifying when the pesticide residue is hazardous. The tolerance level for DDT established by the Food and Drug Administration for similar leafy products, such as cabbage, lettuce and spinach, is seven parts per million.

These statistics are being used by Sen. Gaylord Nelson, D-Wisconsin, in fighting for a national ban on DDT. They may also be used to encourage the Wisconsin Legislature to take action on such pesticides.

Before recessing the Legislature had differing bills in the Senate and Assembly on the matter. Each was passed on a unanimous vote, but there was disagreement over details.

DDT is a non-degradable pesticide, the residues of which have even been found in penguins in Antarctica, not to mention the birds, fish and animals within this state.

We need a tough DDT control program, at the very least. At best, it should be banned.

[From Conservation News, Aug. 1, 1969]

#### DDT CUISINE

Wisconsin chefs confront a new challenge in the preparation of trout from Lake Michigan waters: how to keep the flavor in and the DDT out.

Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources has found that "up to 55% of DDT residues in fish taken from Lake Michigan can be removed before the fish are eaten." Gourmet fanciers of baked trout amandine eat at high risk to their well-being. Deep-frying was shown to reduce DDT residues by 55%; broiling by 36%; and baking by only 11%.

After you slide your first sizzling batch of trout out of the fry grease, the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources suggest that you discard the DDT-saturated cooking fat before you plop the next rainbow into the pan.

#### NORTH BRADDOCK MARINE KILLED IN VIETNAM

### HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep regret that I announce the death of another of our brave fighting men, Cpl. Carl S. Mikula, of North Braddock, Pa., who died of wounds received on August 24 in Vietnam.

We owe a profound debt of gratitude and appreciation to our dedicated servicemen who sacrificed their lives for this great country. In tribute to Corporal Mikula for his heroic actions, I wish to honor his memory and commend his courage and valor, by placing in the RECORD the following article:

#### DISTRICT MARINE KILLED IN VIETNAM

A North Braddock Marine, who hoped that his children "would never have to go through this (Vietnam) war," has died as a result of wounds he received in Quang Nam province, the Defense Dept. announced.

Cpl. Carl S. Mikula, 21, died Tuesday at Da Nang Hospital from wounds he received Aug. 24. He had been in Vietnam about 10 weeks.

Serving with the 1st Marine Division, Cpl. Mikula enlisted in June, 1968.

In a letter to his parents, Cpl. Mikula of 1305 Bell Ave., said the South Vietnamese "needed our help. From all this I can see that Americans are blind . . . they're all for themselves."

He was a 1966 graduate of Scott High School, North Braddock.

Surviving are his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Michael J. Mikula; two brothers, Army Sp/5 Michael G., Camp Roberts, Calif., and Thomas at home; and a sister, Stephanie, also at home.

#### NATIONAL SHUT-IN DAY

### HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, Americans have a tradition of honoring their heroes. Their exploits are extolled by the news media and, in certain cases, they are given ticker tape parades through the streets of our largest cities.

These public salutes, naturally, are reserved for national heroes. But we have many little heroes, people whose contributions to society and their neighbor often go unnoticed. Many times they do not receive the accolades they deserve.

One such hero is Earl Rutter of 3-A Garden Drive, in Turtle Creek, Pa., a man who has earned the title "Champion of the Shut-In."

Since March 30, 1939, Mr. Rutter has traveled hundreds of thousands of miles to bring a little happiness into the lives of people confined to their homes or hospitals. He has sent cards of cheer to thousands more and now maintains a mailing list of more than 3,000 names.

With his daughter, Doris, Mr. Rutter visits hospitals, sanitariums, private homes, or anyplace where they are needed. They entertain their shut-in friends with music and song, poetry and literature. Because of him, March 30, annually is recognized as National Shut-In Day.

I would like to draw the attention of my colleagues to Mr. Rutter's hobby and offer for inclusion in the RECORD copies of testimonials paid him, as well as a brief summary of his work with shut-ins:

#### THE STORY OF NATIONAL SHUT-IN DAY

(By William V. Mangan)

It has often been asked of Mr. Earl Rutter how he often founded National Shut-In Day, March 30th. It is a story that goes back to the year of 1939. The year when one of the most unusual hobbies was conceived. This hobby has caused the founder to travel 134,000 miles. It has made a mailing list necessary that now consists of 3,000 names. To entertain such a hobby has cost thousands of dollars, and countless hours of time.

This is how this hobby came into being: Mr. Rutter heard of Mr. Tom Russell, a resident of Juniata, Pennsylvania who had been confined to his bed with arthritis for twenty-four years. On March 30, 1939, Mr. Rutter with his 2½-year daughter Doris, called on Tom. Tom was so cheered by the Rutter's songs and musical selections that his gratitude was heart warming.

While returning home that afternoon from their visit to Mr. Russell, Mr. Rutter was amused at the personal satisfaction he felt from this act of kindness. He remembered there were many more people who were forced

to lead tedious lives of confinement. Could he help these people whose greatest need was variety and entertainment? Why not? So was born the hobby of visiting Shut-Ins and that's how Earl and Little Doris Rutter, Shut-In Entertainers came into being.

Earl and Doris sent cards, pictures, poems and any literature they thought might bring a ray of sunshine into some shut-in's life. They brought their songs and music to anyone. They visited the hospitals, sanitariums, homes or wherever they were needed. Neither weather or distance discouraged the Rutters. Their act went on regardless. The demand was great and the requests were many. They spread sunshine wherever they went, which was an average of three nights a week.

Of course such endeavor became known to those of responsibility. They were nationally known as Earl and Little Doris Rutter, Shut-In Entertainers. March 30th was declared "Shut-In Day" and Mr. Rutter was recognized as the founder.

This is the story of Earl and Little Doris Rutter. The story of a man's desire to help his fellowman and the story of a hobby that is really worth-while.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Harrisburg, Pa., June 20, 1952.

MR. EARL RUTTER,  
Turtle Creek, Pa.

TO YOU, EARL RUTTER: Truly a great American, the good American of the day, our country is indebted to you. Your work speaks for itself, and indicates the unselfish American you are—one that is doing something in his country above and beyond any call of duty.

For the past thirteen years, you have traveled about entertaining those that are shut-in—just to bring a little laughter and sunshine into the lives of others. Your hobby is an unusual hobby and also an expensive one, travelling, printing literature, etc.

You have purchased a moving picture projector to show pictures to those unfortunate Shut-Ins, and now you are trying to buy an ambulance to take the Shut-Ins to the ball games, to their family reunions, a drive in the country.

You are doing things for others, giving of your time and money, and doing things far beyond man's dreams. Your hobby is the most talked about in America today. You have never received any honors or citations or flag waving. I sincerely hope some day, you, Earl, for your outstanding work, will receive the highest honors that can be bestowed on man.

I have known Earl Rutter for many years, and have aided and supported his work in bringing happiness to the Shut-Ins. I introduced the bill in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, proclaiming March 30 each year as Shut-In's Day in Pennsylvania. This Bill passed both Houses, and was signed by the Governor. This Bill also proclaims Earl Rutter the founder of Shut-In's Day.

Earl, may your deeds set a high standard for all persons to follow.

I sincerely hope that whoever reads this message will better appreciate Rutter's hobby.

With best wishes and continued success, I am

Sincerely yours,

J. P. MORAN,  
Representative, 10th Legislative District,  
Allegheny County.

COURT OF COMMON PLEAS,  
Pittsburgh, Pa., September 12, 1960.

MR. EARL RUTTER,  
Champion and Idol of the Shut-Ins,  
Turtle Creek, Pa.

MY DEAR EARL: I wish to be one of the many, many thousands of persons to congratulate you on your 22nd Anniversary of Earl Rutter Day, September 19, 1958, which is set aside by Governors and Mayors throughout this entire country in your honor.

Your tireless efforts, your vision in entertaining people who are shut indoors with sickness and physical disability brought about the founding of National Shut-In Day, which is observed throughout the country on March 30. Spending an entire lifetime in Turtle Creek, Pennsylvania, you give of your time and your zealous efforts, accompanied by your lovely daughters, Doris and Janet. During the past 20 years you have attempted to make this a better world in which to live. That is why every shut-in in Western Pennsylvania and hundreds of other municipalities consider you their idol. The impact of your efforts has reached every state in this country and even foreign countries.

Your name will always ring a bell not only with the sick and disabled but with all of us who want to see a better world in which to live. You are an unselfish American; you are always complying with the requests of the needy and the sick and render service far beyond the call of duty. You will never need a publicity agent or a television or radio program to give you fame for among 1/5 of the people of America you are greater than our President, than Governors, than Judges or Mayors, because yours is an unselfish sacrifice to make them smile and happy, and we all know that a smile goes a long, long way towards medical recovery.

We salute you today as a great American who believes in making others happy. May God bless you and your family and give you His richest blessings, Good Health and Long Life, to continue your fine work in the vineyard of the Lord.

Sincerely yours,

SAMUEL WEISS.

#### CUTBACKS IN ROAD CONSTRUCTION

### HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

MR. DENT. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's unprecedented call for cutbacks in road construction is just part of a plot to create planned unemployment. Highway funds are trust funds and will not help in any way to meet any budget deficiencies in the general fund expenditures. The only purpose served would be to squeeze or rather intimidate Congress into action, cutting back on social legislation and education, to vote for increasing taxes, put over 700,000 directly related workers on the streets and idle thousands of others supplying transportation, steel, and other vital supplies and services to the multibillion dollar construction industry.

In his latest statement the President has asked private industry, construction companies, and State and local governments to cut back 75 percent of the proposed spending this fiscal year. This would, in my opinion, put close to 4 million people on unemployment compensation for a while, and probably relief later. My Dad said many years ago, "It's a heck of a way to run a railroad."

Nixon will learn a lesson in economics at the expense of the workers of America. Given a choice, a worker is better off with more money than goods to buy, than unemployment, no money, and a surplus of goods. We have had that before. This is a memory we do not want to repeat. Anybody can start a ball rolling down hill, but few can stop the avalanche it starts.

Unemployment from cutbacks may well start the unemployment over the hill too fast to stop. The risks are too great. The results may well destroy what is left of our peace and tranquillity in our cities and streets. There is too little left now. Workers will not give up their homes and credit purchased homes, and so forth, as we did during the great Hoover depression. With reduced income, the workers will look for the cheaper imported products to meet their needs. More and more factories will curtail or close down their productions. If the automobile industry puts 7 to 9 million more vehicles on existing roads, we will all know how stupid this action by Nixon will be.

Of course, the real issue is whether our Congress can stop the spending by cutting into military spending and reasonable demands for Government savings in other areas, or whether the President can force the Congress to bow to his demands with the fearful threat of unemployment and depression. What can Congress do, rescind its tax increases, rescind its budget cuts, or take a chance that Nero will not burn Rome down to the gutter.

The President says it is to control inflation. This means that instead of paying \$30,000 for a home, you will have your \$30,000 home taken from you for the mortgage debt, or your car or your furniture. Remember that while inflation is undesirable and hurts the rich the most, a depression hurts the poor and in every instance in history, the rich become richer during depression. To save the rich man's dollar, Nixon would take the poor man's penny.

#### ROTARY AROUND THE WORLD

### HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

MR. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, recently Dr. Mauro Baradi, the distinguished Philippine statesman, lawyer, and diplomat, delivered an address on the activities of Rotary International throughout the world.

I am sure our colleagues will find Dr. Baradi's remarks to be of interest and I am pleased to insert them herewith for inclusion in the RECORD:

ROTARY AROUND THE WORLD

(By Dr. Mauro Baradi)

I am delighted to be with you on this occasion. I feel at home among you, knowing that wherever Rotarians gather together, an atmosphere of understanding and fellowship prevails. This is particularly so in the case of members of the Rotary Club of Waterville who have individually and collectively rendered yeoman service to their fellowmen. To some of us, the year 1918 is significant; it marked the end of World War I and the beginning of a life of service of your Club. And 1969 is also memorable because it was during this year when the great American soldier and former President of the United States, General Dwight David Eisenhower passed away; furthermore, 1969 is also the 51st anniversary of the Rotary Club of Waterville.

It has been suggested that I give a talk on "Rotary Around The World." This is a

big order. However, we are aware that Rotary encourages and fosters "the advancement of international understanding, goodwill, and peace through a world fellowship of business and professional men united in the ideal of service." This is done through the International Service Committee of a Rotary Club with practicable methods of implementing the service, namely: 1. Education of Rotarians; 2. Club Programs; 3. International Contacts for every Club; 4. District Organization of International Service; and 5. Education of the Public.

All I can do at this time is to mention highlights of my observations as a traveler and as a Rotarian.

**Manila, Philippines.**—It is said that charity begins at home. Therefore, let me start with the country whence I came. The Philippines with a population of 34,656,000, lies 600 miles off the southeast coast of Asia; it consists of about 7,000 islands with a total area of 115,707 square miles, as big as the combined areas of Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, New York, Massachusetts, and Maryland. Besides "Filipino" as the national language, English is widely used; Spanish and other languages are also spoken. The First Philippine Republic inaugurated in Malolos on January 23, 1899 was the first constitutional republic in Asia. The present Philippine Republic inaugurated in Manila on July 4, 1946, is the first modern republic in Asia and Africa after World War II.

Manila, with the famous Manila Bay and its glorious sunset, is the administrative capital and principal port of the Philippines. It is the headquarters of the Rotary Club of Manila which was organized in 1919; this is the first Rotary Club in my country and the first in Asia. On January 29, 1919, the Club held its first regular weekly meeting at the Manila Hotel. Since that time, this hotel has remained the registered meeting place of the Rotary Club of Manila which meets at luncheon every Thursday.

Those who were elected presidents of the Club include Carlos P. Romulo (1935-36), former President of the University of the Philippines and of the United Nations General Assembly (1949), and now Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippines; Gil J. Puyat (1940-41), (1945-46), President of the Senate of the Philippines; and Conrado Benitez (1955-56), President and Chairman, Benitez & Company. The Club counts among its membership outstanding leaders in government, business, commerce and industry, and in other professions. And this is important because the Philippines where agriculture is the main industry, has already embarked on a nation-wide program of industrialization—cement-manufacturing, electric power plants, flour-milling, food products and beverages, fruit-canning, furniture and textile, medicinal goods and pharmaceuticals, metal and glassware, mining, oil-refining, paper-manufacturing, plywood and lumber, rubber-processing, and salt-making.

Not long ago, President Ferdinand E. Marcos of the Philippines who has rendered and is rendering fruitful service to our country and people delivered a thought-provoking address before the Rotary Club of Manila of which he is an honorary member. The occasion was in connection with the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Club. The President stated among other things, that there would be no further restrictions, no exchange controls and no devaluation in the country.

Rotary is synonymous with service in my country. Its civic activities are manifold and its influence widespread. As of 1968-69, there were 69 Rotary Clubs with 2,781 members in the Philippines. They have been very busy and are presently engaged not only in initiating and completing community projects but in improving the lot of the masses. Our dynamic President and his predecessors

have repeatedly commended Rotarians for their valuable assistance to the nation.

**Tokyo, Japan.**—Tokyo, capital of Japan, with a population of more than eleven million people, is the world's largest city. Rotary came to the country in 1920.

The Rotary Club of Tokyo meets at noon every Wednesday, except on national and local holidays, at the Imperial Hotel. In 1940, the Club, due to circumstances, terminated its twenty years of existence. In spite of it all, the members expressed the earnest hope that the time might come soon when they could peacefully join again in world fellowship for the advancement of the Rotary principles. This hope was realized when in 1949, the Rotary Club of Tokyo was reorganized and first readmitted in the world family of Rotary from Japan.

In a meeting that I attended, the proceedings were in Japanese; although, I heard an American—a former resident of Nippon—deliver a talk in Japanese. And there I was, a Filipino whose countrymen suffered much during the years of Japanese occupation of the Philippines! Then as now, I have come to realize that warships and airships no matter how powerful, could be destroyed; on the other hand, true friendship is indestructible. Verily, I subscribe to the message of Rotary's Goodwill Song:

"Befriend your brother man,  
Let hate and envy die  
No more may war rage at our door  
Goodwill forever more."

The Rotary Club of Tokyo lays stress on internationalism. Members who traveled abroad, returned home with glowing reports of the hospitality of other fellow Rotarians. In the Club's schedule of events in 1968, we found the following: Interact Week of Rotary International; Rotary Foundation Week of Rotary International; and Club Forum on International, Community and Vocational Services. Rotarian Kiyoshi Togasaki, former President of the Club, whom I previously met in Tokyo, Manila, and New York, is a personal friend. While President of Rotary International (1968-69) he gave a one-word positive motto for Rotarians: "Participate"—in your Club, through your work, in building your community, and in international contacts.

**New York, New York.**—I am a frequent visitor of New York City, first capital of the United States; in this city, the main offices of the world's largest corporations are located; and here too, we find the headquarters of the United Nations.

The Rotary Club of New York, the sixth club in Rotary International, was organized in August, sixty years ago. It meets at luncheon on Thursday of each week at Hotel Commodore. The classification of club members is one of the most numerous in Rotary—from abrasives exporting, burial services, medicine, on down to YMCA, to mention but a few.

The Club's committees are grouped into Club Service, Vocational Service, Community Service, and International Service. It has firmly established the New York Rotary Foundation to perpetuate Rotary's ideals through gifts, devises or bequests of money or property that may be made to the Rotary Club for educational, charitable or other philanthropic purposes. Students from many parts of the world have benefited from the work being undertaken by the Club's International Service Committee.

No one is more familiar with the nature and workings of Rotary clubs in this country than the American himself. Generally, the type of program at club meetings is the same; hence, the remark, "If you have seen one, you have seen them all." But at one of the meetings I attended, the Rotary Club of New York presented a different type of program—a panel type program with three leading representatives of the communication industry directing their questions to the co-authors of

a book, *The Gap*. The big attendance was cosmopolitan in character. The question and answer method concerning the generation gap was informative and revealing to all parties concerned. Suggestions were made to hold similar programs in the future.

**Rome, Italy.**—Italy's capital, Rome, is often called the "Eternal City," and the heart of Italy. The city, a world within the greater world, is a great cultural, administrative, and educational center. This ancient and modern metropolis has an ever-expanding commercial and industrial life which is of continuing interest to the scholar, the artist, and the businessman alike.

The Rotary Club of Rome-Est. meets on Mondays at 20:30 o'clock at Hotel Quirinale, a historic edifice. The language spoke is Italian.

In one of the Club's meetings, I met Italians who served their Government in East Africa; they gave accounts of their journeys to distant lands and appreciated the Rotarian hospitality extended to them. H.M. Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy, now deceased, was an Honorary Governor of a Rotary District in Italy.

The Club cooperated in organizing expeditions and offered food supplies, medicines, and financial help to the poor and the sick. It acted as host to numerous Rotarians and their friends who were touring Italy.

When asked in what way can Rotary best contribute to the advancement of international peace, Rotarians in Italy gave a two-fold reply: 1. by facilitating the intercourse and mutual acquaintance between business and professional men from the various nations and 2. by giving its members an opportunity to obtain directly from other members, sure and reliable information regarding conditions in their countries; by helping members of one nation to understand the problems, difficulties and troubles of others, and to appreciate better the contribution they all give and are able to give to the prosperity of the world.

**Sydney, New South Wales.**—Sydney, is the capital of the state of New South Wales. With a population of over two million, Sydney is Australia's principal port and largest city. It is the country's leading commercial and industrial center and serves as Australia's main air terminal and port of entry.

The Rotary Club of Sydney meets every Tuesday noon at the Trocadero. During its early years, it devoted its attention to fellowship among settlers. But the steady growth of Sydney attracted distinguished visitors who were welcome guests of the Club.

A regular feature of the Club's activities is the Friday meeting for fellowship. Here Rotarians and friends from far and nearby countries are afforded the opportunity to know one another better.

**In Africa.**—During my more than three years' (1962-65) tour of duty as Philippine Chief of Mission to Africa, South of the Sahara, and later as Philippine Ambassador to Nigeria, Cameroon, Ghana, Liberia, and Sierra Leone, I had the opportunity of getting acquainted and of mingling with Rotarians there. I saw Rotarians in action in the following capital cities: Mogadiscio, Somalia where I resided for four years (1956-1960) as Philippine Representative on, and as Chairman of the United Nations Advisory Council for Italian Somaliland; Nairobi, Kenya; Lagos, Nigeria where I became a member of the Rotary Club of Lagos; Yaounde, Cameroon; Accra, Ghana; Monrovia, Liberia; Freetown, Sierra Leone; Cairo, Egypt; Algiers, Algeria; and Tananarive, Malagasy.

Rotary came to Africa by the establishment of the Rotary Club of Johannesburg in 1921. For sometime, officers and members of Rotary Clubs were non-Africans. Since Rotary's membership is not exclusive as regards color, creed, or country, it has spread

far and wide. Thus, as of June, 1968, there were 13,302 Rotary Clubs with a total membership of about 633,000 in 143 countries and geographical regions.

In 1945, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of Rotary International, General Jan C. Smuts, then South Africa's Prime Minister, praised Rotary's world-wide service in the following message:

"Rotary has been in the van of the humanitarian trend towards greater social security in all democratic countries and the movement can find no more worthy cause for its unselfish endeavours than the application of its motto, 'Service Before Self,' to not only the national community but the international community as well."

In the case of some African countries which became independent in 1960, Rotary clubs were organized only recently. These clubs meet either at noon or in the evening at hotels, taverns, or halls. Some clubs have members belonging to fourteen or more nationalities. In this way, Africans are enabled to talk intimately with fellow Rotarians at home and are brought closer to their counterparts abroad.

Africans have asked me this question: "What do Rotarians do?" This same query was directed to George Bernard Shaw who was reported to have made the curt reply: "Rotarians go to lunch." This should not be taken as a criticism against, but rather as a compliment to Rotarians, for no world organization in our day, goes to lunch as does Rotary. By breaking bread together around tables under a common roof, men of divergent and even conflicting views could meet face to face and discuss their problems ever remembering that service is their common business.

Still the impression persists that Rotary is merely a luncheon club. This mistaken concept may be due to misinformation, lack of experience, and nonexposure to the Rotary ideal of service and its Four-Way Test of the things we think, say or do regarding truth, fairness, friendships, and mutual benefits.

It is inspiring to feel that a native of Africa, Mr. Justice Charles D. Onyeama, formerly of the Supreme Court of Nigeria and now a member of the International Court of Justice at The Hague, himself a past President of the Rotary Club of Lagos, has expressed in writing, his understanding of Rotary luncheon. Rotarian Onyeama stated: ". . . We, as a club, are comparatively young and have not much experience of Rotary work; for this reason, if for no other, it is important that we attend our meetings and involve ourselves fully in committee work. As has been said—and this cannot be said too often—the Rotary Club is not a luncheon club. The purpose of the luncheon is to provide an opportunity for meeting of all those who are interested in serving the community in which they live; our club is a *service club*."

At club meetings, I noticed a display of Rotary banners, District flags, and flags of many nations. An African colleague impressed me when he said that such a display was a three-in-one reminder: 1. the invitation for more Africans to become Rotarians; 2. the need for peace and stability among Africans; and 3. the desire to make a useful contribution toward world understanding and harmony.

Another African who seemed impatient, wished that Rotary came to his country earlier. He said his countrymen had urgent needs to meet and serious problems to solve; that there were not enough native hands to help their communities in order to lighten the heavy burdens which Africans had carried for so long.

Why should we care about Africa? This is one of the burning questions of the day. Rotarians are in a position to answer the question because they are committed in one way or another to serve humankind.

Lest we forget, the Africa of today is radically different from what it was yesterday. Way back in 1945, out of a total membership of 51 in the United Nations, only four were African countries. In 1960 alone, sixteen African countries became independent. By 1966, when the membership of the United Nations increased to 121, there were 39 African countries as members; these latter figures constitute almost one-third of the entire membership in the World Organization. African votes carry weight and their views on world affairs can not be disregarded.

The emerging African states subscribe to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, one of which is to develop friendly relations between nations based on equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to use international cooperation in solving economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems. Rotary which came into being forty years before the United Nations Charter came into effect, has a similar objective.

In the Charter of the Organization of African Unity formed in 1965, the African states likewise agreed "to promote international co-operation, having regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." These states place high priority to economic growth and development of trade. They prefer external assistance from the free world. They desire technical co-operation because of a shortage of trained and experienced men in their midst. In this connection, it is worthy to note the new program launched by Rotary—Rotary Volunteers Abroad—which "utilizes the talents of available mid-career or retired Rotarians to help resolve problems in developing countries in need of expert counsel in education, health, business, rural and community development."

One of the grievances against former colonial rulers is the fact that the latter "starved" education in most of Africa. Is it not ironical to find so much starvation and misery in a continent with so much wealth and potentiality? On this point, Smith Hempstone wrote:

" . . . Africa produces 95 per cent of the world's diamonds, 39 per cent of the world's gold, 21 per cent of the world's copper, 77 per cent of the world's cobalt, 34 per cent of the world's manganese, and 70 per cent of the world's cocoa. It has enough iron, tin, chrome, and bauxite to supply the world's needs for years to come."

But Africa's most important resource is its own people—303 million and more—living in an area of 11,685,000 square miles. They are entitled to their God-given right to be free. They have valuable assets: capacity to endure, willingness to sacrifice, and anxiousness to learn. Like others, countries in Africa have long-time enemies: poverty, illiteracy, and disease. To fight these foes and minimize the evils connected therewith, the assistance of men of goodwill everywhere would be welcomed. Africans appreciate the value of friendship and here again, Rotarians may contribute their share and talents.

I have traveled by car, ship, and plane in five continents: 1. Asia, where the first Rotary Club was organized in 1919; 2. North America, where the premier Rotary Club was founded in 1905 by Paul P. Harris, lawyer; 3. Europe (continental), where the first Rotary Club was organized in 1920; 4. Australia, where the first Rotary Club was organized in 1921; and 5. Africa, where the first Rotary Club was organized in 1921.

My visits to Rotary Clubs and contacts with Rotarians around the world, were enlightening and reassuring; enlightening because I was enabled to understand why businessmen and professionals were enthusiastic in serving neighbors and friends for the common good. Rotarians by precept and example do preach and practice the Golden Rule, not the rule of gold. I became convinced that an organization like the Rotary,

which is a worthy ideal in action, is bound to grow and glow as the years come and go.

A service club which labors incessantly to enhance international understanding, is indeed, a powerful and dependable ally in our unfinished task of bringing about the Brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God.

#### POSTAL REFORM

### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Wall Street Journal—one of the major recipients of special treatment by our postal system—has decided that "Congress is likely to reject any meaningful reform of the postal service."

I do not know where the newspaper got its information, but it is clear that it paid little or no attention to the nearly 4 months of public hearings on this matter which have just been concluded by our Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

The hearings by our committee have been the most extensive in history. We have compiled a comprehensive record of testimony from every segment of our economy which is associated with or concerned about postal service.

To my mind, there is no question about the need for major reform of our postal system and I believe—notwithstanding the Journal's gloomy prophecy—that our committee will come forward with "meaningful" postal reform legislation this fall. Failure, if any, will not be due to any obstructions on my part.

The Journal, like other outspoken proponents of the plan to convert the Post Office Department into a public corporation, seems unable to see the woods for the trees.

The issue is postal reform—comprehensive reform. How we accomplish this reform is a detail which our committee will decide shortly—whether we convert the Department into a public corporation or whether we accomplish the same end by a massive reorganization of the present executive department.

It is interesting, of course, to have the Journal's views. It is a matter of record that there is no other national publication which receives the day-after-day special treatment from the postal service.

It has same-day delivery—by mail—in most cities and communities in the Nation. The Post Office Department has estimated the Journal's annual subsidy as about \$9.4 million.

Mr. Speaker, following is the lead editorial which appeared in the September 9 edition of the Wall Street Journal:

#### POSTAL POLITICS

From all accounts Congress is likely to reject any meaningful reform of the postal service—an unfortunate but nonetheless predictable outcome.

The chief trouble with the Post Office, after all, is its thorough immersion in partisan politics. Congressmen enjoy playing for votes by manipulating postal rates and workers' pay, whatever the results may be in postal service.

So it can't be counted surprising that many Congressmen are cool to the Administration plan to turn the Post Office into a public corporation that would set its own rates and salaries, raise funds by selling bonds and largely balance its books. The lawmakers' rationalizations of their opposition, however, are likely to sound ingenuous to most citizens.

One contention is that the Post Office is not just a business but a Government agency with major public responsibilities that might suffer if put in the hands of a public corporation. It's surely true that the Post Office does have large public responsibilities, but it's equally true that in recent years it has become more and more inept at handling them.

Perhaps there are reasons to quarrel about the precise mechanics of prying politics out of the postal service. Yet a sensibly constituted and wisely run corporation could hardly fail to do a better job with the mails than the present setup has done.

The demands on the service are growing enormously. The Post Office now handles about 84 billion pieces of mail a year, more than double the figure for 1945, and the future trend is clearly upward.

Despite all of the talk of the coming wonders of Zip Code, the fact is that mail still is sorted manually into partitioned bins, in much the same way that Benjamin Franklin originally planned it. The speed and regularity of service steadily diminish.

The more candid Congressman may admit that they don't want to lose the campaign support of big mailers, companies that use the mails heavily for distribution of publications and advertising. If rates were set by a public corporation, these mailers no longer would find it necessary to curry favor with Congress—a development that most of the public could count as a blessing.

The postal unions also play a part in the opposition to the Administration's plan. The unions have grown accustomed to bargaining with legislators for higher pay, and then swinging electoral support to those lawmakers who befriend them. A postal organization that would end that sort of vote-buying surely would be in the general public's interest.

One of the more important advantages of the corporation plan is that it would at least make it possible to breathe fresh air into the system. Lawrence F. O'Brien, an early advocate of taking politics out of the Post Office, testifies to the need for change:

"When I became Postmaster General in 1965 I was confident that once I cleared out the deadwood and began to apply sound management principles, I could provide the kind of mail service that our citizens demand. I was in for a rude awakening. There was very little deadwood in personnel but whenever I tried to apply sound management principles, there was usually some antiquated law that prevented me from doing so."

Some of the anti-change Congressmen actually argue that postal reform is pointless since, under any system, the public would continue to blame Congress for shortcomings. If the lawmakers really are concerned about citizens' feelings, you would think they would be anxious for a change—almost any change—that might improve the mails.

Meanwhile the postal service continues to spiral downhill and rates go on rising. And there's no question at all about whom the public can blame for that.

#### ENGINEER OF THE YEAR

**HON. BENJAMIN B. BLACKBURN**

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, recently, it was brought to my attention

that a fellow Georgian has been named "Engineer of the Year." Mr. F. R. "Bob" Prybylowski received this honor for his "outstanding achievements in engineering design, and his service to his profession and his community."

An active member of the Cancer Society, United Appeals, and the Heart Fund, Mr. Prybylowski has resided in Georgia for 20 years. He is recognized as one of the foremost bridge designers of the Southeast.

Mr. Prybylowski's achievements were cited in the following newspaper article which appeared on July 17, 1969, in the DeKalb New Era:

#### PRYBYLWSKI IS GEORGIA'S ENGINEER OF THE YEAR

A Decatur resident, F. R. (Bob) Prybylowski, P. E., was named Georgia's "Engineer of the Year" at the annual meeting of the Georgia Society of Professional Engineers in Atlanta last week.

Prybylowski received the award for his "outstanding achievements in engineering design, and his service to his profession and his community."

A Georgia Tech graduate, Prybylowski has been a partner in the Atlanta engineering firm of Prybylowski and Gravino, Inc., since its formation in 1959. Since that time the firm has been responsible for civil and structural projects of over \$100,000,000 valuation. Their work as primary engineers on the Atlanta Stadium and the Cincinnati-Hamilton County Sports Stadium in Ohio, has received national recognition, including the American Institute of Steel Construction Architectural Award of Merit for the Atlanta Stadium, and the Progressive Architecture Design Awards Citation for the Cincinnati Stadium.

Prybylowski spent five years as an engineer with the State Highway Department prior to the formation of his consulting firm, and is recognized as one of the foremost bridge designers in the Southeast.

Prybylowski was selected for the Georgia honor from four candidates who had been honored in their local areas during 1969 "Engineers Week" in February. At that time he was selected as the "Atlanta Engineer of the Year" and received special commendation from the Georgia General Assembly.

A native of Perth Amboy, New Jersey, Prybylowski has lived in Georgia for 20 years and currently resides at 209 East Parkwood Road, Decatur. He is a Past State President of the American Society of Civil Engineers and has been an active member of the Georgia Society of Professional Engineers, Georgia Architectural and Engineering Society, Society of American Military Engineers, Consulting Engineers Council of Georgia and American Concrete Institute.

#### FEDERAL HELP OR SELF-HELP?

**HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER**

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, during a time when the dole approach to welfare is becoming totally discredited—and rightly so—and as we search for new approaches and ways out of the present welfare mess, I submit the following text of a broadcast by Mr. Ed Wimmer, president of Forward America, Inc., of Covington, Ky.—the public relations arm of the National Federation of Independent Business.

Ed Wimmer provides, through these broadcasts, some helpful insights into

the problems and difficulties faced by America today. The text of the broadcast follows:

#### FEDERAL HELP OR SELF-HELP?

(By Ed Wimmer)

Before we get into tonight's main course, I would like to ask you a few questions which I hope will divert your attention away from whatever you may be doing.

1. Are you one of those people who believes that a country can continue to tax and spend and spend and tax in an expanding effort to support the artificial prosperity of a Welfare-Warfare State, and do you believe that if our present tendency to build bigger chain store systems, bigger unions, bigger farms, bigger banking corporations, and bigger government, also continues, that your children will inherit anything that even resembles free enterprise and constitutional government?

2. Have you half-made up your mind that individualistic capitalism won't work in our modern society? That the kind of middle class democracy we built around respected professional people and independent enterprisers (in all fields), and people willing to put in a day's work for a day's pay—with young people beginning small enterprises up and down the Main Streets of America—is no longer the American dream?

3. What are your convictions with regard to the propaganda that those who work and do business have an obligation to keep every man and his family on some kind of permanent relief, helping to pay his rent or build him a house, or should we have a job-making program, and say "here is your job; it may not be what you want, but it is a job, and whether you better yourself or not, is up to you. Your care is now your own responsibility, not that of your neighbor"?

4. How much basis is there to the charge of top educators, men in public office, commentators, publishers, business leaders, et cetera, who insist that "capitalism will die in the house of its friends from lack of support?" From competitive abuses? From monopolistic practices and political graft?

5. My final question: Are you, whatever your position in life, concerned enough about the monopoly problem, about urban renewal problems, civil rights, inflation, unfair foreign and domestic competition, the crime in our towns and cities, the wholesale murders in our Capital city—a rape a day, where government is made and taxes are passed; the 25 teen-age killings in Philadelphia this year—where the Liberty Bell hangs . . . Are you, I repeat, are you concerned enough to put up your cash and give some of your time to keep this country from going the way of Rome, of Germany before Hitler, or Britain today?

These are my questions. Now listen to what Pope Leo XIII wrote in one of his Encyclicals before the turn of the century:

"Let men try as they will. No strength and no artifice will ever succeed in banishing from human life the ills and troubles which beset it. If any there are who pretend—who hold out to hard pressed people freedom from pain and trouble, undisturbed repose and constant enjoyment—they cheat the people and impose upon them, and their lying promises will only grow worse than before. There is nothing so sad as to look at the world as it really is—and then look elsewhere for a remedy to its troubles."

The Pope was not advocating, however, that efforts be lessened in fighting poverty, ignorance, slums, graft, crime, child neglect, or other abuses. What he was driving at and what we have been driving at in all of these broadcasts, is that help that doesn't end in self-help, and create desires for betterment in this life, is not help at all, and it is why I have continued to argue that when people in our society keep hammering away on the theme of helping people without ham-

mering away at the same time on self-help, we are doing an injustice to that person aided, and to society itself.

A young man who is given an OEO training, for example, ought to sign a contract that he will, over whatever length of time is necessary, pay for that training when he begins to capitalize on his learning; so his earnings may be used to train others.

What is more harmful to human character than something which is constantly held up as being free—to which no future obligation is attached?

President Nixon should have kept saying what he did in one of his speeches:

"The ghettos of our cities will be remade when the people in them have the will, the power, the resources and the skill to remake them. They will not be remade by government billions. . . . The human and social conditions of the spirit are in large part dependent upon our laying the foundation for an economic structure that can support a rebirth of pride, individualism and independence."

The question ought to be, how do you create a foundation for "individualism" and "independence" with all the trends in agriculture, industry, labor, finance and government leading to the destruction of both?

In a recent broadcast I mentioned that the huge Litton Industries is financing a vast chain of National Farm Stores, predicated on the idea of literally swamping the rural towns of America with 40-acre complexes, tied in with Gulf Oil and other huge combines, and so located as to cover what they say in their own words "the entire agricultural economy". An official of National Farm Stores says there will be only 500,000 big farms in a few more years, and he further said:

"We feel that once the National Farm Stores centers are established, they will take care of all the needs of these farmers."

Litton Industries, a huge conglomerate, has absorbed company after company, and conglomerates like Littons were called by American Finance Magazine: "Wolves of Wall Street"—"Raiders"—"Take-over Titans"—and a leading columnist and commentator called them "Hogs". We have been joined by the National Farmers Organization, National Independent Bankers' Association, the Oregon Independent Retail Grocers' Association, and the National Association of Retail Druggists, in an all-out battle to stop the liquidation of the family farm, and the further spread of the conglomerates, combines and huge chains, and if we are unsuccessful, independent, individual capitalism in the United States is doomed.

There are those who say:

"The public is too dumb to be educated. Our kids are a bunch of long-haired bums. The members of Congress a gang of graft-takers. The giants are too big to fight. I have no time. We have spent our budget for this year. I would be willing, but my partner said no. I'm too busy now, you'll have to come back next year. I have a golf game this afternoon. I can't see you now. Et cetera. Et cetera."

But this has not stopped Forward America, Inc., and the National Federation of Independent Business, Inc., or the other organizations working with us, because we have learned that it is the minority who carry all the battles for freedom; that if they can be found in time, they will come through in time. We have auto dealers, druggists, meat packers, dairy plants, brewers, funeral directors, all types of retailers, great national concerns, bankers, doctors—people in all walks of life who have supported Forward America since 1932, winning one battle after another, and the Federation since 1943, with a membership now of over a quarter-million, in NFIB.

For those who would say that one more

person added to our membership wouldn't mean too much, maybe I could relate that Dr. Harry Fagedes, a Cincinnati optometrist, came into our Covington office to discuss his concern over mergers taking place in his professional field. We prepared a release on the subject, and mailed it to all members of the Ohio Optometrical Association about to meet in convention.

This lone young man gathered a few friends together, aroused their enthusiasm, and for the first time an assembly of professional people in the field of optometry adopted a resolution calling for an end to mergers and consolidations; for support of the independent wholesale laboratories that faithfully aided in the development of the optometric profession.

A leading wholesaler sent out an open letter following this resolution, in which he said:

"It would have been a lot easier and more profitable for me to sell our quality service business to a single big company, and stop competing with the undesirables and mass produced, inferior prescription work, but we have decided to stay independent because we believe there is a place for quality minded wholesale houses in our business. All rumors that we are selling out, are untrue. We do care enough to stay and fight. Do you? If not, we'd like to know."

Ladies and gentlemen, the spirit of independent enterprise is not dead when one young man can walk into an organization like our own, and in 90 days help to bring about the foregoing results.

When you hear that old dirge that you can't win, that people don't care, that independents won't fight, keep in mind that society still rests upon the spiritual more than the mechanical basis, and so long as there are men who know this, and who know that the temple of liberty and justice, in all things, rests upon their individual and collective actions, a way will be found to take that action.

Who would have believed during the recent national elections that Mr. Nixon would appoint an Attorney General, William Mitchell, and an Assistant Attorney General, Antitrust Division, Richard McLaren, both of whom are now charged with being anti-bigness because they said (in the words of Mr. Mitchell):

"We do not want our little sized and smaller cities to be merely branch store communities, nor do we want our average consumers to be second class economic citizens. A community's independent businessmen should have an opportunity to supply community needs, its lawyers should have the opportunity to act as counsel, its unions should have the opportunity of negotiating in their own community for their members, and its consumers should have the opportunity to exercise local economic options in their choice of competing goods and services."

Under no other system but widespread, independent ownership of farm, home and business enterprise, wherever practical and possible, with local control over local affairs in government will such a way of life continue to exist.

This is why the National Federation of Independent Business, Inc. and Forward America, Inc. are fighting to save independent business. "The More the Enterprisers the Freer the Nation." is our slogan, and in the promotion of this idea it is hoped that more people will patronize independent business, helping in this way to build a better tomorrow.

When people patronize independent stores, for example, the profits on their transactions are ploughed back into the community in which they live. The merchant, as a rule, owns his home or is paying for one. He deposits his money in the local bank. Sends his children to the school and church of his

choice, and for this reason he is more interested in better playgrounds, better parks and other community developments.

## TRIBUTE TO HON. CHARLES JOELSON

### HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 4, 1969

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to join with my colleagues in wishing out departing colleague, CHARLES JOELSON, continued success and happiness as he leaves us to devote his unusual talents and ability to the judiciary. The qualities of mind and character, which have made CHARLES JOELSON a respected and effective Congressman, will be invaluable assets to the Superior Court of New Jersey.

Knowing of his deep seated desire for judicial service, I am pleased that CHARLES JOELSON's ambition has been realized. However, knowing the void which will be created among us in the House of Representatives, I am saddened because of our loss.

CHARLES JOELSON and I were first elected to the 87th Congress and have served together through five successive Congresses. His friendship and companionship have meant a lot to me, and I will miss him as a friend as well as a respected and admired colleague who could always be counted upon to make a telling and effective contribution to debate. Intelligence and wit marked his comments both on and off the floor.

CHARLES JOELSON's leadership was particularly effective recently during the consideration of the fiscal year 1970 appropriation bill for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare. As a result of his efforts the Joelson amendment was adopted on the House floor, adding \$894 million for educating the children of our country.

The length and variety of his public service running through a continuous period of almost 30 years have secured for CHARLES JOELSON a conspicuous and permanent place upon our public records. As a member of the Naval Intelligence Division in World War II, as the city counsel of Paterson, N.J., as New Jersey chairman of the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, as New Jersey deputy attorney general, as acting prosecutor of Passaic County, as director of criminal investigation for the State of New Jersey, and as a Member of this House since 1961, he has consistently demonstrated both versatility and devotion to the public interest.

The House of Representatives and the Nation which it serves have benefited immeasurably from his devoted service. Let us not be content simply to deplore his loss, but let us resolve to bring about the necessary congressional reform which would make it possible to keep CHARLES JOELSON, and other talented and able legislators in the future, as contributing members of this body.

CHARLES JOELSON has been a crusading lawyer as well as an effective Repre-

sentative; he will be an able and conscientious judge. But above all, he will continue to devote his days and years to bringing the best that this Nation can offer to the citizens whom he continues to serve.

**MARSHALL FIELD ELECTED PUBLISHER OF CHICAGO SUN-TIMES AND CHICAGO DAILY NEWS**

**HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it was with great pleasure that I learned that Marshall Field has been elected publisher of the Chicago Sun-Times and the Chicago Daily News.

At the age of 28 he becomes one of the youngest publishers of any major newspaper in the Nation.

I have every reason to believe that young Marshall Field will follow with great competence the footsteps of his highly respected father, Marshall Field IV, and his distinguished grandfather, Marshall Field III, who founded the Chicago Sun, predecessor of today's Chicago Sun-Times.

The Field publications in Chicago have made a particular impact on young moderns and so it is fitting and significant that a young man of 28 should take the helm of these two highly respected publications.

As one who for 20 years had a very warm and friendly relation with the old Chicago Times and later the Chicago Sun-Times, before I was elected to Congress, I am particularly heartened by this election of Marshall Field.

It was my great privilege to work with his father when he took over stewardship of the Chicago Sun-Times and I also have fond recollections of working with his grandfather.

Both Fields had a great love for Chicago and both had an abiding desire to make their publication among the finest in the country.

I am sure the new publisher of these two outstanding newspapers will carry on the high standards of journalism set by his father and grandfather.

I am taking the privilege today of including in the RECORD an article which appeared in the Chicago Sun-Times announcing the election of Marshall Field as publisher of the Chicago Sun-Times and its sister paper, the Chicago Daily News.

The article follows:

**FIELD IS ELECTED PUBLISHER OF SUN-TIMES, DAILY NEWS**

Marshall Field has been elected publisher of The Chicago Sun-Times and The Chicago Daily News effective Oct. 1, Bailey K. Howard, president of The Newspaper Division of Field Enterprises, Inc., announced Monday.

At 28 years of age, Field is the youngest publisher of any major newspaper in the nation. The title of publisher of the two Field newspapers has not been used since the death of Field's father, Marshall Field IV, in September of 1965.

Commenting on the new publisher, Howard said:

"Three years ago Marshall Field began a five-year training program, working in each of the 23 subsidiaries and divisions that make up our parent company, Field Enterprises, Inc.

"His talent, probing curiosity and diligence have given him such an excellent understanding of the business that Marshall is ready to assume the position and responsibility of publisher now. Under his creative leadership, The Chicago Sun-Times and The Chicago Daily News will each continue to develop its own distinctive, strong image, and will achieve new challenging objectives."

**ELECTED SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT**

A year ago (Sept. 4, 1968), Field was elected senior vice president of The Newspaper Division and senior vice president of the corporate division of Field Enterprises, Inc. He had been assistant to the general manager of The Newspaper Division since October 1965.

In September 1965, Field was elected to the board of directors of Field Enterprises, Inc., to succeed his late father. He now serves on the boards of directors of all subsidiaries and divisions of the corporation.

Field's professional memberships include serving on the board of directors of the Bureau of Advertising of the American Newspaper Publishers Assn. He also is a trustee of the American Newspaper Publishers Assn. Foundation.

Because of his keen interest in learning through reading, Field accepted chairmanship of the Committee for National Library Week in Illinois this year. He is a member of the National Book Committee, Inc., and the Chicago Committee of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.

**ACTIVE IN CIVIC AFFAIRS**

In civic affairs, Field is a governing member of the Chicago Orchestral Assn. and a member of the board of directors of the Field Foundation of Illinois, Inc., the National Boulevard Bank of Chicago and the Lyric Opera. He is a trustee of the Art Institute of Chicago and of the Field Museum of Natural History.

While attending Harvard University, Field worked one summer in the editorial department of the Boston Globe. After graduation, he worked for Random House and later the New York Herald-Tribune. He resigned to return to Chicago when his father died in 1965.

In July, 1964, Field began his military service with the U.S. Army at Fort Dix, N.J., and was released from active duty on Dec. 11, 1964. He currently is a member of the Illinois National Guard.

The morning newspaper, The Chicago Sun, was founded by Field's grandfather, Marshall Field III, in 1941, the year Marshall Field V was born. In 1948, Marshall Field III merged The Sun with The Chicago Times into a daily and Sunday newspaper and became publisher of The Chicago Sun-Times.

Marshall Field IV, father of the present publisher, began his career in journalism on The Chicago Sun in 1946 as an apprentice. The following year he worked on the New York Herald-Tribune. He returned to Chicago in 1948 as assistant publisher and associate editor of The Chicago Sun-Times. In 1950, at age 34, he was appointed editor and publisher of the paper.

In 1959, Marshall Field IV bought the Pulitzer Prize winning Chicago Daily News from John S. Knight, and became president, editor and publisher of the newspaper. He simultaneously held the same positions on The Chicago Sun-Times.

The Chicago Sun-Times ranks today as the fifth largest morning newspaper in the nation. In the afternoon field, The Chicago Daily News is also in fifth place. The Chicago Daily News/Sun-Times Service is America's oldest auxiliary wire service, founded

in 1898 as The Chicago Daily News Foreign Service. It provides Publishers-Hall Syndicate with a network of foreign and domestic correspondents and feature writers. Their dispatches are run in almost 100 client newspapers.

**STATE ROLE IN OEO**

**HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, OEO Director Don Rumsfeld recently enunciated an important step in the redirection of OEO to improve its services to the poor.

In a speech on September 8 before the State Economic Opportunity Office Directors Conference he outlined steps to bring the States into a fuller partnership with OEO. For the benefit of my colleagues I include the full text of his address as a part of my remarks:

**STATE ROLE IN OEO**

(Statement by Donald Rumsfeld)

As you are all well aware, we are mid-stream in a redirection and new emphasis for the efforts of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The broad framework has been set down for the reorganization of headquarters OEO and we are now working the changes down through the individual divisions of the Washington and Regional offices. Although we are finding that reorganization of a government agency is a time-consuming, somewhat painful process, it is moving along with steady progress. When complete, the agency will be better structured to perform the pioneering role the President has outlined for us.

At the same time, we have launched a study of the regions so the expansion from seven to ten regional offices can be accompanied by a thoughtful reorganization of our field operations.

Other recent major changes have included the delegation of Head Start and Job Corps and the elevation of Legal Services and Health Affairs to independent program divisions within OEO.

No less significant for the future of the agency in terms of productive change are the administrative steps we are taking to bring the states into a fuller partnership with OEO.

It has become increasingly clear in my first months in office that the resources available at the state level have not been brought to bear as fully as they might have been in the effort to build routes out of poverty.

The states have much to offer, yet they cannot contribute effectively without the opportunity for more meaningful participation. James Martin, representing the National Governor's Conference and the Council of State Governments in testimony before the House Education and Labor Committee last April, made this case. He pointed out that no legislation is required because the existing OEO legislation provides in 15 instances for an active state role. But he added that full participation has not been encouraged by OEO officials.

In the future, there will be encouragement.

I sent a letter to your governors last week asking for their assistance in marshalling ideas and resources for the development of economic opportunity. Coordination and cooperation between OEO and the governors' offices are vital if we are going to enable underprivileged Americans to join in the economic benefits of our society.

Words like coordination, cooperation, and

participation can easily become lip-service phrases surrounding a policy of inactivity. But I intend to see that these words mean what they say in relationship of OEO to the states. There will be fuller consultation with the governors in OEO matters affecting their states.

This new posture for OEO is consistent with the overall Administration policy of giving states a greater share of the responsibility for the operation of government programs in our federally-structured system.

This reversal of the trend of three decades was a key point in President Nixon's speech to the National Governor's Conference in Colorado Springs last week. He said, "Washington will no longer try to go it alone. Washington will no longer dictate without consulting."

Regarding OEO, the administrative authority provided for in the Economic Opportunity Act will be exercised. After careful study and review, I have decided to take several steps to strengthen the state contribution to the poverty program.

Some of these changes are spelled out in a completely revised OEO instruction on the role of the State Economic Opportunity Offices, a draft of which will be mailed out to you and your governors for comment shortly. Among the changes are:

Greater involvement of the SEOOs in the regional funding plans for OEO-funded programs within each state.

Systematic consultation with the SEOOs in the training and technical assistance process.

Fuller participation of SEOOs in the monitoring and evaluation of OEO-funded programs.

A requirement that Regional Offices work out a joint agreement with the SEOOs on the coordination of field personnel activities.

Increased emphasis on the role of the SEOO as a mobilizer of state resources for use against poverty.

A clear statement encouraging a more important role for the SEOOs in state government.

Under active consideration are proposals for:

Achieving adequate staffing for SEOO offices.

Greater use of states for research and demonstration projects in areas where they have special expertise.

In-service training for OEO personnel on the workings of state government and, vice-versa, for SEOO personnel on the workings of the Federal government.

Where the added responsibilities imposed on the state offices require more staffing and resources, and where innovation and effectiveness have been shown, we will attempt to increase the budgets of individual state offices.

Some steps have already been taken in recent months to upgrade the relationship between SEOO offices and OEO. They include:

The initiation and funding of a program of poverty-oriented state planning grants in ten SEOOs.

Three pilot projects for State Special Technical Assistance (State/STAP) Programs.

An effort to strengthen the checkpoint system for processing grants.

A directive has been written and will be sent shortly to the regional offices and contractors for training and technical assistance. It sets forth their responsibilities for working with SEOOs in this area.

Another program which will receive major emphasis in the coming months is the Federal-State-Information Exchange System. As a result of a recent decision, this method of linking Washington and the states is being expanded to include half of the 50 states, and it has bright prospects for still further expansion.

In short, we are seeking a wide variety of ways to put substance into the oft-used

phrase "a more meaningful role for the states." Details on the steps taken and those to be taken will be available in the immediate future.

Our firm intention to make the state-OEO relationship a day-to-day working partnership is also reflected in the reorganization of the headquarters office. Instead of an isolated office for state relations on the staff level, the new structure places the state liaison office directly in the major decision-making process of the agency.

A new State and Local Government Relations Division is being established in the Office of Operations. This means the views of SEOO directors will be heard in the development of OEO operating policy and procedure, since the Office of Operations will be headed by a presidential appointee with responsibility for most of the field activities of the agency. SEOO contributions will be fed directly to the man making the key decisions for field operations.

Another administrative action of importance to the states is the revision of the guidelines implementing the Green Amendment. We are presently working on new guidelines to rewrite the language which has been construed by some to have inhibited the use of the amendment by the states.

These changes all move in the direction of more effective working relationships for the states with OEO. But this is not the final word on this subject.

In two months, a nationwide evaluation of the SEOOs by the Midwest Research Institute will be completed. That study, along with the consultation I recently invited in my letter to the governors of the 50 states, will be carefully reviewed with an eye to still further improvements in their relationships.

Our partnership will not be a static. I am confident that it will continue to evolve as better ideas are found to make the Federal-regional-state-local system work more effectively for the benefit of the poor.

#### "PORQUE" PATTEN

### HON. JAMES J. DELANEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 8, 1969

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply grieved to learn of the passing of our friend and former colleague from Arizona, the Honorable Harold A. "Porque" Patten.

"Porque" was a warm and friendly person, who had a great many friends on both sides of the aisle. He was a valued member of the Committee on Armed Services, and the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. He worked with diligence and effectiveness to serve his constituents and the Nation, and contributed greatly to the work of the House of Representatives.

He was an outstanding athlete at the University of Arizona, and, after graduation, devoted his talents to the field of public recreation where he provided in-tion, devoted his talents to the field of young people. He served with valor and distinction as a combat observer with the Army Air Corps in World War II and rose to the rank of major. After the war he maintained an active interest in veterans' affairs, and was proud of his service in the Air Force Reserve, from which he retired in 1960 as a lieutenant colonel.

Arizona has lost one of its finest citi-

zens and a devoted public servant. The Nation has lost one of its outstanding patriots. We who were privileged to know him mourn the loss of a kind and gentle friend.

I extend my deepest sympathy to his wife, Mary, and his family.

#### A FADING SHADOW

### HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, our merchant marine fleet, often referred to as "Our Fourth Arm of Defense," has been reduced to a shadow of its former self, especially in terms of international prestige.

The following brochure, published by the Labor-Management Maritime Committee, sets forth our Nation's maritime plight and outlines the response we must make to avert the continuance of the downward trend.

The brochure follows:

#### THE U.S. MERCHANT MARINE—OUR FOURTH ARM OF DEFENSE

Self-preservation is the first law of nature. Likewise, national perpetuation is the first and most basic law of any nation. Its freedom, its security and its national defense are protected by its military strength. All major conflicts between nations involve the sea lanes of the world. The possession of adequate sea power is thus imperative. Every major seagoing military mission must be backed up by maritime transport capability. This is the role of the U.S. Merchant Marine. For this reason it is aptly termed "our fourth arm of defense."

Today, except for the liner fleet, the U.S. Merchant Marine has diminished to a shadow of its former self while the nation remains indifferent to its plight. The degree of this indifference is in direct proportion to the peril the nation faces by continued maritime neglect. This brochure sets forth our maritime plight and certain corrective measures to offset the peril to our seagoing capability which in turn adversely affects our national security.

#### THE RUSSIAN DRIVE TO THE SEA

The Russian bear is already manipulating its sea power like marionettes in the strategic sealanes of the world.

The Soviets have boasted that "The flag of the Soviet Navy now proudly flies over the oceans of the world. Sooner or later, the United States will have to understand that it no longer has mastery of the seas". Its rapidly expanding merchant marine gives great credence to this boast.

The USSR is the fastest growing maritime nation on earth. It now presses Japan for fifth place and will rapidly continue to move higher.

It doubled its merchant fleet tonnage in the period 1961-65.

It is expected to expand an added 50% by 1970 for a total of 14 million DWT. This will overtake and surpass the U.S.

The USSR has been adding in excess of 1,000,000 DWT per year to its merchant fleet. The United States has been adding only 170,000 DWT annually in recent years up through 1967.

Well over 80% of the Soviet merchant fleet is less than 10 years old. Conversely, more than 80% of the U.S. merchant fleet is over 20 years of age. This means four out of every

five Soviet merchant ships are *new*; four out of every five U.S. merchant ships are *old*.

A Senate Committee on Commerce Report (December 1967) points out that in "out-standing orders for dry cargo vessels, the Soviet Union is now leading all competitors" (28% of the world's dry cargo ships on order). In 1968 Russia had 456 merchant ships on order. The U.S. had only 51.

The United States, because of budget pri-vation and indifference to its national marit-time policy, constructs an average of only 8 to 10 merchant ships a year for the foreign commerce under the 1936 merchant marine act.

The Soviet Union thus drives to the sea in a massive effort to *dominate it*. The U.S., meanwhile, drives toward a maritime grave-yard with accelerating pace to *lose it*.

#### MARITIME GRAVEYARD

One segment of the merchant fleet does not have the mortuary tow attached to it—the liner fleet operating under subsidy con-tract. This segment remains strong and viable.

The Merchant Marine Act of 1936 (Sec-tion 101) declares "it is necessary for the national defense . . . that the United States shall have a merchant marine . . . capable of serving as a naval and military auxil-ary in time of war or national emergency."

To that end, liner ships, constructed under such act are built with modern defense ca-pability and with special defense features determined by the Navy.

To that end, subsidy contract lines have developed the RESPOND program to provide sealift capability to DOD on a short-of-war basis. This program commits all subsidy contract lines [and all others interested in the National Defense] to meet the needs of DOD in progressive steps up to and including full fleet utilization for the defense of the nation.

Both the Comptroller General and the De-partment of Defense have endorsed the RESPOND concept. It is similar to the highly successful CRAF program which commits the airlines to provide airlift capability to DOD.

It is now vigorously opposed by the owners of the "Rustic Relics"—the tottering GRAND-FATHER SHIPS of World War II.

These owners have sought to exclude new fast ships of the contract-supported lines from the defense of the nation by imposing special penalties on their use. They are at-tempting to secure a monopoly on the car-riage of all government cargo at high rates and guaranteed profit. Thus they hope to breathe a little more life in to the GRAND-FATHER SHIPS.

The Acting Maritime Administrator re-jected such preposterous attempts on Feb-ruary 28, 1968, when he refused to "impose a surcharge or penalty in the military char-ters of the newer ships."

His action sustains the concept that to perpetuate antiquated sea power is to risk the national security; that the desires of a small and decaying segment of the industry must not impair the national interest.

It is high time we strengthen our fourth arm of defense with an aggressive joint in-dustry-government effort toward maritime improvement.

While the Russian Bear grows massive in size, the U.S. has struggled through two decades of inept maritime action. In this year 1969, another MOUNTAIN of effort must not again BRING FORTH A MARITIME MOUSE.

#### SADDLING THE NATIONAL DEFENSE WITH MARITIME OBSCOLESCENCE

In a declared war of any major proportion, merchant ships to back up our military forces will not be the obsolete rust buckets of World War II.

They will be our new fast modern ships built chiefly by the contract-supported lines and other new ships yet to be constructed.

Both shipyard support and national de-fense features have been provided by Gov-ernment under the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 for just such a purpose. Neither re-ounds to the operators who are committing over \$2 billion in private funds for new ship construction.

The new ships are used substantially in supporting the Vietnam conflict, both on route and under direct charter.

However, Vietnam is a limited conflict, fought with Uncle Sam's hands partially tied behind his back. Such a military engage-ment does not justify the abandonment of all the nation's commercial sealanes to for-ign flag shipping.

Were this done, much of it would never be regained. Nevertheless, subsidy contract lines have responded with ships for both military and commercial purposes.

Operators of old World War II fleets at-tempt to deprecate these efforts while boast-ing of their own Vietnam participation.

Actually, Vietnam was a Godsend to them. Many of their ships are so non-competitive in commercial operation that military em-ployment, on a sizable scale, is a considerable bonanza. Since most unsubsidized ships are so old they can't qualify for commercial in-surance at reasonable rates, the carriage of self-insured government cargo solves many shipping problems for an ill-fated fleet faced with accelerating decay.

Their attacks upon the contract-supported lines is a classic example of inconsistency. On the one hand, they charge them with doing too little in military transport and in the second breath attack the RESPOND program for providing too much.

One group called AUL (American Unsub-sidized Lines) has been in the vanguard of this charge. Yet, as of December 31, 1967, the subsidy contract lines had approximately twice the AUL ships and twice their ton-nage on charter to the military—39 vs. 20 ships and 455,000 DWT vs. 231,000 DWT.

The dissident carriers eulogize the per-formance of "the unsubsidized ships and World War rust relics which had been taken out of mothballs", but minimize "the amount of Vietnam-bound cargo carried by the sub-sidized segment of the fleet".

On one hand, they view with alarm the great amount of military cargo carried by contract-supported lines such as "automobiles, household goods and personal effects" and "food, clothing and medical supplies destined for military installations around the globe", and, on the other hand, criticize it for not carrying more.

They decry what they call "low" partici-pation of subsidy contract lines in military transport, then complain because such lines are carrying too much of it worldwide.

They complain that the subsidy contract lines "were carrying only 17.1%" Vietnam military cargo (one isolated quarter of 1967) but object bitterly to the RESPOND program designed to transport more.

They decry their lack of modern ships to more effectively serve the armed forces but oppose increased participation by those who do possess them.

They have climbed upon a TEETER-TOT-TER without knowing which end to ride.

While they TEETER on one side, THEIR AGING FLEETS TOTTER WITH THEM on the other; albeit over an abyss of decay and obsolescence.

OUR DEFENSE MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO TOTTER WITH THEM TO DESTRUC-TION.

#### DEFENSE AND THE DUAL SUBSIDY KICK

Some dry cargo carriers will be virtually forced from the seas in a few years; not by the RESPOND program; not by subsidy con-tract lines; but by technical obsolescence, higher insurance rates, heavy maintenance costs, and non-competitive ships.

Perhaps in a final effort to maximize profits

before going wholly foreign, they now seek a corner on all military cargo. To achieve this they have gone on a DUAL SUBSIDY KICK from which neither the rulings of the Comptroller General nor the Acting Maritime Ad-ministrator have been able to extricate them.

U.S. Flag operators must build their ships in U.S. yards.

Shipyard subsidy, as its name implies, goes to U.S. shipyards to offset differentials in cost with foreign yards. Yet the dissident carriers demand it be reclaimed from those who never received it—the berth line carriers operating under the 1936 Merchant Marine Act. By this device they hope to disadvantage such lines and gain all Government transport business for their own aging fleets.

On February 28, 1968, the Acting Marit-time Administrator advised them that their war-built ships were "not under any disad-vantage vis-a-vis any other ship of com-parable age", pointing out that capital costs of ships were comparable whether built under construction subsidy or sold under the 1946 Ship Sales Act.

He then rejected their concept of repay-ment of construction differential subsidy, holding it "would introduce an element, not of equity but of inequity".

In a previous attempt, these carriers sought repayment of operating differential subsidy from subsidy contract lines where military or aid cargo is carried. On October 14, 1966, the Comptroller General ruled that such support was for maintaining regular services on the route—not for carrying Government cargo. He held that such costs were not af-fected by partial lot Government cargo carried *incidental to the service*.

Subsidy contract operation under the 1936 Merchant Marine Act imposes limitations and obligations conceived in the national interest for maximum customer service.

These limitations and obligations, while publicly beneficial, serve to depress profits and offset subsidy payments without refer-ence to partial lot military cargo carried in-cidental to service on the route. Such cargo is, therefore, not a factor in competitive rate making.

Ships chartered to the Government for full load carriage go off operating differential sub-sidy. Under such circumstance, dual subsidy simply cannot exist.

Those claiming that subsidy contract lines generally enjoy a high profit level due to mili-tary transport need only look at comparative rates of return on equity and long-term debt in both peace and war time operation.

#### Subsidy contract lines

Year:	Percent of return
1958	5.9
1959	3.2
1960	2.8
1961	2.8
1962	3.9
1963	3.9
1964	4.5
1965	3.3
1966	4.8
1967	2.3
1968	not yet available

The highest return was before the Vietnam war; the lowest in one of the heaviest war years.

Actually, the profit level of the subsidy contract lines ranks at the bottom of the 50 major U.S. industries.

An industry report [based on Maritime Administration data] shows the following comparisons for three representative years of return on "net worth and long-term debt" for subsidy contract and selected non-subsidy contract lines.

Year:	Percent
1964	4.6
1965	3.3
1966	5.4

Year:	Nonsubsidy contract lines	Percent
1964	-----	6.5
1965	-----	7.2
1966	-----	9.5

Actually, one of the largest non-subsidy contract lines showed a return on net worth alone of 61.1% in 1965; 39.9% in 1966 and 48.9% in 1967. Such lines have high profits because they concentrate on carrying full ship loads of government cargo in older fully depreciated ships.

Nevertheless such lines operating with complete freedom from the limitations and obligations of subsidy contracts, have built no new dry cargo ships specifically for the foreign commerce.

It seems clear that the "dual subsidy" kick is without foundation. Governmental review at the highest levels has rejected it. In spite of this fact, the dissident carriers continue to beat the drum and sing out like Johnny-one-note—a false song for a false cause.

#### THE RESPOND PROGRAM—WHAT IT IS

The U.S.-flag Merchant Marine plays three vital roles:

1. Contributes to the economic welfare of the U.S. by (a) improving the balance of payments; (b) providing jobs and opportunities for U.S. capital; and (c) facilitating our national position in world trade.
2. Affects significantly our diplomatic-political position in world affairs.
3. Supports national security by providing sealift to the Defense Establishment and military forces.

In a peacetime situation national defense needs are small. The U.S. Merchant Marine consequently may center attention on economic and commercial activities.

In a full wartime situation, economic and diplomatic needs are integrated with those of the national security. The U.S. Merchant Marine is correspondingly integrated with the military forces as a fourth arm of defense.

In emergency situations short of full war, the several roles of the U.S. Merchant Marine are subject to conflicting demands. Vital commercial operations may be curtailed to meet military demands. Careful judgments are necessary in allocating fleet usage to conflicting needs.

The RESPOND program is an instrumentality to solve these problems through scheduled availability of sealift.

RESPOND provides five stages of quantitative sealift between all out peace and all out war.

Appropriate Government agencies may invoke the various stages in accordance with emergency or security needs.

Sealift may be provided as follows:

1. Complete ship usage through charter to Government.
2. Pre-emption of any space by the military on regular trade route operation.
3. Solicitation of military cargo by ship operators.

Ship utilization under all three methods is available to Government "on a graduated fleet percentage basis."

Stages:	Availability	Percent of capacity
I	-----	20
II	-----	25
III	-----	33
IV	-----	50
V	-----	66
All out war	-----	100

Private merchant fleet utilization is progressively coordinated with expanded ship assignments from MSTs and the National Defense Reserve Fleet, thus committing all segments of U.S. merchant sea power.

"Respond" is a responsible and responsive plan to help meet both the commercial and military commitments of the United States.

The fast, new ships of the subsidy contract lines constructed under the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 represent our best arm of maritime support to the nation's naval and military forces. Old ships of World War II vintage weaken rather than strengthen this logistic maritime support. By 1972, virtually all will be over 25 years old.

Efforts to saddle our future defense with such relics of a bygone age are futile and ill-conceived. We need to strengthen both our commercial and military sea power in the interest of both progress and safety.

The nation needs to build up its sea power capability by adopting a new realistic ship-building program. Such a program should insure participation by all segments of our U.S. merchant marine. The Labor-Management Maritime Committee supports such objectives.

#### THE BLACK MANIFESTO

### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, last week, meeting on the campus of Notre Dame, the Protestant Episcopal Church voted \$200,000 to help in the economic development of Negro people. According to press accounts, the money would go to the National Committee of Black Churchmen with the unwritten understanding that the funds will be channeled directly to the National Black Economic Development Conference.

It will be remembered that the NBEDC met in Detroit, Mich., on April 25, 1969, and, among other things, approved the Black Manifesto which was read to the conference by James Forman, director of International Affairs of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. The conference was sponsored by the Inter-religious Foundation for Community Organization of New York City, a foundation established several years ago which has as charter members a number of large religious denominations here in the United States.

As many churchmen now know, the Black Manifesto demanded of the "White Christian Churches and the Jewish Synagogues in the United States of America and all other racist institutions" a sum of \$500 million as reparation for the wrongs done to the Negro people in the past. The demands were later increased to \$3 billion.

In all probability, not too many churchgoers have had an opportunity to read the full text of the Black Manifesto and the prefacing remarks made by James Forman at the conference. A recent Gallup poll found that even among Negroes, only 21 percent actively favor his demand for "reparations," and speakers at the recent NAACP convention denounced his approach.

Part 19 of the hearings, "Riots, Civil and Criminal Disorders," by Senator McCLELLAN's Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, carries both the opening remarks and the manifesto as it was delivered by James Forman in April. For those members of the various churches who might contemplate contributing to

the NBEDC or IFCO, they would be well advised to read the Black Manifesto before deciding. To provide wider dissemination of this document, I insert it in the RECORD at this point:

#### BLACK MANIFESTO

(Presentation by James Forman, delivered and adopted by the National Black Economic Development Conference in Detroit, Michigan on April 26, 1969)

INTRODUCTION—TOTAL CONTROL AS THE ONLY SOLUTION TO THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF BLACK PEOPLE

Brothers and Sisters: We have come from all over the country, burning with anger and despair not only with the miserable economic plight of our people, but fully aware that the racism on which the Western World was built dominates our lives. There can be no separation of the problems of racism from the problems of our economic, political, and cultural degradations. To any black man, this is clear.

But there are still some of our people who are clinging to the rhetoric of the Negro and we must separate ourselves from those Negroes who go around the country promoting all types of schemes for Black Capitalism.

Ironically, some of the most militant Black nationalists, as they call themselves, have been the first to jump on the bandwagon of black capitalism. They are pimps: Black Power Pimps and fraudulent leaders and the people must be educated to understand that any black man or Negro who is advocating a perpetuation of capitalism inside the United States is in fact seeking not only his ultimate destruction and death, but is contributing to the continuous exploitation of black people all around the world. For it is the power of the United States Government, this racist, imperialist government that is choking the life of all people around the world.

We are an African people. We sit back and watch the Jews in this country make Israel a powerful conservative state in the Middle East, but we are not concerned actively about the plight of our brothers in Africa. We are the most advanced technological group of black people in the world, and there are many skills that could be offered to Africa. At the same time, it must be publicly stated that many African leaders are in disarray themselves, having been duped into following the lines as laid out by the Western Imperialist governments.

Africans themselves succumbed to and are victims of the power of the United States. For instance, during the summer of 1967, as the representatives of SNCC, Howard Moore and I traveled extensively in Tanzania and Zambia. We talked to high, very high, government officials. We told them there were many black people in the United States who were willing to come and work in Africa. All these government officials who were part of the leadership in their respective governments, said they wanted us to send as many skilled people that we could contact. But this program never came into fruition and we do not know the exact reason, for I assure you that we talked and were committed to making this a successful program. It is our guess that the United States put the squeeze on these countries, for such a program directed by SNCC would have been too dangerous to the international prestige of the U.S. It is also possible that some of the wild statements by some black leaders frightened the Africans.

In Africa today, there is a great suspicion of black people in this country. This is a correct suspicion since most of the Negroes who have left the States for work in Africa usually work for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) or the State Department. But the respect for us as a people continues to mount

and the day will come when we can return to our homeland as brothers and sisters. But we should not think of going back to Africa today, for we are located in a strategic position. We live inside the U.S. which is the most barbaric country in the world and we have a chance to help bring this government down.

Time is short and we do not have much time and it is time we stop minding words. Caution is fine, but no oppressed people ever gained their liberation until they were ready to fight, to use whatever means necessary, including the use of force and power of the gun to bring down the colonizer.

We have heard the rhetoric, but we have not heard the rhetoric which says that black people in this country must understand that we are the Vanguard Force. We shall liberate all the people in the U.S. and we will be instrumental in the liberation of colored people the world around. We must understand this point very clearly so that we are not trapped into diversionary and reactionary movements. Any class analysis of the U.S. shows very clearly that black people are the most oppressed group of people inside the United States. We have suffered the most from racism and exploitation, cultural degradation and lack of political power. It follows from the laws of revolution that the most oppressed will make the revolution, but we are not talking about just making the revolution. All the parties on the left who consider themselves revolutionary will say that blacks are the Vanguard, but we are saying that not only are we the Vanguard, but we must assume leadership, total control and we must exercise the humanity which is inherent in us. We are the most humane people within the U.S. We have suffered and we understand suffering. Our hearts go out to the Vietnamese for we know what it is to suffer under the domination of racist America. Our hearts, our souls and all the compassion we can mount goes out to our brothers in Africa, Santa Domingo, Latin America and Asia who are being tricked by the power structure of the U.S. which is dominating the world today. These ruthless barbaric men have systematically tried to kill all people and organizations opposed to its imperialism. We no longer can just get by with the use of the word capitalism to describe the U.S., for it is an imperial power, sending money, missionaries and the army throughout the world to protect this government and the few rich whites who control it. General Motors and all the major auto industries are operating in South Africa, yet the white dominated leadership of the United Auto Workers sees no relationship to the exploitation of black people in South Africa and the exploitation of black people in the U.S. If they understand it, they certainly do not put it into practice which is the actual test. We as black people must be concerned with the total conditions of all black people in the world.

"... no oppressed people have 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. JAMES FORMAN.

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 people and placed into the hands of the state for the welfare of all the people. This is what we mean when we say total control. And we mean that black people who have suffered the most from exploitation and racism must move to protect their black interest by assuming leadership inside of the United States of everything that exists. The time has passed when we are second in command and the white boy stands on top. This is especially true of the Welfare Agencies in this country,

but it is not enough to say that a black man is on top. He must be committed to building the new society, to taking the wealth away from the rich people such as General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, the DuPonts, the Rockefellers, the Mellons, and all the other rich white exploiters and racists who run this world.

Where do we begin? We have already started. We started the moment we were brought to this country. In fact, we started on the shores of Africa, for we have always resisted attempts to make us slaves and now we must resist the attempts to make us capitalists. It is in the financial interest of the U.S. to make us capitalists, for this will be the same line as that of integration into the main-stream of American life. Therefore, brothers and sisters, there is no need to fall into the trap that we have to get an ideology. We HAVE an ideology. Our right is against racism, capitalism and imperialism and we are dedicated to building a socialist society inside the United States where the total means of production and distribution are in the hands of the State and that must be led by black people, by revolutionary blacks who are concerned about the total humanity of this world. And, therefore, we obviously are different from some of those who seek a black nation in the United States, for there is no way for that nation to be viable, if in fact the United States remains in the hands of white racists. Then too, let us deal with some arguments that we should share power with whites. We say that there must be a revolutionary black Vanguard and that white people in this country must be willing to accept black leadership, for that is the only protection that black people have to protect ourselves from racism rising again in this country.

Racism in the U.S. is so pervasive in the mentality of whites that only an armed, well-disciplined, black-controlled government can insure the stamping out of racism in this country. And that is why we plead with black people not to be talking about a few crumbs, a few thousand dollars for this cooperative, a thousand dollars which splits black people into fighting over the dollar. That is the intention of the government. We say... think in terms of total control of the U.S. Prepare ourselves to seize state power. Do not hedge, for time is short and all around the world, the forces of liberation are directing their attacks against the U.S. It is a powerful country, but that power is not greater than that of black people. We work the chief industries in this country and we could cripple the economy while the brothers fought guerrilla warfare in the streets. This will take some long range planning, but whether it happens in a thousand years is of no consequence. It cannot happen unless we start. How then is all of this related to this conference?

First of all, this conference is called by a set of religious people, Christians who have been involved in the exploitation and rape of black people since the country was founded. The missionary goes hand in hand with the power of the states. We must begin seizing power wherever we are and we must say to the planners of this conference that you are no longer in charge. We the people who have assembled here thank you for getting us here, but we are going to assume power over the conference and determine from this moment on the direction in which we want it to go. We are not saying that the conference was planned badly. The staff of the conference has worked hard and have done a magnificent job in bringing all of us together and we must include them in the new leadership which must surface from this point on. The Conference is now the property of the people who are assembled here. This we proclaim as fact and not rhetoric and there are demands that we are going to make

and we insist that the planners of this conference help us implement them.

We maintain we have the revolutionary right to do this. We have the same rights, if you will, as the Christians had in going into Africa and raping our Motherland and bringing us away from our continent of peace and into this hostile and alien environment where we have been living in perpetual warfare since 1619.

Our seizure of power at this conference is based on a program and our program is contained in the following Manifesto:

We the black people assembled in Detroit, Michigan for the National Black Economic Development Conference are fully aware that we have been forced to come together because racist white America has exploited our resources, our minds, our bodies, our labor. For centuries we have been forced to live as colonized people inside the United States, victimized by the most vicious, racist system in the world. We have helped to build the most industrial country in the world.

We are therefore demanding of the white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues which are part and parcel of the system of capitalism, that they begin to pay reparations to black people in this country. We are demanding \$500,000,000 from the Christian white churches and the Jewish synagogues. This total comes to 15 dollars per nigger. This is a low estimate for we maintain there are probably more than 30,000,000 black people in this country. \$15 a nigger is not a large sum of money and we know that the churches and synagogues have a tremendous wealth and its membership, white America, has profited and still exploits black people. We are also not unaware that the exploitation of colored peoples around the world is aided and abetted by the white Christian churches and synagogues. This demand for \$500,000,000 is not an idle resolution or empty words. Fifteen dollars for every black brother and sister in the United States is only a beginning of the reparations due us as people who have been exploited and degraded, brutalized, killed and persecuted. Underneath all of this exploitation, the racism of this country has produced a psychological effect upon us that we're beginning to shake off. We are no longer afraid to demand our full rights as a people in this decadent society.

We are demanding \$500,000,000 to be spent in the following way:

(1) We call for the establishment of a Southern land bank to help our brothers and sisters who have to leave their land because of racist pressure for people who want to establish cooperative farms, but who have no funds. We have seen too many farmers evicted from their homes because they have dared to defy the white racism of this country. We need money for land. We must fight for massive sums of money for this Southern Land Bank. We call for \$200,000,000 to implement this program.

(2) We call for the establishment of four major publishing and printing industries in the United States to be funded with ten million dollars each. These publishing houses are to be located in Detroit, Atlanta, Los Angeles, and New York. They will help to generate capital for further cooperative investments in the black community, provide jobs and an alternative to the white-dominated and controlled printing field.

(3) We call for the establishment of four of the most advanced scientific and futuristic audio-visual network to be located in Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland and Washington, D.C. These TV networks will provide an alternative to the racist propaganda that fills the current television networks. Each of these TV networks will be funded by ten million dollars each.

(4) We call for a research skills center which will provide research on the problems

of black people. This center must be funded with no less than 30 million dollars.

(5) We call for the establishment of a training center for the teaching of skills in community organization, photography, movie making, television making and repair, radio building and repair and all other skills needed in communication. This training center shall be funded with no less than ten million dollars.

(6) We recognize the role of the National Welfare Rights Organization and we intend to work with them. We call for ten million dollars to assist in the organization of welfare recipients. We want to organize the welfare workers in this country so that they may demand more money from the government and better administration of the welfare system of this country.

(7) We call for \$20,000,000 to establish a National Black Labor Strike and Defense Fund. This is necessary for the protection of black workers and their families who are fighting racist working conditions in this country.

(8) We call for the establishment of the International Black Appeal (IBA). This International Black Appeal will be funded with no less than \$20,000,000. The IBA is charged with producing more capital for the establishment of cooperative businesses in the United States and in Africa, our Motherland. The International Black Appeal is one of the most important demands that we are making for we know that it can generate and raise funds throughout the United States and help our African brothers. The IBA is charged with three functions and shall be headed by James Forman:

(a) Raising money for the program of the National Black Economic Development Conference.

(b) The development of cooperatives in African countries and support of African Liberation movements.

(c) Establishment of a Black Anti-Defamation League which will protect our African image.

(9) We call for the establishment of a Black University to be funded with \$130,000,000 to be located in the South. Negotiations are presently under way with a Southern University.

(10) We demand that IFCO allocate all unused funds in the planning budget to implement the demands of this conference.

In order to win our demands we are aware that we will have to have massive support, therefore:

(1) We call upon all black people throughout the United States to consider themselves as members of the National Black Economic Development Conference and to act in unity to help force the racist white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues to implement these demands.

(2) We call upon all the concerned black people across the country to contact black workers, black women, black students and the black unemployed, community groups, welfare organizations, teachers organizations, church leaders and organizations explaining how these demands are vital to the black community of the U.S. \*(Revised and approved by Steering Committee) of the racist white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues. All black people should act boldly in confronting our white oppressors and demanding this modest reparation of \$15 per black man.

(3) Delegates and members of the National Black Economic Development Conference are urged to call press conferences in the cities and to attempt to get as many black organizations as possible to support the demands of the conference. The quick use of the press in the local areas will heighten the tension and these demands must be attempted to be won in a short period of time, although we are prepared for protracted and long range struggle.

(4) We call for the total disruption of selected church sponsored agencies operating anywhere in the U.S. and the world. Black workers, black women, black students and the black unemployed are encouraged to seize the offices, telephones, and printing apparatus of all church sponsored agencies and to hold these in trusteeship until our demands are met.

(5) We call upon all delegates and members of the National Black Economic Development Conference to stage sit-in demonstrations at selected black and white churches. This is not to be interpreted as a continuation of the sit-in movement of the early sixties but we know that active confrontation inside white churches is possible and will strengthen the possibility of meeting our demands. Such confrontation can take the form of reading the Black Manifesto instead of a sermon or passing it out to church members. The principles of self-defense should be applied if attacked.

(6) On May 4, 1969 or a date thereafter, depending upon local conditions, we call upon black people to commence the disruption of the racist churches and synagogues throughout the United States.

(7) We call upon IFCO to serve as a central staff to coordinate the mandate of the conference and to reproduce and distribute en masse literature, leaflets, news items, press releases and other material.

(8) We call upon all delegates to find within the white community those forces which will work under the leadership of blacks to implement these demands by whatever means necessary. By taking such actions, white Americans will demonstrate concretely that they are willing to fight the white skin privilege and the white supremacy and racism which has forced us as black people to make these demands.

(9) We call upon all white Christians and Jews to practice patience, tolerance and understanding and nonviolence; as they have encouraged, advised and demanded that we as black people should do throughout our entire enforced slavery in the United States. The true test of their faith and belief in the Cross and the words of the prophets will certainly be put to a test as we seek legitimate and extremely modest reparations for our role in developing the industrial base of the Western world through our slave labor. But we are no longer slaves, we are men and women, proud of our African heritage, demanding to have our dignity.

(10) We are so proud of our African heritage and realize concretely that our struggle is not only to make revolution in the United States, but to protect our brothers and sisters in Africa and to help them rid themselves of racism, capitalism, and imperialism by whatever means necessary, including armed struggle. We are and must be willing to fight the defamation of our African image wherever it rears its ugly head. We are therefore charging the Steering Committee to create a Black Anti-Defamation League to be funded by money raised from the International Black Appeal.

(11) We fully recognize that revolution in the United States and Africa, our Motherland, is more than a one dimensional operation. It will require the total integration of the political, economic, and military components and therefore, we call upon all our brothers and sisters who have acquired training and expertise in the fields of engineering, electronics, research, community organizations, physics, biology, chemistry, mathematics, medicine, military science and warfare to assist the National Black Economic Development Conference in the implementation of its program.

(12) To implement these demands we must have a fearless leadership. We must have a leadership which is willing to battle the church establishment to implement these demands. To win our demands we will

have to declare war on the white Christian churches and synagogues and this means we may have to fight the total government structure of this country. Let no one here think that these demands will be met by our mere stating them. For the sake of the churches and synagogues, we hope that they have the wisdom to understand that these demands are modest and reasonable. But if the white Christians and Jews are not willing to meet our demands through peace and good will, then we declare war and we are prepared to fight by whatever means necessary. We are, therefore, proposing the election of the following Steering Committee:

Lucious Walker, Renny Freeman, Luke Tripp, Howard Fuller, James Forman, John Watson, Dan Aldridge, John Williams, Ken Cockrel, Chuck Wooten, Fannie Lou Hamer, Julian Bond, Mark Comfort, Earl Allen, Robert Brown, Vincent Harding, Mike Hamlin, Len Holt, Peter Bernard, Michael Wright, Muhammed Kenyatta, Mel Jackson, Howard Monroe, Harold Holmes.

Brothers and sisters, we no longer are shuffling our feet and scratching our heads. We are tall, black and proud.

And we say to the white Christian churches and Jewish synagogues, to the government of this country and to all the white racist imperialists who compose it, there is only one thing left that you can do to further degrade black people and that is to kill us. But we have been dying too long for this country. We have died in every war. We are dying in Vietnam today fighting the wrong enemy.

The new black man wants to live and to live means that we must not become static or merely believe in self-defense. We must boldly go out and attack the white Western world at its power centers. The white Christian churches are another form of government in this country and are used by the government of this country to exploit the people of Latin America, Asia and Africa, but the day is soon coming to an end. Therefore, brothers and sisters, the demands we make upon the white Christian churches and the Jewish synagogues are small demands. They represent 15 dollars per black person in these United States. We can legitimately demand this from the church power structure. We must demand more from the United States Government.

But to win our demands from the church which is linked up with the United States Government, we must not forget that it will ultimately be by force and power that we will win.

We are not threatening the churches. We are saying that we know the churches came with the military might of the colonizers and have been sustained by the military might of the colonizers. Hence, if the churches in colonial territories were established by military might, we know deep within our hearts that we must be prepared to use force to get our demands. We are not saying that this is the road we want to take. It is not, but let us be very clear that we are not opposed to force and we are not opposed to violence. We were captured in Africa by violence. We were kept in bondage and political servitude and forced to work as slaves by the military machinery and the Christian church working hand in hand.

We recognize that in issuing this manifesto we must prepare for a long range educational campaign in all communities of this country, but we know that the Christian churches have contributed to our oppression in white America. We do not intend to abuse our black brothers and sisters in black churches who have uncritically accepted Christianity. We want them to understand how the racist white Christian Church with its hypocritical declarations and doctrines of brotherhood has abused our trust and faith. An attack on the religious beliefs of black people is not our major ob-

jective, even though we know that we were not Christians when we were brought to this country, but that Christianity was used to help enslave us. Our objective in issuing this Manifesto is to force the racist white Christian Church to begin the payment of reparations which are due to all black people, not only by the Church but also by private business and the U.S. government. We see this focus on the Christian Church as an effort around which all black people can unite.

Our demands are negotiable, but they cannot be minimized, they can only be increased and the Church is asked to come up with larger sums of money than we are asking. Our slogans are:

- "All roads must lead to revolution.
- "Unite with whomever you can unite.
- "Neutralize wherever possible.
- "Fight our enemies relentlessly.
- "Victory to the people.
- "Life and good health to mankind.
- "Resistance to domination by the white Christian Churches and the Jewish Synagogues.
- "Revolution black power.
- "We shall win without a doubt."

### THE DIPLOMA—WHAT IS IT REALLY WORTH?

#### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently, the editorial pages of the Philadelphia Inquirer carried an excellent article by Mr. David Hapgood concerning the over-emphasis we place on a college diploma in our society.

Not unlike the publish or perish syndrome under which university professors are placed whereby they are promoted by the number of articles they publish instead of the quality, or whether they have teaching ability, our students too are placed under a similar syndrome where emphasis is placed on a college degree and not whether or not they have a marketable skill.

Since education is the greatest growth industry in America, Mr. Hapgood quite properly points out the fallacies in our educational system. When more and more college graduates come into the market, the college diploma will start losing its value and there will be a demand for an even "higher" diploma.

Mr. Hapgood presents some provocative arguments concerning diplomaism, and I recommend this timely and excellent article to my colleagues.

Mr. Speaker, the article follows:

#### THE DIPLOMA—WHAT IS IT REALLY WORTH? (By David Hapgood)

"Education is the greatest growth industry in America," proclaimed Dr. Grayson Kirk, the Lyndon B. Johnson of Columbia University, not long before the children of that growth drove him into exile. Neither the rebels nor Kirk connected the cause of the growth rate with the students' dissatisfaction. Both are the result of diplomaism.

Because diploma requirements are being attached to virtually every well-paid job, more and more students must attend universities that offer less and less in return for their time and tuition. Yet, ironically, no one in the campus turmoil advocates the abolition of the diploma.

In the genuinely democratic society, jobs and promotions would be awarded strictly on the basis of performance. But in the United States, the disease of judging people by paper credentials has been spreading rapidly and few occupations are still exempt.

Sports and the arts are virtually the only pursuits in which performance is the exclusive test of merit. Of all the paper credentials now on the market, the bachelor's degree is the one with the least meaning and the most power. It has become the almost indispensable passport to good jobs and to the advanced degrees that offer better ones.

#### IMMENSE POWER

The industry we call education is the greatest beneficiary of diplomaism. It is the most avid practitioner of diplomaism; in no field of endeavor, with the possible exception of the health industry, does reward have as little connection with performance as in education. The industry has acquired immense power as the agency that sorts out those who will be discarded.

"We operate the sluice gates of this society," a Columbia professor observed as he gazed down from his office at the now-silent battlefield before Low Library.

Education now spends \$58 billion a year, second only to the military and coming up fast. (Some defense contractors like Raytheon and Litton have been buying into the school business as a hedge against the danger of peace).

Measured in time, the power of education is still more impressive. More than 60 million Americans are engaged full time in the industry; 57 million as students, three million as teachers and administrators. It may well be that the time devoted to school is growing faster than our life expectancy.

#### MORE YEARS?

The years in school are bound to increase, for the diploma system contains built-in forces for escalation that have nothing to do with learning. Sorting people out by diploma for their eventual employers works only as long as graduates are scarce. Once there is an ample supply of graduates, the diploma loses its value, and the system must escalate by requiring a "higher" diploma.

This escalation has already deprived the high school diploma of most of its monetary value as a job credential. Now the cry is college-for-everyone (a goal quite different from assuring equal access regardless of race or income in a non-diploma system, where one would be free to compete for jobs without the college credential). State and community colleges are sprouting like pizza stands. Graduate schools are booming and the end is not in sight. When the cornerstone of New York's University's new library was laid not long ago, President James Hester entombed in its concrete a prophecy that "advanced degrees beyond the Ph. D." are on the way.

#### "MUST" FOR TEACHERS

Diplomaism is supreme within the industry itself. Teaching ability is not a criterion for being hired to teach in a university or a school. At the university, the diploma you need is the Ph. D., a degree that proves little beyond your tolerance for boredom.

In the primary and secondary schools, you need a diploma from a school of education and you must have taken a list of prescribed courses. Again, whether you can teach remains an unanswered question. Anecdotes about diplomaism in the schools abound. A former Peace Corps volunteer in Latin America who is rated "extremely fluent" in Spanish cannot teach the language in Washington, D.C., because she did not take 20 credit hours in Spanish in college. Another girl, who majored in literature at Smith, taught for two years in Liberia, and had a master's degree from Columbia Teachers College, was turned down by Washington as an English

teacher because she had not taken three courses in education methods.

Similarly, promotion in the industry is by credential, not ability. The university system actively discourages good teaching, while the schools are simply indifferent to proven talent.

The professor is promoted according to the number (not the quality) of his publications; if he devotes his time and energy to being a good teacher, his career chances are hurt. In most school systems, the only way a teacher can be promoted is by going back to the industry for graduate credits. With one kind of credit, he can get on a higher salary scale; with another, he can become an administrator at double or triple the salary, and escape teaching entirely.

On the rare occasions when diplomaism in education is challenged, forces in the industry mobilize like white blood cells to meet the threat.

#### POPULAR ATTITUDE

If the diploma system stands in the way of giving credit to human achievement, and if it sentences us to ever more years of passive boredom and frustration, then why not abolish the diploma?

The question is hardly ever raised, even among those most critical of the education industry. They believe in reforming the industry, but not in breaking its monopoly of access to the job market. Skeptics mock the diploma but do not challenge the system that produces it. The popular attitude is that school means learning and that learning is measured by the diploma. Let us then briefly examine the arguments commonly offered for the diploma system.

Our technological economy needs a growing number of people with advanced education, or: you have to get a degree to get a good job. The second half of the statement is unanswerable, but it does not prove the accuracy of the first part.

Of course many jobs do involve highly specialized skills. But that does not mean that the rigid diploma system—four years of college, followed by three or four years of professional school before you go to work—is the only or even the best way to produce people with those skills.

The common assumption is that employers have sound economic motives when they require a college diploma. That assumption needs to be revised as a result, mainly, of the landmark work of Ivar Berg of Columbia University.

#### EQUAL PERFORMANCE

Berg found that graduates and non-graduates doing the same jobs performed about equally well. In no case could any significant difference in productivity be attributed to education.

Two other students, Jaffe and Froomkin in "Technology and Jobs," found that "there is little, if any, relationship between changes in educational level and changes in output per worker." But Berg also discovered that the employers did not care about such comparisons. Most employers, even those who devoted considerable attention and money to personnel programs, made no effort to find out whether their diploma requirements made any sense.

Sometimes, indeed, their policies flew in the face of facts of which they were aware, as in six big manufacturing firms where "men with master's degrees who were designated by management as among the 20 percent of their scientists who were 'relatively most valuable in terms of present performance and potential' were paid an average salary which was \$1000 less than paid to Ph.D.s who were reportedly less valuable."

The belief that changes in employers' tastes, not changes in the nature of the work itself, are responsible for the diploma race is supported by a study of the 1960 census by John K. Folger and Charles B.

Nam, "Education of the American Population." In surveying the decade from 1950 to 1960, a time of escalating diploma requirements, Folger and Nam concluded that only 15 percent of the increased demand for diplomas could be accounted for by changes in the nature of work. The other 85 percent, they found, was the result of added diploma requirements for the same jobs.

#### OPEN QUESTION

They suggest that "the growth of educational attainment in America is not so much the result of the demands of the economy as it is the belief that education is good in itself, and that educational opportunity is part of everyone's expectations." (Note the usual failure to distinguish between education as learning and education as going to school.)

Whether automation and computerization increase the demand for educated people is still an open question. What is already clear, from the spreading downwards on the skill ladder of diploma requirements, is that the nation is producing an oversupply of college graduates. Economist Seymour Harris predicted that in 1949; he was hooted at then, but time is proving him right.

This new insight into how people are hired raised a question of exceptional theoretical importance, for it challenges a basic assumption about our system. Students of the capitalist order assume that business firms actions are motivated by the desire to maximize profits. Individual exceptions exist, and employers can make mistakes, but when a phenomenon is as general as the employers' preference for diploma-holders, the classical theory tells us that their preference must make economic sense.

To illustrate how this works in practice, I was told recently about an economist who is setting out to study "why" more educated employees are more productive.

When I asked why he did not begin by finding out "whether" they were in fact more productive, I was informed that this could be assumed from the fact that they were paid more. "Whether" was out of bounds as a question because it had supposedly already been answered in the marketplace.

#### HOLES IN ARGUMENT

At this point, believers in diplomas-for-jobs take a step backward and reply: all right, most education has no direct vocational value, but our economy needs people who have something called "general educational development." That term, coined in the United States Employment Service, means basic reading and arithmetic and a capacity for abstract reasoning. They then go on to scale "GED" to diplomas. The more time you have served in the institutions, the higher you rate on the GED scale. Then, having as usual assumed what they set out to prove, they tell us the economy benefits if we put in more years in school.

More hole than cheese is visible in that argument, when it goes beyond the commonplace that the nation has fewer jobs for people who cannot read and count. At most, a diploma for an elite university like Harvard suggests an intellectual ability needed for some pursuits—but the diploma requirement tends to rule out other ways of developing and measuring that ability. School is, in any event, an extraordinarily inefficient way to acquire what the job market supposedly wants.

James Coleman, of "The Coleman Report," estimates that high school students are mentally alert for an average of 10 minutes of the school day, and James B. Conant holds that high school—the point applies to college as well—is geared only to the 15 percent of students who are academically inclined.

And hardly anyone except Paul Goodman, that least orthodox of critics, points out that the greatest social need of this troubled country is for people with humane skills, skills which are discouraged in school. It may be

that no institution contained in four walls is a good place to learn those skills.

#### "IT'S FOR CULTURE"

Now the believer, if he hasn't already abandoned us, will retreat to higher and foggier ground: school isn't for jobs—it's for culture. You go to school to learn civic virtue—good marks in citizenship. You soak up the values of our civilization—especially good old deferred gratification, that marvelous excuse for incompetence. If the first grader will only sit still for another 20 years, he'll discover why he's there. You also go to acquire an appetite for Western culture.

Reason can scarcely be brought to bear on such misty sentiments.

What remains is what the believer is reluctant to say: school is the place where the young are taught—programmed, in the current idiom—to behave the way adults want them to behave. The diploma proves you have conformed enough to be turned loose in adult society. The historic function of education has always been first to housebreak the young, with learning useful skills as a distant second. At most times in most places schooling has been in the hands of religious leaders, who were telling everyone how to behave. The main difference is that other cultures complete cultural indoctrination in a much shorter time than it takes in America.

The escalating demand for diplomas in the marketplace has made of education a huge, sluggish beast, as alert and competitive as a grass-eating dinosaur.

It need not pursue its food; the grass grows ever thicker in that warm swamp.

The school of education may be the worst way to prepare teachers—except, of course, for the way college teachers are produced—but it alone gives the diploma, and the enrollments keep rising.

#### BACKLASH FACTOR

The growing number of years of dependence imposed on youth as the price of the diploma is helping produce today's backlash.

Hardly anyone is proposing a revolution against the tyranny of the diploma. Paul Goodman, a lonely prophet, stalks the land, calling down anathema on the schoolmen, preaching less institutionalization and more freedom to learn. But about all the response Goodman gets is "puzzled looks."

The world that Goodman and a few others see in their dreams could be made reality by the abolition of most diplomas beginning with the bachelor's degree.

If degrees were deprived of their market value, then the schools that issue them would have to produce something in return for the time and money their clients now spend just for the diploma. A free market would prevail, and schools would have to compete with other ways of learning. Some people would choose to learn on their own, or by apprenticeship. Some would work for a while, then, having decided there was a branch of knowledge they need or want, would shop around for courses that could provide it.

It is this freedom to shop around that is the key. The life preserver of the incompetent teacher and the irrelevant course is the degree requirement—you have to take 120 points even if after 30 or 60 or 90 you've run out of good, well-taught courses.

#### FEW OPPONENTS

The diploma is a no more legitimate reason to say in school than that other great stimulant of the education boom, the student draft deferment.

Low students now sit through three years of law school hearing their professors say the law school isn't for learning the law (the law can always be "looked up") but for developing abilities to analyze and define issues, to organize facts, to present persuasive oral and written argument. Since some men possess these skills the day they enter law school, and others lack them when they leave,

there is a lot of waste in the three years—and in the \$11,700, according to the latest Yale figures, required to buy a law degree. There is no reason why these skills could not be appraised during a period of apprenticeship to a practicing lawyer.

The transition to such a world would of course be painful.

Denuded of the academic figleaf, we would all have to examine ourselves—and be examined by others. Personnel departments would have to learn how to examine their applicants' abilities instead of counting their diplomas. Educational institutions, especially the colleges, would truly be up against the wall. Hundreds of them would go out of business, and doubtless it would be necessary to provide insurance for unemployed professors and deans.

But the result would be a freer society, one much closer to the set of ideas we call the American Dream.

Such a revolution is not even on the horizon today. Only a small group of people are combating diplomatism. The trend is still in the opposite direction. In the absence of alternatives, the diploma is supreme. The price of not conforming is too high for any but a few wild men to pay. So the diploma mills grind on, and they grind exceeding bland.

### REQUEST THE RETIREMENT AND RESIGNATION OF HON. WILLIAM B. CAMP, COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY

#### HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, with leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a letter from a former Member, James H. Morrison, to me, a copy of his letter to President Richard M. Nixon, and a copy of a lawsuit that was filed here in Washington, D.C.:

WASHINGTON, D.C.,

September 10, 1969.

Congressman ARNOLD OLSEN,  
Member of House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, Washington, D.C.

DEAR ARNOLD: I am enclosing a copy of a letter, together with a copy of a lawsuit that I have sent to President Richard M. Nixon, which is self-explanatory.

Having served on the Committee of the House Post Office and Civil Service with you for many years and knowing of your dedicated interest in federal employees, and what is required of them, particularly those appointed to a delicate and sensitive position, such as the Comptroller of the Currency, I would appreciate it, if you would place these enclosures in the Appendix of the Congressional Record.

Thanking you in advance and with best wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

JAMES H. MORRISON.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

September 9, 1969.

RICHARD M. NIXON,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: During the 24 years in which I served in Congress (1943 to 1967), I often defended the actions of various government employees and appointees.

Recently, however, I was approached by a very reputable and successful business man from Toledo, Ohio, who narrated to me a most amazing story thoroughly documented by written evidence clearly showing the rep-

reprehensive villification and utterly false persecution of this man by the holder of a very high office within our government. The story related points to a totally unwarranted personal attack by the present Comptroller of the Currency, William B. Camp, in which he used the powers of his high office for personal sadistic satisfaction.

The present Comptroller, William B. Camp, personally called or corresponded with various officials of national banks throughout the United States, directing them to refuse loans to certain named individuals without regard to the purpose of said loans or the abundance of securities and other collateral offered to support these loans.

After having listened intently to the narrative, examined the documentation, and questioned the narrator, I have undertaken the representation of this outstanding and yet persecuted businessman, Mr. Thomas Donofrio. Mr. Donofrio has been subjected to, and is on the verge of utter business failure occasioned solely by the villification wrought on him by Mr. Camp in personally conveying to numerous bank officials Mr. Camp's unfounded opinion that Mr. Donofrio is a member of the Mafia or Cosa Nostra.

Availing myself of every resource at my disposal, I am unequivocally convinced that there is no truth whatsoever to Mr. Camp's allegations, and that acting outside of the scope of his authority as Comptroller of the Currency, while using the prestige of this high government office, he has for purely personal motives set out to ruin, not only Mr. Thomas Donofrio, but a number of other outstanding business leaders throughout the United States, such as Mr. Frank C. Anderson of New Orleans, Louisiana, a highly respected individual, whose father founded the well known cotton firm of Anderson-Clayton Company and Mr. Robert L. Moody, of Galveston, Texas, also a highly respected business man, whose father founded one of the country's largest insurance companies, namely, American National Insurance Company, as well as a large hotel chain operated in many cities throughout the United States.

During my 24 years as a member of Congress, many of those as chairman of the Subcommittee on Civil Service of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, I have on numerous occasions defended the actions of a large number of employees of our government from the very top to the very bottom and did, during that time, praise the integrity of government employees generally.

In a continuing effort to support the high caliber and honesty of the vast majority of those men serving our government, I felt compelled to advise you of the heinous and despicable actions of Mr. William B. Camp, and earnestly request of you that you review the attached petition, which I have filed in the United States District Court for The District of Columbia, naming Mr. Camp as defendant in that action.

I sincerely hope that after you have reviewed the attached petition, that you will, in the interest of proper governmental personnel, request the resignation of Mr. Camp, who with 34 years of service, can retire on a substantial annuity.

Sincerely,

JAMES H. MORRISON.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—CIVIL DIVISION

Thomas F. Donofrio, 3970 West Bancroft Street, Toledo, Ohio, against William B. Camp, U.S. Treasury Building, 15th and Pennsylvania Avenues, N.W., Washington, D.C. Civil action No. 252169, filed Sept. 9, 1969.

COMPLAINT SUIT FOR DAMAGES-LIBEL-SLANDER

The claim for relief on behalf of Plaintiff Thomas F. Donofrio against the Defendant, William B. Camp is for a sum in

excess of (\$10,000) Ten Thousand Dollars and is within the jurisdiction of this Honorable Court, and suit in this court, is based on diversity of citizenship.

The petition of Thomas F. Donofrio, a resident of full age of majority of the County of Lucas, City of Toledo, State of Ohio, with respect represents that:

1. Defendant, William B. Camp is a person of the full age of majority and is a resident of the City of Rockville, County of Montgomery, State of Maryland, residing at 1397 Canterbury Way, Rockville, Maryland and is at present serving as Comptroller of the Currency, and prior thereto as Deputy Comptroller of the Currency having been duly and legally appointed to both offices, which offices, are under the United States Treasury Department, and are located at Fifteenth and Pennsylvania Avenues, Northwest, Washington, D.C. which agency of the United States Government was duly authorized and created by the laws of the United States of America, is justly and truly indebted to your Petitioner in the full and true sum of Two Million (\$2,000,000) Dollars, together with judicial interest thereupon from date of judicial demand, for the following:

2. Petitioner has been the victim of many and certain vicious, malicious, cruel, false, illegal libels and slanders in the form of various and sundry statements which Plaintiff alleges were instigated, made and done by Defendant, William B. Camp, the same being premeditated and made both personally from time to time in his office in his capacity as Comptroller of the Currency and also while he was First Deputy Comptroller of the Currency prior to the becoming Comptroller, during and in the years of 1969, 1968, 1967, and 1966.

3. That Plaintiff for the twelve years prior to 1966 had been successful in the business of mergers and acquisitions of various businesses, partnerships, corporations, banks, and various types of businesses in the various parts of the United States, and the stock of some of them were listed on both the New York Stock Exchange and the American Stock Exchange.

4. That Defendant at various intervals during the years 1966, 1967, 1968, and 1969, has continued to viciously slander and libel Plaintiff by telling various individuals, bank officials, public officials, officials in the Agencies of the United States Government, and others, that Plaintiff is a member of the Mafia and or Cosa Nostra, and therefore connected with the Underworld, which will be set forth in detail as to dates, places, and individuals, in the hereafter numbered paragraphs.

5. That on or about May 25, 1966, Plaintiff called on Mr. B. Mark Freid, an attorney for and Director of the National Bank of Commerce located in Fairfax County, Virginia about his client buying the controlling stock interest in the said bank, and Mr. Freid expressed interest in the offer and said that same had excellent possibilities. Mr. Freid signed an agreement in the form of a letter, confirming tentatively a sale of the said Bank stock on June 2, 1966.

A few days thereafter on or about June 19, 1966 the said B. M. Freid went to the office of the Defendant, in the Treasury Building in Washington, D.C., Fifteenth and Pennsylvania Avenues, Northwest and Defendant told Mr. B. M. Freid that Plaintiff was a member of the Mafia or Cosa Nostra and further read the riot act to him, for even talking or negotiating with Plaintiff about the sale of the said bank stock because of Plaintiff's connections with the Underworld.

At this time the Defendant told the same falsehood to Mr. James K. Evans, President of said Bank and Mr. Lawrence Hurwitz who was Chairman of the Board of the said Bank and who resides in New York City.

Plaintiff was authorized, by his client, to receive a \$50,000 fee for arranging said pur-

chase of this said Bank stock and this amount was lost when the sale was cancelled because of the untrue, libelous and slanderous statements made by Defendant about the Plaintiff as outlined above.

6. That on or about June 26, 1966 the Plaintiff personally went to the office of the Defendant who was then Deputy Comptroller General in his office in Washington, D.C. and told Defendant of libelous and slanderous and derogatory remarks that he was spreading and telling to Plaintiff's clients and others to Plaintiff's damage, financial detriment and harm. Defendant denied making any such statements and told Plaintiff that he blew-up the deal intentionally with National Bank of Commerce in Fairfax County, Virginia and further stated that if Plaintiff was looking to buy stock in banks that he should go to state banks because the Defendant further stated emphatically that he would block any national bank sale or merger that he Plaintiff had anything to do with.

7. That on October 4, 1967, Plaintiff had been so unfairly and outrageously damaged by the Defendant acting entirely out of the scope of his duties as the Comptroller of the Currency and thereby seriously interfering with and damaging Plaintiff's business, that Plaintiff wrote to Defendant the following letter dated October 4, 1967, quote:

HON. WILLIAM B. CAMP,  
Comptroller of the Currency,  
Main Treasury Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CAMP: In the past several months a number of reliable people told me that you have made derogatory and slanderous remarks about me and my nationality and you have referred to me as a member of the Cosa Nostra. And it has recently come back to me that you have questioned my company's credit and my integrity and have so informed several banks that we do business with. Unless I receive a letter from you retracting these slanderous statements about my personal life, that will have an injurious bearing on my family, I intend to take legal action against you.

For your information, Mr. Camp, I was born in the city of Toledo, Ohio and have lived here all my life and have raised 3 boys that have attended the finest schools in Toledo. I live in the exclusive area of Ottawa Hills in the same house for the past 20 years. I have never had any police record and I don't even remember if I ever had a parking ticket. I live a clean life and I will not tolerate anyone, whether it be you or anyone else, making uncomplimentary remarks about me. I further wish to advise you that I have recently obtained a \$1,000,000 life insurance policy from the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Co. I am sure that if I were a member of the Cosa Nostra or a racketeer that you refer to me as, Connecticut Mutual would never issue a policy of this size. I know of no one directly or indirectly that are members of the Cosa Nostra. I know nothing about the Cosa Nostra other than what I recently read in Life Magazine.

I am enclosing a copy of Dixie Roto Magazine, September 17, 1967. I would like to particularly call your attention to pages 24 through 30 dealing with Italian descent. Waiting to hear from you by return mail.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) THOMAS F. DONOFRIO.

A copy of said letter is hereto attached and made part hereof.

8. That on or about October 10, 1967, Plaintiff called personally on Defendant in his office in Washington, D.C. and requested an answer and apology of the above detailed letter.

9. That Defendant not only refused the request of the Plaintiff in the above letter to apologize, but has further refused to even

answer said letter up to and including the present date of the filing of this suit.

10. That on August 25, 1967, the Defendant, acting not within the scope of the duties of his said office, but with flagrant disregard to same, notified in writing all of the Directors of another national bank not to make any loans to the members of what Defendant designated as the Zimmerman Group, who had loans with the Underwriters Trust Co. of New York City, and among the individuals named by Defendant were Plaintiff, Thomas F. Donofrio, Wesley Alexander, Frank C. Anderson, Robert L. Moody, Louis J. Roussel, H. Earl Smalley, Malcolm Woldenberg.

Plaintiff avers that Defendant was incorrect in naming Louis J. Roussel, because Louis J. Roussel did not owe Underwriters Trust Co. anything then, or now, having never made any loans from this said bank, nor did he endorse or guarantee any loans with said bank, which shows gross negligence and a willful act by Defendant.

Plaintiff further avers that when the Underwriters Trust Co. requested its loans be paid when due, said loans were paid, and it is Plaintiff's belief that the Defendant, in a most irresponsible manner and without the scope of the duties of his Federal Office (not a state office) precipitated the calling of these loans by the New York State Banking Department, a state agency only, and in no respect under any jurisdiction of the Federal Office of Comptroller of the Currency by taking or causing to be taken at his direction, unilateral confidential information, out of context, from confidential national bank files and giving same, illegally, to the said New York State Banking Department to intentionally harm and injure Plaintiff and the other individuals listed above in this allegation.

Plaintiff avers that Defendant was incorrect in naming or calling the above individuals as a "Zimmerman Group" because same is non-existent and Plaintiff believes that the "Zimmerman Group" as created by Defendant, is a figment of Defendant's imagination.

Plaintiff avers that there is a Mr. S. Mort Zimmerman, of Dallas, Texas, who is a highly respected business man and enjoys an excellent reputation in the banking and business fields and who gained this splendid reputation by paying and meeting his personal and business obligations promptly and when due.

That by such unwarranted and unlawful tactics, as set out above, Defendant has done all of these acts to willfully harm and injure and thereby discriminate against Plaintiff, Mr. S. Mort Zimmerman and the other highly respected individuals listed in this allegation, all of whom are outstanding business men and enjoy an excellent reputation in their respective communities.

11. That in notifying the said national bank referred to in the preceding allegation, the Defendant acted clearly in violation of his duties as required by law of the Comptroller of the Currency and in using Plaintiff's name in such a manner, Plaintiff was further damaged and was prevented from carrying on his business and was further damaged by having his credit further curtailed by this said illegal and unwarranted and unlawful act of Defendant.

12. The Plaintiff had several contemplated mergers with the friends of and with Mr. Lawrence Hurwitz who was an Executive Official in General Artis Corporation which mergers Plaintiff had been previously working on, with other companies which Mr. Hurwitz had been associated with and who owned the controlling stock, or substantial stock. Defendant had so poisoned the mind of Mr. Hurwitz, to the effect that Plaintiff was a member of the Underworld, and a member of the Mafia and Cosa Nostra that these several contemplated and planned mergers collapsed after Defendant's libelous onslaught against the Plaintiff as above set forth. These untrue attacks on Plaintiff by

Defendant thereafter caused Mr. Hurwitz to refuse to even discuss any business with Plaintiff.

13. In July of 1966 Plaintiff negotiated the sale of the controlling interest of the common stock that was held by a group of stockholders in New York City in the Underwriters Trust Company of New York located at 50 Broadway and because of these libelous and slanderous, untrue statements made by Defendant, the Plaintiff had to get Mr. Bernard Zimmerman and a member of the firm and brokerage-house of Schleman, Hoskin and Trotta, who were members of the New York Stock Exchange in New York City to negotiate and front this transaction resulting in Plaintiff having to split his commission of \$54,000 with said brokerage firm which resulted in a net loss in this transaction of \$27,000 to Plaintiff. This stock was sold to Capital Bancshares Inc.

14. That in the latter part of July, 1966, Plaintiff went to Mr. Roger Elton an official and Vice President of the Franklin National Bank in New York City, along with Mr. S. Mort Zimmerman and told Mr. Roger Elton that they had just put through a deal and that Mr. S. Mort Zimmerman had just bought the Underwriters Trust Bank in New York City, by merging it with Capital Bancshares Inc. After this meeting Mr. Roger Elton talked to the Defendant over long distance telephone and told Mr. Camp that it was Mort Zimmerman and someone else who had purchased the said Underwriters Trust Bank of New York, and the Defendant said, "Oh I know who the other fellow was, his name is Donofrio and he is a member of the Cosa Nostra and represents the Mafia".

15. When Plaintiff learned about this phone conversation between Mr. Elton and Defendant, Plaintiff went to Defendant's office in Washington for the second time and confronted Defendant with the above account of his conversation with Mr. Elton.

16. That on or about October 13, 1967 Plaintiff again went to Defendant's office and Defendant in a screaming voice denied making any libelous and slanderous remarks about Plaintiff.

17. That on or about October 17, 1967, Plaintiff called on Mr. Robert Elton in New York City and gave him a copy of the letter as set forth in allegation (7) of this petition.

18. That on or about May 10, 1968, Plaintiff again went to see Defendant in Washington at his office and in the absence of Defendant he talked with his personal secretary, and gave her a copy of the letter set out in allegation (7) of this petition and again requested an answer from Defendant. His secretary replied that all she could do was to tell Defendant about their meeting. Again Defendant refused to answer Plaintiff's said letter.

19. That on or about June 10, 1967, Plaintiff met with a number of Toledo, Ohio, businessmen, headed up by a Mr. Phil Joseph, owner of a chain of supermarkets in Toledo, Ohio who requested the Plaintiff to make inquiries with a Mr. D. H. Overmeyer of New York City, who owned the controlling stock in the Progress National Bank of Toledo, Ohio, with an intent of buying a large block of the stock of the said Bank.

20. That on or about June 12, 1967, Plaintiff went to Washington, D.C. and discussed this sale of the said Bank stock with Defendant, explaining that the said Bank was on the verge of closing its doors, which would seriously damage many of the citizens of Toledo, Ohio, the depositors and stockholders, as well as the City itself.

21. That Defendant gave Plaintiff certain official forms and papers that were to be filed out by the proposed purchasers of the said Bank stock.

22. That on or about June 13, 1967, Defendant contacted Mr. William Kees, the President of the Progress National Bank and told him not to enter into any negotiations for any

of this Bank's stock with Plaintiff and not to make any loans to Plaintiff regardless of what the collateral was, because of Plaintiff's membership in the Mafia and his Underworld connections. Plaintiff lost a commission of \$60,000 when the above mentioned stock in the above mentioned bank was sold, but without Plaintiff having an opportunity to negotiate the said sale, which Plaintiff had originally started.

23. That on or about March 17, 1969, the Plaintiff received a letter from a Mr. David Ross, an employee of the Securities and Exchange Commission requesting information about Plaintiff's activities and stated that subpoenas were sent to his various clients and the businesses that he had had or was having business negotiations with.

24. That on or about April 4, 1969, Plaintiff met with Mr. David Ross in his office in New York City and requested to know why the above described inquiries were being made.

25. That the said Mr. David Ross asked Plaintiff if he knew any of the persons whose names he read off of a list. Plaintiff answered by saying he knew none of them personally. He then asked Plaintiff if he, Plaintiff, had any dealings or associations with certain Underworld persons who had headquarters in Las Vegas, Nevada, and Plaintiff answered in the negative, further stating that he had never even been to Las Vegas. The Plaintiff said Mr. Ross then said that he was told by the Comptroller of the Currency (the Defendant herein) that Plaintiff's name was linked with Underworld and Cosa Nostra members.

26. That Plaintiff on April 7, 1969 sent the said Mr. David Ross a copy of his letter to the Defendant, set forth in allegation (7) of this petition.

27. That on or about June 5, 1968 the Defendant using the same libelous and slanderous, and untrue statements did contact officials of the Underwriters Trust Company, 50 Broadway, New York City, not withstanding the fact that the said bank is not a national bank and therefore without and not under the jurisdiction of Defendant's office of Comptroller and by his libelous and slanderous statements to this Bank's officials, caused Plaintiff's loan of \$50,000 and his wife's loan of \$40,000 to be called and cancelled as a direct result of the malicious, vicious, libelous, and untrue statements made by Defendant about Plaintiff.

28. That on or about May 15, 1969, Plaintiff applied to the National American Bank of New Orleans, La., for a loan, with the assurances that he would put up ample, adequate and an abundance of stocks and bonds as security, and was told by the proper official of said Bank, that no loan of any amount could be made to Plaintiff, regardless of security, because Defendant had, as the Comptroller of the Currency, written to said Bank and instructed it not to make any loans and to liquidate existing loans as soon as possible, naming Plaintiff directly.

29. To further show how Plaintiff has been singled out by Defendant to willfully and maliciously damage him, Plaintiff avers that Defendant, as set forth in allegation (10) of this petition, also named a Mr. Malcolm Woldenberg, as being likewise unworthy to borrow any funds, but recently Defendant reversed himself, and allowed the said Malcolm Woldenberg to purchase controlling stock in the Mercantile National Bank of Miami, Florida which bank was under jurisdiction of the Defendant's Office of Comptroller of the Currency, all of which shows gross discrimination against Plaintiff by Defendant, and shows gross negligence and neglect in ascertaining facts.

30. That the Plaintiff denies that he is now or ever was or had been a member of the Underworld, Mafia or Cosa Nostra or any Underworld organization as has been stated by the premeditated, false, malicious, and libelous allegations by the Defendant in the

foregoing above numbered allegations of this petition, but on the contrary Plaintiff avers that he was given by direction of the Secretaries of the Air Force, the Army, and the Navy access to top secret and secret contracts and information of the Departments of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force, listing him as follows on their official document: Donofrio, Thomas F. (Plaintiff herein).

Plaintiff further avers that he was treasurer and a major stockholder in the McKay-Davis Chemical Corporation which was the recipient of contracts for several million dollars with the Air Materiel Command, Dayton, Ohio, said contracts requiring the top secret security clearances of Plaintiff which top security clearance was given Plaintiff as set out above.

31. That as a direct and proximate result of the aforesaid libelous and illegal acts of Defendant the Plaintiff has suffered irreparable and permanent and serious damage in the past and present and will continue to suffer damage in the future, to his personal reputation, earning potential, public business stature and private stature, and has been subjected, along with his wife, and other members of his family to serious pain, misery, suffering and mental anguish and suffering at seeing his reputation destroyed, his business so severely damaged, and the resulting harm to himself and to his family, and has been damaged in the full and true sum of Two Million (\$2,000,000) Dollars, for which amount the Defendant is liable unto Plaintiff as a result thereof.

32. That in all of these malicious acts of libel and slander made by Defendant naming and identifying petitioner personally and clearly doing so, with actual malice and with malice aforethought toward Plaintiff and with a premeditated desire to harm and injure the Plaintiff's family, his wife and three sons and with full knowledge that these accusations were false with the sole and full intention to injure and harm Plaintiff with willful intent, knowing said words were false and untrue; that Defendant conducted his office, using the same for his personal sadistic desire to injure Plaintiff personally and thereby to maliciously cause financial damage and ruin to Plaintiff's business and his reputation.

33. That all these libelous and slanderous acts done by Defendant against Plaintiff were made outside of the scope of the official duties of his office and that all of the said acts did not and do not fall within the scope of his official duties as Deputy Comptroller of Currency and as Comptroller of Currency. Wherefore Petitioner prays that Defendant herein be served with a copy of this petition and be duly cited to appear and answer same, and that after due proceedings had that a judgment be rendered against said Defendant in favor of the Plaintiff in the sum of Two Million (\$2,000,000) dollars together with legal interest from date of filing this suit until paid and for all costs of this suit and for all judicial demands and equitable relief in the premises.

BERNARD B. WOLSON,

*Of Counsel.*

TOLEDO, OHIO.

HERBERT CHRISTENBERRY, Jr.,

*Christenberry, Bruneau and Miller.*

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

F. D. V. DE LA BARRE,

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

JAMES H. MORRISON,

*Attorney for Plaintiff.*

WASHINGTON, D.C.

STATE OF OHIO,  
County of Lucas:

Before me the undersigned Notary Public in and for the above mentioned County and State, personally came and appeared Thomas F. Donofrio, who being duly sworn deposed and said; that he is petitioner in the foregoing petition, that he has read same and

all the allegations therein contained are true and correct to the best of his knowledge, information and belief.

THOMAS F. DONOFRIO.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 2nd day of September, 1969.

ANGELA D. KIFER,

*Notary Public.*

My commission expires Dec. 9, 1971.

### FREEDOM BECOMES ILLEGAL— JUDICIAL TYRANNY

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, can any responsible citizen contemplate a judge of the United States telling concerned parents that he was "not worried about education, just about integration" and that "there is no such thing as freedom of choice in Tangipahoa Parish.

It is small wonder that the concerned parents of schoolchildren are distraught over the denial of freedom by the Federal "takeover" of the public school systems. No dialog is possible when the parents are only interested in quality education, and the judge cares only about integration.

Justice is truly blind. A court spokesman who would convict a group of people because of the section of the country in which they live is just as guilty of judicial genocide as one who would convict individuals of one race, creed, or color because of their group identity—especially when the judgment considers individual facts and the merits of the case as irrelevant.

So that the bureaucrats and judicrats who have decided that denial of freedom of choice is progressive, I include several news accounts of the educational progress in the new Federal academies:

[From the Hammond (La.) Daily Star,  
Sept. 5, 1969]

STUDENT PLEA REJECTED; SCHOOL PICKETS  
PLANNED

INDEPENDENCE.—A biracial delegation of six Independence High School students was rebuffed by Federal Judge Alvin Rubin Thursday when they pleaded in person for return to freedom of choice for their protest-involved school.

And Thursday night a big crowd at Reimers Memorial planned to boycott area schools and threatened recall of some School Board members if they do not close the schools.

Joe Sinagra, spokesman for the student delegation, told The Daily Star this morning that Judge Rubin had said he was "not worried about education, just about integration."

Rubin said "there is no such thing as freedom of choice in Tangipahoa Parish," the students said.

The judge explained that he is beholden to rule against freedom of choice because of higher court rulings.

During their one-hour meeting with the judge in New Orleans, they described the problems that have arisen with the separated-sexes plan for Independence High. All the girls are at former Independence High. All the boys are at former Negro school, Burgher High.

Students and parents have complained that many courses are not available. One woman said that science and math-oriented

classes are generally at the boys school and that English-oriented classes are generally at the girls school.

The girls' principal, A. B. Constantino, denied that this was a problem.

"We offer them what we can," he said, "and no one is getting left out."

Constantino answered "no" when asked if all courses offered last year have been offered to both boys and girls this year.

Rubin explained that class scheduling was not up to him, "that it was up to the school board."

It had been explained earlier that Rubin had nothing to do with the sex-separation plan at Independence. This was conceived by Independence members of the School Board.

Besides, Sinagra, other members of the delegation were whites Steve Mulkey, Diane Canale, Judy Rodriguez and Negroes Rossevelt Collins and Larry Jackson.

At the meeting in Reimers Memorial some 500 persons made plans to boycott the schools and to recall members of the School Board if they do not close down the schools.

Main speaker was Ned Touchstone, publisher from Shreveport, who said "people here shouldn't let the judges tell you what to do."

He called the judges actions unconstitutional and outlined a battle plan to halt integration of the schools. Included were boycotts of stores and businesses which do not go along with the plan, setting up pickets at the schools, and keeping children home. Two men from Reserve High School area told how their pickets worked.

Pickets were to be at Independence High today and at Hammond and Ponchatoula schools Monday, when classes are slated to begin.

Another meeting was held in Tickfaw Thursday night. Several persons called The Star this morning, asking whether Tickfaw schools had been closed. He said he had been ordered not to send his children to school today "because Rubin had given Independence a good break and we want to get one, too."

[From the Amite (La.) Tangi Talk,  
Sept. 3, 1969]

JUDGE DISMISSES SCHOOL SUIT

Judge Alvin Rubin of the U.S. District Court here has denied a motion for a new trial in the integration suit calling for a racially, non-discriminatory and total unitary school system in Tangipahoa Parish.

The suit filed by Joyce Marie Moore, et al., and had named as defendants the Tangipahoa Parish School Board.

Rubin also dismissed contempt charges against board president C. P. Schwartz, superintendent of schools Dewitt Sauls and personnel supervisor M. H. Hendry, Jr., who were charged with dismissing six non-tenure teachers whose services were "deemed unsatisfactory," according to the board.

The board was advised of Rubin's action at a meeting last week.

In other action, the board:

—Voted to amend its resolution requiring all new teachers to take the National Teacher's Examination, to include all teachers (including E.S.E.A. teachers) with less than two years of service, and score 500 on the common examination as a provision for continued employment.

—Authorized Sauls to reassign teachers in order to attain a 60-40 ratio of white to Negro teachers in each school in conformity with a recent court order.

[From the Baton Rouge (La.) Morning  
Advocate, Sept. 7, 1969]

GUARDS ARE POSTED AFTER FIRES ERUPT AT  
TWO LOUISIANA SCHOOLS

Watchmen were posted Saturday night at schools in Tangipahoa and Washington parishes after fires were discovered at Amite High and Franklinton Elementary.

The Amite structure was gutted. Some equipment and materials were saved. Damage at Franklinton was estimated between \$3,000 and \$5,000.

Deputy state fire marshals and arson investigators were reported investigating at both schools for clues as to the origin of the two blazes.

No one at Amite wanted to be quoted on the investigation.

However, Franklinton Fire Chief Earl Brown said he found what he believed to be some type of liquid poured on the floors just inside doors of the elementary building where the fire broke out. The building housed the lunchroom, two classrooms and a large storage area.

The blaze was discovered and reported to Franklinton firemen about 1:45 a.m. Saturday. The fire was contained some three hours later.

#### WITHDRAWS BOYCOTT CALL

Meanwhile, the Committee of Concerned Citizens in Washington Parish withdrew its call for a boycott of classes. The group said it felt the boycott had served its purpose and the organization was turning to legal means to combat federal desegregation guidelines.

The committee declared it did not want to hamper education opportunities for students of the parish.

Ward 3 school boardmen in Tangipahoa met Saturday morning and planned a program for keeping the some 700 now-displaced Amite High students in class.

Boardman M. L. Richardson said Amite High students in grades 9-12 will attend classes at Amite West Side High. Lunches will not be served because of the overload and classes will be dismissed at noon.

An estimate of damages at Amite High was placed at \$500,000.

Supt. Dewitt Sauls observed: "Mostly, the walls are all that is left." The second floor was "completely burned out," he said.

The fire had a "good start" when units first arrived after word was received at 10:40 p.m. Coming to assistance of the Amite firemen were equipment and men from Hammond, Roseland, Independence and Ponchatoula.

A group of students arriving back at the school from a football game in Franklinton discovered the fire and alerted authorities. The students began dragging and carrying out books, trophies, desks, records and equipment.

Deputies finally had to order the students to stay out of the blazing school because of the danger of falling objects from the roof and upper floor.

Flames were extinguished at 7:30 a.m. Saturday, firemen reported. They, however, still poured water on the smoldering structure throughout most of the morning.

Three Hammond firemen and one from Amite were treated at Lallie Kemp Hospital, Independence, for smoke inhalation and exhaustion during the battle. They were all released and in good condition.

The auditorium, where officials believe the blaze originated, is located near the center of the school. The building was erected around 1927.

Tangipahoa board president C. P. Schwartz said night watchmen were ordered posted at all school buildings in the parish in light of the Amite and Franklinton fires.

Similar action was taken by the Washington Parish School Board in Franklinton.

[From the Baton Rouge (La.) Morning Advocate, Sept. 7, 1969]

#### EVANGELINE, E. ASCENSION SCHOOLS HIT

Schools in east Ascension Parish were ordered closed Saturday by the school board at the same time a federal judge ordered the Evangeline Parish School Board to show cause why it should not be held in contempt for closing its schools.

Ascension Supt. W. C. Brunson said his

board met in special session Saturday afternoon and notified U.S. Dist. Judge E. Gordon West in Baton Rouge of its action. The federal jurist was asked to return freedom of choice to schools on the east side of the Mississippi River.

Schools in west Ascension will remain open, the board decreed.

In Lafayette, U.S. Dist. Judge Richard Putnam set Sept. 15 for Evangeline boardmen to reply to the order.

#### WOULD NOT COMPLY

Evangeline schools were closed by the board, rather than comply with the U.S. court's desegregation orders.

If found in civil contempt, the nine school board members named in the district court order could be fined or sent to prison.

Evangeline Parish has nine predominantly white schools and five all-Negro schools, the department said. In the 1968-69 school year, under a freedom of choice plan, 68 of the 3,300 Negro pupils in the system attended classes with 5,600 white pupils.

On Aug. 5, the district court ordered the school board to pair Negro and white schools and assign students to them on a nonracial basis, the department said. The order allowed freedom of choice to continue until the 1970-71 school year for high school and kindergarten pupils at Ville Platte schools but called for immediate desegregation of all others.

The Evangeline school board tried twice to win stays of the order but both attempts were rejected by the U.S. Supreme Court. The board now has an appeal of the Aug. 5 decision pending before the Supreme Court.

On Sept. 2, the day schools were scheduled to open, the school board approved a resolution suspending operation of classes until the Supreme Court decides on its request for appeal.

In its petition to Judge Putnam, the Justice Department said the "acts and omissions" of the school board "were such as to have the necessary effect and have had the effect of frustrating the implementation of the district court order of August 5."

Those named in the show cause order were school board president Fulton J. Bacon and board members Vories Morein, D. M. LaFleur, L. M. Ortego, Roy Agullard, Harold Monier, Roderick Perron, H. P. Dupre and Joe Forman.

#### TRIED IN GOOD FAITH

The superintendent said the Ascension board advised West that implementation of the court order on the east side of the river had been attempted in good faith. But, six days, the plan was proving to be unworkable, he said.

Brunson said the board declared school patrons in east Ascension feel their freedom has been denied.

The judge was asked to make freedom of choice the plan for all schools—on both sides of the river.

He did not know how long the schools might be closed, Brunson said.

Pickets appeared at east Ascension schools all last week after educational plants were opened Sept. 2. Boycotts have pretty proven to be effective as some white students were registered, then taken out of school by parents, and other parents just did not send children to school.

Two schools reported no attendance during the week.

The Ascension board was the second to close its schools within two days.

Friday, the St. Landry Parish School bowed to pressure at a meeting attended by some 2,000 persons and ordered postponement of classes.

[From the Bogalusa (La.) Sunday News, Sept. 7, 1969]

#### COMMITTEE WITHDRAWS APPEAL FOR BOYCOTT OF SCHOOLS HERE

The Committee of Concerned Citizens yesterday withdrew its call for a boycott of Bogalusa schools.

In a statement released over the signature of Chairman Benjamin W. Miller, the committee said that it feels the boycott has served its purpose and that continuation of the boycott "would not be in the practical interests of our children".

The committee, which seeks a return to last year's freedom of choice school integration plan, said it would continue to fight the current U.S. District Court order in other ways.

In this connection, Vice-Chairman C. W. Jarrell said a delegation from the committee will go to Washington in a week or two, armed with the freedom of choice petitions circulated during the summer, to seek an opportunity to present the committee's case to officials high in the Justice Department, Supreme Court or White House.

The committee's statement follows:

"The Committee of Concerned Citizens was formed for the purpose of keeping our schools open under 'freedom of choice.'

"We believe that the people of Bogalusa want their children to get the best education available under the best possible conditions.

"This committee has urged the people to express their disapproval of this plan which the court has imposed upon us through a boycott of the public schools.

"However, at this time we feel that a boycott of the schools has served its purpose, and that any further boycott would not be in the practical interests of our children.

"We appreciate the efforts of those people who have supported the committee through a boycott. But any further boycotting will be the choice of the individual parent.

"We urge the people to understand that the committee has not disbanded and that other plans are being made at this time to continue our fight for freedom of choice.

"We continue to ask the people to support this Committee's efforts as we seek to remedy the situation which exists in our schools."

[From the Gonzales (La.) Weekly, Sept. 5, 1969]

#### SCHOOLS IN EAST ASCENSION CLOSED FOR LACK OF PUPILS

Pickets appeared at all East Ascension Schools on opening day protesting a court order which will prohibit a "Freedom of Choice" plan similar to other school districts in this and neighboring parishes.

The boycott of the schools have closed most of them. The school board in a meeting with the citizens last night had nothing new to report on the situation according to a school board member.

Mr. W. C. Brunson in a question and answer program on a Tv station stated that some phone calls of a threatening nature had been received by some employees of the school system and that four schools were closed, Galvez Dutchtown, E. A. Elementary and St. Amant for lack of pupils.

A suit filed by East Ascension Group for School Freedom in the local board was removed by the U.S. District Court from the state court to the federal court. The case will be tried in October.

Padlocks were put on Galvez and St. Amant elementary schools some time before school was to open Tuesday morning. They were still on Wednesday morning.

Mayor Pasqua called for a limited curfew Friday night after a negro youth received minor wounds in Gunplay at the Hancock station on Burnside st. after a day of tension.

About 3:00 P.M. Friday a Negro was killed when he ran his car in front of a freight train. According to Sheriff Waguespack the negro and one of the white pickets had exchanged words downtown and the negro left saying he was going to get a gun. A gun was found in the car.

Sheriff Waguespack put into effect a ban on the sale of Beer and Liquor in the Parish, which is still in effect and an 8:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M. curfew is still in effect in Gonzales.

[From the Bogalusa (La.) Sunday News, Sept. 7, 1969]

#### MEETING CALLED TO KEEP PINE HIGH SCHOOL OPEN

PINE.—A meeting has been called for 7:30 tomorrow night at Pine High School, designed to show interest in keeping the school open in the face of a report that the school might be closed if there is trouble over integration of the faculty.

Pine, which has an all-white student body, has several Negro teachers for the first time this year. Pickets appeared at the school Friday, and some disturbance was reported.

The group of local residents who have called tomorrow night's meeting said they have been told that U.S. District Judge Frederick J. R. Heebe has stated that he will order the school closed and its students transported to classes elsewhere if trouble continues.

The statement issued last night by the Pine group follows:

"Through this article an appeal is being made to all patrons of Pine High School who are interested in keeping the school open for the purpose of educating their children, to attend a meeting in the school's auditorium at 7:30 Monday night.

"Word has come from Judge Heebe that unless some reports of positive action on the part of the local citizens, rather than reports of trouble and turmoil, are received by him within the next week, he will close the doors of the school permanently.

"Each patron is urged to consider that in the event this should take place, public education for his children would be available only by transporting them long distances to schools which have much more serious integration problems than those at Pine.

"The time for decision is now. The high school is open for the education of children today. But unless the local patrons immediately face the problems before them, they will have to seek education for their children elsewhere in the near future.

"Help keep your school open by displaying your sincere interest through your attendance Monday night."

[From the Bogalusa (La.) Sunday News, Sept. 7, 1969]

#### EVANGELINE MAY GET CONTEMPT CHARGE— "RECESS" DECLARED IN ST. LANDRY

OPELOUSAS, LA.—Demonstrators chanting "close the schools . . . close the schools" pressured the St. Landry Parish school board Friday into placing public schools in recess for "the time being."

The board asked the Justice Department to come see the situation for itself.

A crowd of about 3,500 persons first converged in the school board offices to protest desegregation procedures in the parish that is about evenly divided between white and black students, then, when there was no more room inside, forced the board into the auditorium of Opelousas High School.

The vote to postpone Tuesday's opening of the school was taken in the tension-charged atmosphere of the auditorium, but the board later met quietly in its own offices to make the decision to call on the Justice Department.

School board president Floyd Andrepoint read to the crowd a telegram which had been sent by the Justice Department civil rights division.

The message advised the board it was aware citizens might try to pressure the school board into shutting down schools

rather than have them open on a non-racial unitary basis this fall for the first time.

But, said the Justice Department, it had a responsibility to enforce the federal court integration orders new this fall to 37 Louisiana school districts, and it would not hesitate to use "whatever legal means" necessary to enforce the order.

Some individuals in the crowd screamed they would burn down the St. Landry schools if the board did not shut them down. One board member said the schools would be closed at least until Wednesday.

There are 23,300 students in 43 public schools in the parish.

Earlier this week a similar angry crowd of 2,000 forced the Evangeline Parish School Board to close classes involving all 9,000 of the parish's school age children.

Jerris Leonard, chief of the Justice Department Civil Rights Division, sent word Friday he was considering filing contempt of court charges against the Evangeline School Board for failing to open schools this fall.

A group called Citizens Committee for Quality Education had vocal representatives at meetings which closed both St. Landry and Evangeline schools. The group seeks a special session of the Louisiana Legislature to repeal compulsory school attendance laws so parents would not be prosecuted for keeping their children away from newly desegregated schools.

At Lafayette, a federal court has granted a continuance to seven Negro students accused of disrupting the orderly desegregation of their high school in New Iberia.

Iberia Dist. Atty. Knowles Tucker filed suit against the seven because they "refused to abide by the reasonable directives of the school principal . . . did lie in wait for other students and committed assault and battery on them."

Students returned to Westlake High School classes Friday under the eyes of armed guards. The school was closed Wednesday when discipline problems occurred due to new desegregation conditions.

More than 1,000 parents attended a meeting of the Iberia Parish School Board Friday, which then voted to re-establish freedom of choice integration in four elementary schools, a move previously okayed by a federal judge. The board also voted to ask the federal courts to permit zone freedom of choice throughout the parish.

#### SWAZILAND'S INDEPENDENCE DAY

##### HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, the Swazi people are among the latest and smallest group of Africans to attain national independence; they reached that goal only a year ago, proclaiming their independence on September 6, 1968.

Swaziland is a small country in southeast Africa, east of the Republic of South Africa and west of Portuguese Zululand. Its territory is less than 7,000 square miles, with a population just under 400,000. The country is rich in natural resources, producing asbestos, iron, coal and even some gold. It is mostly an agricultural country, and its principal products are sugar, citrus fruit and rice, all of which are grown under irrigation.

The Swazis had enjoyed a rather

favoured status under the British, and until recently were under the South African administration. In 1966 the British granted them internal self-government, and their king was recognized as head of state. Finally on September 6, 1968, they opted for full sovereignty. It was recognized as such and on September 24 Swaziland was admitted into the United Nations as an independent state. On the first anniversary of their Independence Day we wish the Swazi people peace and prosperity.

#### THE TECHNO-POLITICS OF SPACE

##### HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Robert Hotz of Aviation Week and Space Technology offers a most interesting editorial in the August 25, 1969, issue of that magazine. Mr. Hotz reviews the recent achievement of the Apollo 11 lunar landing and Mariner 6 and 7 flyby of the planet Mars. He points to the international implications of these achievements by the United States and the awareness of the Soviet Union to the need for technological leadership in our world today. Significantly, Mr. Hotz recognizes that we must not shrink from the challenge of space and that the future of our Nation may well depend on the technological leadership and benefits that come from such programs as our national space effort.

The editorial follows:

#### THE TECHNO-POLITICS OF SPACE

(By Robert Hotz)

The last month of achievement in space technology has provided another lesson in the little understood area of techno-politics. This time it is the United States image that is shining brightly all over the third planet. The small step of an American astronaut on the moon truly projected the feeling of a giant leap to almost all mankind. In addition, the amazing duet of Mariner 6 and 7 in their close reconnaissance of Mars provided scientific pioneering of equally epic flavor.

Not since the end of World War 2 has America stood so tall around this globe. Our European correspondents report that Apollo 11 crowded everything else off the front page of foreign newspapers and almost monopolized television for weeks. President Richard M. Nixon was a first-hand observer of the international charisma generated by Apollo 11 during his recent globe-girdling tour. He noted that the fantastic welcome accorded him in Communist Romania was in large measure a tribute to the intrepid trio of Apollo 11, as evidenced by the many pictures of the astronauts which were waved at him along his route through Bucharest.

But it was not always thus. There are many who can recall those bitter days, less than a decade ago, when it was the Red Star of Moscow that lit the vastness of outer space. The sickening shock of the first three Sputniks and the tidal wave of acclaim they brought to the Soviet Union should not be forgotten. Nor should the glory that reflected from the manned space flight pioneering of Yuri Gagarin in Vostok, the first three-man

Voskhod crew and first EVA of the Voskhod 2 flight dim with the passing of time.

The origins of the impetus that pushed the Soviet Union into pioneering space exploration are still misty to the Western World. But it is clear that Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev was an unorthodox politician by Soviet standards. He needed a major, bold, spectacular enterprise to refurbish the international image of Soviet Communism as the dynamo of the future. It had faded into a symbol of gloomy, medieval regression under Stalin's post-war regime. It seems likely that Sergei P. Korolev, the guiding genius of the Soviet space program, sold it to Khrushchev as an effective measure to achieve this image change.

History has recorded how well it worked. Almost overnight the Soviet Union blossomed as a major technical power. The brilliance of its technical image was enhanced by the contrast with the United States. There, an aging conservative leadership never did comprehend the significance of space technology, and its bumbling policies contributed to some unnecessarily humiliating technical failures.

Nikita Khrushchev felt so confident over Soviet triumphs in space technology that he laid down a direct challenge to the United States and asked the world to choose which system—Communist or American—was demonstrating the best understanding of the dynamics of the future and which indeed would provide the best launching pad for the aspirations of mankind.

Jack Kennedy, too, decided to hitch his political career to the star of space technology. Elected President by a hairline margin, buffeted by early disasters such as the Bay of Pigs and the Soviets' first manned space flight, he chose to accept Khrushchev's challenge in space. President Kennedy used the target of landing American astronauts on the moon and returning them safely before the end of the decade as one measure toward reviving the dormant spirit of American pioneering. History must record, too, how well this worked. The world knows full well that in this direct challenge of space technology the Soviet Union has been surpassed by a significant margin. It knows, too, that Americans will not shrink from any task they regard as important and that they still have the ability to achieve whatever they must.

There is a certain breed of cat in this country that constantly deplores the spirit of fierce competition between the U.S. and USSR that has resulted in such tremendous progress in the first decade of space exploration. If these philosophers had their way, the U.S. and the USSR would join in some vaguely cooperative effort aimed at some dimly perceived goals in the interests of saving money and improving international relations.

They fail completely to understand how space technology has become a basic sine of national power, a dynamic spur to the economy and an important yardstick by which to measure competing systems—in short the techno-politics.

The Soviet Union is encountering both political and technical trouble with its space program. Khrushchev's successors lowered his national priority for space, probably as another method of disassociating themselves from his policies. The 1966 death of Sergei Korolev, still in his prime at 59, also had its effect as the scope of his towering leadership became fully outlined by the gap he left.

But the Soviet Union will not shrink from continuing the fierce competition in space technology. It cannot afford to without also abandoning its pretensions of international leadership. Undoubtedly, lights have been burning late in the Kremlin as the debate rages over what new course to set for Soviet space technology. The Soviets are not easily deterred by temporary failure, are used to coming from behind and have a keen appreciation of the international stakes in this

game. They are in space to stay and will play second fiddle only by necessity, not by choice.

That is why the leaders of this country must deliberate so carefully in setting the space policy of this nation for the 1970s. Space technology has now matured to the point where no single spectacular goal will serve its purpose, as did the Apollo program in the 1960s.

The possibilities for its future development have expanded into many key areas that offer positive returns in both economics and science on the investments already made. Determining a sound national space policy for the next decade is a far more difficult and complex problem than setting the Apollo goal was in 1961.

Yet a great deal of the future growth and health of this nation depends on how wisely this course is charted in the next few months.

#### IN DEFENSE OF REPRESENTATIVE KOCH

### HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I have read the exchange of remarks which took place on September 4 between Mr. WATSON, my esteemed colleague from South Carolina, and my colleague from New York, Mr. KOCH, both distinguished and honorable Members of this House, on the subject of the death of Ho Chi Minh.

Previous to their exchange, Mr. KOCH, under the 1-minute rule, had submitted a statement urging that the death of North Vietnam's leader be used to extend a hand of friendship to the people of Vietnam and as an occasion to initiate a cease-fire. It is my belief from the exchange between Messrs. WATSON and KOCH that our colleague from South Carolina misconstrued Mr. KOCH's remarks so that Mr. WATSON's response misstated the intention of those remarks. Mr. KOCH specifically referred to Ho Chi Minh as a tough and dedicated Communist and no fair-minded person could interpret those remarks to be a eulogy of the deceased leader of the North Vietnamese. I do not believe Mr. KOCH intended his remarks to have this meaning.

Clearly, Mr. KOCH did not praise the North Vietnamese leader; he only urged that we understand the feelings of the people in Vietnam toward Ho Chi Minh. And it should be noted that, in the past few days, our own Government has given enough credit to the cease-fire proposal so that we have agreed to honor a modified cessation of hostilities.

No doubt, there continues to be a division in this House on our continuing military role in Vietnam. And each of us surely has the right to express his position. But it would be manifestly unfair in supporting our own position to misinterpret the statements of any colleague. The gentleman from South Carolina is an honorable Member of this House, for whom I have genuine respect and regard and I am sure he has misunderstood the nature of the statement of Mr. KOCH.

I do indeed hope the episode is closed

and forgotten and that both gentlemen will adhere to the esprit de corps that exists in the House.

#### A REAL SUCCESS STORY

### HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, we have often heard that our country has reached great heights and enjoyed success because its people were willing to sacrifice and had tremendous faith in the future. It was this individual effort, through our free enterprise system, that has contributed to the greatness of our Nation.

To me, an excellent example of this faith and sacrifice is embodied in the success story of Joan and John Bintz, whom I am proud to count as friends in Saginaw, Mich. The September 1969, edition of the Farm Journal carries an article which relates best the planning, the sacrifice, and the confidence of this young couple to turn a small 80-acre fruit farm into a business which has an investment of about \$500,000 and a permanent payroll of 10 employees with over 50 working at peak periods. The article will be included at the conclusion of my remarks.

The Bintz success story is known not only throughout Michigan, but the Midwest and elsewhere. It just is not too often that you hear of a seven-tow, night-lighted ski resort on the slope of a "mountain" made by man on land as flat as a Kansas prairie.

I join with Farm Journal in saluting Mr. and Mrs. John Bintz. They have a pioneer spirit which should be copied by others. The article follows:

EIGHTY ACRES THAT GREW TO \$0.5 MILLION  
(By Frank A. Cooper)

Fresh out of ag school and the Armed Services, John Bintz, 26, refused to believe that the small family farm was doomed. He and his father had 80 acres, mostly in apples, on a county road near Saginaw, Mich.—miles from a main highway. Even so, people would drive out to buy their fruit.

One day in 1958 young John took a look at their business and concluded that what it needed was some hard, smart retail selling. He and his wife, Joan, began to plan.

Today, just over 10 years later, cars full of customers flow into a 40-acre parking lot which he rents across the road, and on busy weekends it takes two deputy sheriffs to handle traffic.

In the process of selling apples, John operates an old-fashioned cider mill, a commercial bakery, a general store, a gift shop, a candy factory—and finally a 7-tow, night-lighted ski resort on the slope of a "mountain" he built himself on land as flat as a Kansas prairie. To build the 160-foot high slope, he excavated a 7-acre lake, which he is developing as a recreation area. And adjoining it, he acquired land for an 18-hole golf course.

He had a permanent payroll of 10 employees with over 50 working at peak periods. His investment is about half a million dollars.

All this from a small 80-acre farm may sound impossible. But that's the genius of salesmanship. Here briefly, is what happened.

Not content with selling apples from a roadside stand, John and his father scoured the country for an old fashioned, commercial-sized cider press. They found one nearly 100 years old. John, his father, and his foreman, Harold Maier, built a big Swiss chalet-type building of rough native timber to house the press, leaving plenty of room for visitors to watch the press in operation.

John invited newspapermen to come for a look; several big-city papers ran feature stories. Crowds of curious people dropped in, they took apples and cider back home with them, and the Bintz's one-stop recreation center was on its way.

Since cider and doughnuts are natural companions, John bought a used doughnut machine and sold a glass of cider and a doughnut for 15c. The doughnuts were so good that visitors started buying them by the dozen.

John's mother wondered if people wouldn't buy homemade bread as well. Apple-conscious John decided to try it, but with cider instead of water in the dough. Nok Bintz "Cider-Bread" has become a favorite "specialty of the house."

Some of the simplest ideas proved most profitable. John took a look at the swarms of kids playing around the place and the thought hit him—caramel-candied apples. He and his foreman contrived a hollow, realistically painted "apple," 12' in diameter, made of cement plastered over chicken wire, with a sales window built into it. On some Sundays they sell as many as 5000 caramel apples at 15c each.

Even before they built the cider mill, John's mother had noticed that women usually stayed in the car while men came to the roadside stand. So she started a gift shop.

It caught on at once and quickly grew into something more. An old-fashioned "country store" complete with hard candies scooped out of barrels. A gourmet shop is stocked with exotic foods including quality jellies, jams and preserves.

One thing bothered the Bintzes. Theirs was a good-weather-only operation. The winters were dead.

So though his land was flat John Bintz decided to build a ski slope. The first year he scooped up a hill 90' high, the second year pushed it to 120', and now he has a miniature mountain of 1,500,000 cubic yards of earth 160' tall with snow machines as insurance against uncertain weather. He built a ski lodge and opened for business.

Restless John Bintz tried other things. He has 10 acres of irrigated raspberries where families can pick their own. Hundreds come, often for a full day's outing.

Two horses and a bobsled take visitors for rides around the farm in winter. There is a wagon for summers. Many bring the youngsters just for that, but of course they buy apples.

"Much of our success can be attributed directly to Joan," says John. She knows the business as well as I do." Joan handles advertising and publicity, supervises the bakery and candy factory, and is in charge of the ski lodge. It's the kind of family partnership that proves a "small" farm can be successful.

#### CONGRATULATIONS ON MOON LANDING FROM YUGOSLAVIA

**HON. THOMAS M. PELLY**

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I received a post card from Yugoslavia recently, ad-

ressed to American Congress, Washington, U.S.A., which I sent to the Library of Congress for translation.

This translation has been completed, and because of its address to all Members of Congress, and because of the text of the message from behind the Iron Curtain, I ask that it appear at this point in the RECORD:

Esteemed Ladies and Gentlemen: On the occasion of the successful conquest of the Moon by your astronauts, please accept my most heartfelt greetings, my most sincere congratulations and best wishes for further great successes of NASA in the study of our natural satellite.

MR. HRVOJE VELEBIT,  
Vela Luka, Korcula, Yugoslavia.

#### RED EMBASSY DIPLOMACY

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, September 10, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, days following the ransomed release of U.S. Ambassador Elbrick, who was kidnapped by Communists and held hostage, Mr. Arthur F. Burns, counsel to the President of the United States, and his wife and son attended the Bulgarian Embassy reception marking the 25th anniversary of communism—politely termed socialism—in Bulgaria.

Counselor Burns is reported to have wanted to show his son a typical night on the town of Washington so he selected this Red Embassy party.

Also reported in attendance was the Ambassador of Czechoslovakia and representatives of the Soviet Embassy and together they sipped red and white Bulgarian wine.

If any agreements were entered into between the President's counsel and the Communist diplomats to refrain from kidnapping any more U.S. representatives, let us hope the Red terrorists operating around the world will respect such commitments.

A news article follows:

[From the Washington Post, September 10, 1969]

#### BULGARIA PROVIDES NIGHT ON THE TOWN

(My Dorothy McCardle)

Counselor to the President and Mrs. Arthur F. Burns wanted to show their son a typical night on the town in Washington. So they took him to an embassy reception last night.

As it turned out, Dr. Burns was the top-ranking Administration official at the 25th anniversary reception at the Embassy of Bulgaria on Van Buren Street.

For Joseph Burns, a 31-year-old economics professor, this was his first visit here since his father became top White House adviser to President Nixon. It was also a homecoming to a town he knew well as a school boy, first at Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School and then at St. Albans from which he graduated. He now teaches at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA).

"Did your son take up economics under your influence?" Dr. Burns was asked.

"No, I took up economics under my son's guidance," quipped one of the top economists of the country.

The Burns family and all the other 300 guests enjoyed the menu. They sipped red and white Bulgarian wine, tried Bulgarian cheese, salad, cabbage and grape leaf rolls and then tackled American dishes—ham, turkey and steamship rounds of roast beef.

For the occasion, Bulgarian Ambassador and Mrs. Luben Guerassimov had a supply of a 35-page illustrated brochures about Bulgaria. The brochures described the anniversary as marking the "advent of socialism in Bulgaria, an event without parallel in the thirteen-centuries-long history of the Bulgarian people."

Two ambassadors who will shortly give parties at their embassies to say goodbye to Washington were there—the Ambassador of Tunisia Rachid Driss and Dr. Karel Duda, the Ambassador of Czechoslovakia. Representatives from the Soviet Embassy also were there.

#### TRIBUTE TO THE LATE HONORABLE BARRATT O'HARA

**HON. HENRY S. REUSS**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, September 3, 1969

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, our former colleague, the late Barratt O'Hara, was a man of unceasing energy and sharp intelligence whose career in both public and private life was marked by uncommon versatility and achievement.

Mr. O'Hara's 18-year career in Congress began in 1948, when he was 66 years old. In itself, this is a remarkable achievement. Barratt O'Hara's long legislative tenure was the culmination of a full life of service to his country that began in 1895 when, at age 15, he ran away from home to volunteer to fight in the Spanish American War.

This adventuresome spirit characterized Barratt O'Hara. He accepted diverse challenges with untiring diligence and energy. At age 30, he was elected Lieutenant Governor of Illinois, the youngest Lieutenant Governor in that State's history. Before entering the House, Barratt O'Hara enjoyed careers as a motion picture executive, radio commentator, and lawyer.

As a legislator, he was an early advocate of civil rights legislation. The first chairman of the Subcommittee on African Affairs, he strove to promote African self-government and self-development.

This was the many faceted career of Barratt O'Hara, a lifetime of dedication to the elimination of human misery and suffering.

Mr. Speaker, those of us who served with the late Barratt O'Hara are richer for our association with this man of such varied interests and exceptional ability. Throughout his life, his deeds embodied all that is great in America.

I am honored to pay tribute to Barratt O'Hara. We shall all sorely miss our former colleague. All of us and his loved ones may be consoled in the knowledge that Barratt O'Hara's memory shall never grow old, but shall forever represent the breadth of vision and depth of human concern that marked our late colleague's entire life.

