

"Postal Corporation"; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

291. Also, petition of Walter C. Grunthal, Lone Pine, Calif., et al. relative to pensions

for World War I veterans; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

THE VIETNAM MORATORIUM DEMONSTRATIONS

HON. LEN B. JORDAN

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, the Vietnam moratorium demonstrations set for October 15 could be of great value to the Nation if their focus was on provoking a thoughtful discussion of the problems involved in ending this war. I would hope that this moratorium be used not merely to denounce our involvement in Vietnam, but to consider seriously some of the implications of ending that involvement. An excellent article on this point was recently published in the Christian Science Monitor. As its author, William H. Stringer, points out:

The United States is accused of blundering into the war in Vietnam. It should not blunder out.

Some of the important questions which the article raises are these: What will be the fate of middle- and low-echelon Vietnamese officials after an American withdrawal? Should provisions be made to guarantee their safety or to grant them freedom to leave South Vietnam if they wish? And what will be the impact of an American withdrawal on the rest of Southeast Asia? Will it leave Peking and Moscow free to dominate the governments of that region?

Another point that merits discussion is what effect demonstrations such as these have on the Paris peace talks. While I would not question the propriety of these expressions of opinion, I do believe that responsible critics must do some thinking about how their actions will influence the speed with which a negotiated settlement is reached.

In short, I hope that October 15 will prove to be a day of constructive discussion—a true teach-in—rather than a purely emotional demand for an immediate end to the war. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

TEACH-IN?

(By William H. Stringer)

It would be useful if the Vietnam moratorium demonstrations set for Oct. 15 were to be "teach-ins"—candid discussions—of just what can and should be done to get the miserable war over as quickly as possible. There should be something more than mere "downing tools" that day, more than just calling the war "obscene," more than advocating, as does Dr. Spock, "immediate withdrawal" without any major conditions.

The United States is accused of blundering into the war in Vietnam. It should not blunder out.

Everyone should know precisely what is

being advocated. For instance, what is to be done about those thousands of middle and low echelon Vietnamese officials who might well be murdered if the United States should quit Vietnam tomorrow? Not the Kys and Thieus, who presumably could quit the country—some top figures have bank accounts stashed away in Switzerland. But many city and village officials like those honorable citizens of Hue who were murdered for being there and being neutral, when the Communists briefly held that ancient citadel. Can guarantees be obtained from Hanoi? Would anyone wishing to leave South Vietnam be free to go? Where to?

Or what about the impact of a swift American retreat on the rest of South and Southeast Asia? Does the United States pull out of Thailand, and Laos? It is considered to be factually correct that the Indonesian leaders found courage to frustrate the bid of Peking-style communism to take over their country, thanks to the presence of the Americans in Vietnam and the British in Malaysia. It is rather useful that all of Southeast Asia is not now in the grip of a communism oriented in Peking. Would total American withdrawal aid Peking, or Moscow, or whom?

A great and responsible nation does not bug out of an area which it has penetrated, with whatever mistaken motives, without considering more than the feelings of outrage felt by some citizens.

The major culprit here, it would seem, is the government in Saigon. It hasn't by any means broadened its base, brought in neutral and civilian viewpoints, cleaned out corruption, widened its public support. President Nixon thought that his slow pace of American troop withdrawals would pressure Saigon to see the light. There are those who fault Mr. Nixon for not pacing American troop withdrawals to the pace of Hanoi's reduction of its infiltration into South Vietnam. Certainly if the President were visibly tougher on Saigon, he would win further breathing space for his peacemaking.

But what Mr. Nixon's strategy is up against is the fact that some young Americans understandably want the United States to get out of the war, totally and right now, without considering the consequences on Hanoi of the protest movement they have set in motion. Those who dealt with Communist negotiators in Korea, or in the interminable meetings which finally moved the Russians out of Austria, know that such negotiations depend on many complex factors. These include, right now at Paris, the state of American opinion.

We are told that Henry Kissinger, at the White House, argued to several young Republican congressmen—who would move to repeal the Tonkin Gulf resolution—that every political protest which advised Hanoi of rising American antiwar sentiment, would be one more blow to the President's hope of compelling North Vietnam to negotiate an end to the conflict.

It surely must be obvious that if the United States should set a date—such as the end of 1970—to be out of Vietnam, bag and baggage, all Hanoi has to do is sit tight and await the day. This would be about as sensible as for General Eisenhower to have advised Hitler, on D-Day, that if the Americans weren't in Paris in two months, they would quit World War II and go home.

When the students go ringing doorbells on October 15, they should bring with them estimates, as accurate as possible, of the total consequences of what they propose.

NEW LEMINGTON DEVELOPMENT: 18-MONTH FIGHT BRINGS HOUSING

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of this House the fine efforts of a group of Pittsburgh citizens, who in their own way sought a solution to our national housing shortage. Acting independently, this group built their hopes of more housing for more Americans, into reality, an 87-unit moderate-income apartment building.

Their pioneer efforts were undertaken at great personal sacrifice as well as financial risk.

Their efforts and results are described in the following article which appeared in the October 6 issue of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette:

NEW LEMINGTON DEVELOPMENT: 18-MONTH FIGHT BRINGS HOUSING

(By Bohdan Hodiak)

A group of civic-minded Pittsburgh residents closed a \$1.7 million deal with federal officials last week for an 87-apartment housing development in Lemington Heights, in the Lincoln Avenue-Lemington District of the 12th Ward.

The non-profit, moderate-income development took 18 months to arrange.

It was suggested and nursed by David Horwitz, a McKees Rocks optometrist who lives in Squirrel Hill and describes himself as "an absolute and complete amateur" in housing.

NEARLY CANCELED

To pass safely through the bureaucratic meat grinder took several thousand hours of work, the risk of thousands of dollars, and the help of a congressman and two U.S. senators, he said.

Even then the project was nearly canceled several times.

The local Federal Housing Authority (FHA) originally turned it down, the land purchase option ran out, there was not enough money, the contractor had second thoughts about taking on the project, and all the experts said, "We told you it couldn't be done."

It started in March 1968 at a meeting of the United Jewish Congress (UJC) in Squirrel Hill. "Everybody says the city needs housing," said Dr. Horwitz of 6316 Bartlett St.

"Why can't we form a corporation, get an FHA guarantee, and build some homes?"

AGREED TO HELP

Three men at the meeting agreed to help: Daniel Berger, an attorney, Jacob J. Gzesh, an architect, and William Behrend, a realtor, who said he knew of 6.5 acres of land that might be suitable. The UJC voted its approval.

The Metropolitan Pittsburgh Non-Profit Housing Corporation was organized with Horwitz as president; I. Martin Wekselman, an attorney, as vice president; Alma Fox of NAACP as executive secretary; and the Rev. David Malone, former pastor of the Lemington Presbyterian Church, as members.

They went to the local FHA and were turned down. They were told the immediate area of Lemington Avenue and Missouri Street did not need moderate income housing. "But Pittsburgh does," Horwitz said and went to Rep. William Moorhead, Shadyside Democrat, for help. He also went to the state's two federal senators. The decision was reversed.

PUT UP OWN MONEY

Horwitz then put up \$7,800 of his own capital to get an option on the land which was offered for \$75,000.

The Urban Affairs Foundation of the UJC put up \$9,322 and then the housing group managed to get \$35,280 in Appalachian Funds. (The federal government considers Pittsburgh a part of Appalachia.)

This was the seed money. Gzesh designed the project; Berger went to work on the legal maze. About this time they found out they would have to buy additional land to satisfy FHA requirements.

The parcels cost \$19,850 more but the FHA would not cover them.

The choice was between dropping the project or hope that later contributions would cover the difference. They decided to take a chance on contributions.

PUT OUT FOR BIDS

The development was designed and put out for bids. Every bid that came in was over the FHA limit. Then the group found American Modulars Corp., a wholly owned subsidiary of U.S. Steel.

Modulars built pre-fabricated housing that reduced construction costs around 15 percent. Ryan Homes Inc. agreed to build the development using the pre-fab housing.

Then the group discovered that because the housing development had winding streets instead of straight streets it would have to seek approval of the project from the City Planning Commission and the City Council, Horwitz said.

They went to the Housing Authority of Pittsburgh and begged it to take the project off their hands.

Two authority members said they had questions about the project's density and wanted time to study it.

SEVERAL PROTESTED

Because the option was close to running out the group went back to the Planning Commission. At the public hearing several protesters showed up. Several claimed they were not notified in time. The hearing was postponed.

The following month the same protesters showed up. Their objections were similar to those the commission hears every time a new housing project is proposed.

"We're not against this project or against housing," they said, "but we don't want it in our neighborhood."

The Planning Commission approved the project. The option ran out. The City Council approved the project.

The attorney for the land owner called in Horwitz and told him the rezoned land was now more valuable and asked \$100,000. There was a flurry of meetings.

Horwitz told the attorney that they couldn't raise the extra money and that the project was dead. The price went down to \$85,000.

The project's architect, realtor, the attorney all agreed to take a cut to make up the \$10,000 difference. Then the contractor had second thoughts because the summer months had passed.

The project would be more costly to start in the fall and winter. Last Monday at 9 p.m. Horwitz received a call from the contractor saying he would accept the project.

The following day, after a nine-hour closing session the development was approved by the FHA. There was a foot-high stack of paperwork.

Land clearing should begin in two weeks with completion in Jan. 1971. Most of the apartments will have three bedrooms and 20 per cent will be rent subsidized for low income families.

A MESSAGE TO CONSERVATIONISTS

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, as a member of the Subcommittee on Natural Resources and the Environment of the Committee on Commerce, and as a sponsor of several measures aimed at preserving and reclaiming our natural environment, I took interest in James J. Kilpatrick's "Call for Action" for conservationists.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Kilpatrick's article be printed in the RECORD.

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

CALL FOR ACTION

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

WASHINGTON.—Several hundred leading conservatives gathered at the Sheraton-Park last weekend to take the waters and toast the Republic. The occasion was an awards dinner sponsored by American Conservative Union, Human Events, National Review, and Young Americans for Freedom, honoring Senator John Williams of Delaware and Congressman H. R. Gross of Iowa.

The sponsors of the clambake invited me to make a few remarks. I am not at all certain that this is what I said, but it is what I had in mind to say:

On the record, gentlemen, our cause goes well. In both the House and Senate, the number of conservatives gradually increases. The same modestly encouraging picture may be seen in statehouses across the land. Our peerless leader in the White House may not be a true-blue conservative—not as true-blue as Messrs. Williams and Gross—but he is far more congenial to our views than, say, Hubert Humphrey. He is as conservative a President as we had any hope of electing, and we are lucky to have him.

Yet the conservative cause, if it would continue to prosper, must in some fashion overcome its image as the negative party. Dammit, gentlemen, when will conservatives apply their talents to affirmative answers to American problems?

One of the most serious problems in American society goes to the quality of life in the world around us. Our rivers and lakes are dying of pollution. Our greatest cities stifle in smog. Our littered streets insult the eye. Concern mounts at the residual damage done to man's environment by such pesticides as DDT. Year by year, our loveliest countryside are yielded up.

The problem essentially is a problem of conservation—of conserving some of the great values of America; and conservatives, of all people, ought to be in the vanguard of the fight. Yet if one were asked to name quickly the political figure most identified with pollution, it would be Muskie of Maine. If beautification of the highways is identified with a single person, it is identified with Ladybird Johnson. Think of pesticides, and one thinks of Nelson of Wisconsin. Where lies the leadership in preserving wild rivers, redwood forests, wilderness areas? Gentlemen it is not to be found on our side of the aisle.

Ours is the party most identified with

commerce, business and industry. We defend their interests well. But isn't something more demanded in the name of an affirmative conservatism? Why do we let Ralph Nader monopolize the duties of right conscience? Do we not have an obligation to wage our own war upon fraud, shoddy merchandise, and exploitation of the poor?

One of the great principles of our philosophy goes to the right of privacy—to man's right to be left alone from the harassments of the state. Yes, we have done better here. Ervin of North Carolina, for one, has been in the forefront of an admirable effort to protect the privacy of federal workers. Yet conservatives, by and large, are not identified with this effort. Liberals have beaten us to it.

What are we doing—really doing—about our cities? Where are our leaders in relieving racial tensions? What effective answers have we offered for the housing of low-income families? Do conservatives have a program for elderly Americans, caught in the vise of inflation? We are bold and fearless, to be sure, in the cause of law and order. But where are our voices for penal reform?

It is a feeble response, my brothers, to insist that of course conservatives are "for" something: We are for the greatest personal freedom consistent with ordered liberty. We are for the proposition of limited government under a federal system. We are for balanced budgets, sound dollars, strong defense, and honest work. We are for the church, the home, the flag. We are keen on clean movies. Our strength is as the strength of ten, because our hearts are pure. Great! But if I had only one political wish, conservatively speaking, I would wish to see us translate broad conservative principles more frequently into specific, affirmative action.

ENDING THE VIETNAM WAR

HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to draw the attention of my colleagues to a letter I received recently from the Honorable Roy H. Hibner, a member of the house of representatives in Indiana. His comments on the statements of some Members of Congress on ending the Vietnam war bear our attention and concern. I urge my colleagues to give it their careful consideration:

STATE OF INDIANA,

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Michigan City, Ind., October 1, 1969.

Representative EARL LANDGREBE,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR EARL: I was very much upset to read some of the statements made by some of your colleagues in the House and Senate relative to ending the Vietnam War on a certain date and cutting it off as if it could be turned off like a water faucet! I wrote to some of these senators and representatives, and I really expressed my opinion in a very strong language to them.

If we are not fighting for a principle in Vietnam, then where were these people a few years ago? They should have impeached President Johnson if we were fighting without any purpose.

These irresponsible statements are unpatriotic and give aid and comfort to our enemy, prolong the war, and increase the casualties.

I believe if the entire Congress would back

the President to the hilt, it would give him a very strong hand at the negotiating table, and this war would end in a very short time. This is the feeling of many people with whom I have talked.

You have my permission to present or read this letter to any other congressman you so desire.

Sincerely,

ROY H. HIBNER,
State Representative.

OCTOBER 15—AIDING THE ENEMY

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, recently I called to the attention of our colleagues and inserted in the RECORD—page 29367—the full text of the Radio Hanoi broadcast praising the disloyal or misled Americans who are planning the so-called moratorium next Wednesday.

Today's column by David Lawrence discusses fully the benefits which the enemy will gain by these activities. He reports quite correctly that prolonging the war will cost American lives, and that irresponsible statements being made both inside and outside of the Congress are unquestionably encouraging the enemy to prolong the war.

I insert his column in my remarks at this point:

CRITICS ASKING UNITED STATES TO SURRENDER
(By David Lawrence)

For the first time in American history, some members of Congress as well as a number of protesting groups are demanding that the United States run up the white flag and yield to the enemy in Vietnam after many American lives have been sacrificed for a great principle—to repel aggression and aid weaker nations to determine their own destiny.

No public opinion poll has directly asked the question whether the American people favor surrender. The customary queries have been whether the war is being handled properly or if it should be brought to an end, without reference to how this could be achieved. The issue has not been clearly put to the people. If it were, undoubtedly Americans would reject any humiliating policy amounting to "peace at any price."

Resolutions are being offered in Congress and are being supported by various organizations which plan "demonstrations" in many cities on October 15 to insist that the United States make peace at once. Not a single one of these proposals requires as a condition any reciprocal action to be taken by the North Vietnamese. In Paris this week, both North Vietnam and the Viet Cong have deliberately ignored peace efforts made by the United States, and are offering no concessions whatsoever.

The forthcoming "Protest Day" in the United States—next Wednesday—is being hailed by the Communists as a sign that the American people are willing to surrender. Seventeen senators and 47 House members are supporting the projected "demonstrations."

The chief American delegate at Paris, Henry Cabot Lodge, has been pleading in vain for talks that would accomplish constructive purposes, but the opposing delegations at the Paris conference have been turning a deaf ear. The negotiators of the North Vietnamese government instead are placing

great hopes on the signs of American opposition to the war. One of the Hanoi representatives says that support is snowballing in the United States in behalf of the Communists.

Almost every week some members of the Senate and the House call for a more and more rapid pullout of American forces by President Nixon, but not one of them imposes any condition on the enemy to take the action necessary to assure peace in South Vietnam. Timetables are being specified by senators for the withdrawal of the American troops, yet no stipulation is made that the enemy must also remove its military forces from South Vietnam.

Meanwhile, there is much talk about a "coalition government" being set up which could replace the present government in South Vietnam and make it easy for North Vietnam to move in and assume command. Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird recently stated President Nixon's policy as follows:

"We hold firmly to a single objective for Vietnam: permitting the people of South Vietnam freely to determine their own destiny. We want peace as speedily as possible, but we cannot acquiesce to a peace that denies self-determination to the South Vietnamese."

The advocates of peace at any cost would in effect, allow the South Vietnamese government to be destroyed. Yet it has mobilized a large army, and what some members of Congress seem to be asking is that this force surrender to the enemy.

A Gallup Poll recently showed 52 percent approval when the question concerned "the way President Nixon is handling the situation in Vietnam." One wonders how much bigger the percentage would be if an answer were obtained on the following questions:

"Do you want the United States to surrender in Vietnam, and thereby ignore the sacrifices that have been made by tens of thousands of troops of the United States and our allies who have been killed or wounded in an effort to protect the right of peoples to select their own form of government?"

All the so-called "antiwar" statements being made inside and outside of Congress are unquestionably encouraging the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong to prolong the war. If this fact, which has been stated by high authorities, were to be reiterated and made plain to the American people, they would surely not support any resolution in Congress that could mean surrender. For to do so would tell the Soviets and the Red Chinese that America would no longer help countries to resist aggression whether in Asia, Europe or Latin America.

The Washington Post has published a handy schedule of events planned by those who are aiding the enemy. I insert this article at this point in my remarks:

MORATORIUM PLANS INCLUDE TEACH-INS
AND SLEEP-INS

(By Gordon Pettey)

Thousands of students, professional men and women, religious leaders and government officials are expected to participate in one or more of the many Washington area antiwar activities planned for the Oct. 15 moratorium on "business as usual."

In cooperation with the Vietnam Moratorium Committee's national plans, local opponents of the Vietnam war are planning memorial services, teach-ins, marches, rallies and even a sleep-in, in an effort to promote community discussion of war-related issues and convince President Nixon to withdraw all U.S. troops from Vietnam.

The moratorium movement has begun to build a broad-based support in the Washington area, with professionals, businessmen and high school students planning their own activities independent of college campus projects.

Planners of the moratorium hope to cul-

minate the day's activities with a massive candlelight march around the White House beginning about 5 p.m.

Michael Driver, the 23-year-old Washington coordinator for the moratorium, said a folk group is expected to entertain the marchers at the Sylvan Theater, near the Washington Monument, before Coretta King, widow of civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., leads the marchers in the candlelight procession.

DRAFT HEADQUARTERS

A demonstration is also planned at Selective Service national headquarters at 1724 F St. NW at about 2 p.m. following the local activities on high school and college campuses and in area communities.

Perhaps the most ambitious local activities are planned at the area's colleges and universities.

American University students plan to begin their activities at 7 p.m. on Oct. 14 with a list of speakers that includes Seymour Hirsch, a vociferous opponent of chemical warfare, Sanford Gottlieb, of The Society for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), and speakers from the National Council to Repeal the Draft.

The following day, a program will begin at 10 a.m. with scheduled speakers including Andy Young, local secretary of SCLC, according to Doug Goodfriend, one of the student organizers at American University. The students will then join the demonstration at the Selective Service national headquarters.

At Georgetown University, an even more ambitious program is planned, beginning next weekend with a leaflet-distributing campaign in Georgetown to elicit business support for the moratorium.

SUBSISTENCE DINNER

According to Timothy Russell, campus coordinator for the moratorium, Georgetown University students are planning a "meal of reconciliation" at 6 p.m. on Oct. 14 at which soup and bread will be served. They will then lead a candlelight procession through Georgetown, followed by a sleep-in on the front lawn of the University.

On the morning of Oct. 15, students will participate in a teach-in, with about 50 different classes on war-related issues scheduled to be taught by faculty members, Russell said.

At 2 p.m. * * * is scheduled to speak at a rally, followed by Frank Mankiewicz, columnist and former aide to Sen. Robert F. Kennedy. The university's president, Rev. Robert J. Henle, will offer a mass for peace at 4 p.m. and then lead a march to the Sylvan Theater to join the mass rally.

George Washington University students are concentrating on the planning of the Selective Service demonstration, according to Michael Mazloff, a senior who is organizing the moratorium at GW.

MASS FOR PEACE

Mazloff said GW students hope to hold a rally in the early afternoon with Dr. Benjamin C. Spock as the main speaker. Persons from other communities and campuses will then join the GW students in the march to the Selective Service building, he said.

Catholic University students are planning a "Day of Dialogue and Discussion" Oct. 15, beginning with a 10 a.m. mass for peace on the steps of the university's library. The mass will be celebrated by 13 priests, according to student organizer Linda Rodrigues, president of the junior class.

She said * * * is scheduled to speak after the mass, followed by seven workshops and discussion groups led by faculty members. After the workshops, there will be two showings of the British Broadcasting Corp. film, "The War Game", Miss Rodrigues said.

University of Maryland students have already begun door-to-door canvassing to en-

courage community participation in the moratorium, according to Ilsa Pinkson, a 21-year-old junior. She said students and faculty are planning workshops Oct. 13 and 14 with speakers like Gottlieb and Arthur Waszkow, of the Institute for Policy Studies.

On Oct. 15, the day of the moratorium, the students will be able to participate in an all-day teach-in, while a guerrilla theater group gives performances around the campus focusing on "the school and the war machine," Miss Pinkson said.

Students at both campuses of Montgomery College, at Dumbarton College, Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies, Columbia Union College and Trinity College, are also planning similar activities.

PROTEST AT JUSTICE

The moratorium has also spawned a movement among Georgetown University law students "to change the legal and penal standards of this nation," according to Barry Wilner, a 22-year-old law student and organizer of the movement.

The law students plan a demonstration at the Justice Department Oct. 15, with speeches from I. F. Stone, author and newsletter publisher, and Marcus Raskin.

Wilner said the issue of legal standards "is of national importance. Free speech against Vietnam and U.S. involvement abroad is being denied to America's dissident leaders," he said.

Area high school students are planning activities to be incorporated into the regular school schedule. None of the schools will be closed for the day.

The Washington Teacher's Union and the Montgomery County Teachers' Union have already endorsed the moratorium and are planning to focus classroom discussion on war and peace issues, where the subject matter is appropriate.

John C. Albohm, Alexandria's school superintendent, said, "We've had no formal petitions from students yet. But if they occur, we have suggested that the principals give students time to air their points of view." He said students planning to miss classes for antiwar activities Oct. 15 would be required to have a note from their parents.

Moratorium activity in Arlington County schools will "be at the discretion of the principal," according to Timothy O'Connor, of the office of public information. He said, "The students have the responsibility to help plan and participate in any assemblies or forums," and it will be left up to teachers "in appropriate subjects to discuss relevant issues."

In Montgomery County, where the most student organization has taken place, Superintendent Homer O. Elseroad said that schools will take note of the moratorium in a variety of ways to be determined by the principal, staff and students at each school.

He said schools may have class discussions, schoolwide assemblies or after-school forums "for presentation of both sides of the Vietnam war issue."

Thomas Quinn, a junior at Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School, said, "Student support is just phenomenal." He said students plan to invite a prominent speaker to be followed by a lunch-hour memorial service. Students will also wear black arm-bands to class Oct. 15.

About 72 per cent of the Walt Whitman High School student body approved a referendum last week endorsing the moratorium and opposing the present conduct of the war. Plans are still tentative, but include a student assembly devoted to war-related issues, according to senior John Bernton.

ASKS CLASS SUSPENSION

The D.C. moratorium coordinator, Michael Driver, said, "We don't want students to leave classes on Oct. 15, but we urge high school administrators to suspend classes in the afternoon and keep students on campus to

conduct a day of inquiry." He said he was in the process of setting up a speaker's bureau for high school programs.

Washington high schools have had no request for permission to organize moratorium activities, according to George R. Rhodes, assistant superintendent in charge of secondary schools. "My office would not oppose any assemblies or forums if they were requested," he said.

In the business community, members of the Montgomery County Alliance for Democratic Reform plan to distribute leaflets at shopping centers next Saturday to encourage community participation in the moratorium, according to Ray Pinkson, a local electrical contractor. He said he has also sent letters to over 100 area businessmen asking for their support.

The Mustard Seed, a community service center at the Presbyterian Church of the Pilgrims at 22d and P Streets NW, plans to reopen Oct. 14 with a program to promote the moratorium. The center is part of an experimental ministry in the Dupont Circle community.

LAWYERS' CONVENTION

The D.C. Lawyers Committee will sponsor a convocation for attorneys at Farragut Square at noon on Oct. 15, according to Gladis Kessler, a local attorney. She said other professionals will be welcome at the convocation, which is being held "to encourage the President and Congress to do everything possible to bring about a speedy end to American military involvement in Vietnam." Miss Kessler said, "The whole purpose is to make it very clear that the 'respectable' bar is opposed to the war, not only the hippies in beads."

Federal employee unions will be sponsoring speakers at some government agencies, according to the moratorium's labor organizer Roy Morgan. He said Dr. Spock is scheduled to speak to a lunch-hour rally at the National Institutes of Health and later at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Dr. George Wiley of the National Welfare Rights Organization, is scheduled to address Department of Agriculture employees, and other speakers are scheduled at the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, the Civil Rights Commission, the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Housing and Urban Development, Morgan said.

Employees at a number of other agencies, such as the Pentagon, the General Services Administration and the Library of Congress will pass out leaflets to fellow workers, he said.

Congressional staff members are planning a vigil on the Capitol's west front steps on Oct. 15.

Finally, the Washington Teachers Union has published and distributed for use in the indoctrination of public school children a study guide encouraging disloyalty. I insert the story from today's Evening Star detailing this shameful treachery to American fighting men at this point in my remarks:

TEACHER UNION SUPPLIES "STUDY GUIDE FOR PEACE"

(By John Mathews)

The Washington Teachers Union has included a detailed "study guide for peace" in the current issue of its newspaper distributed to all teachers in District schools today.

Drawn up by a committee of teachers, the guide suggests that teachers raise questions about the "problems of the city vs. war expenditures" and about the U.S. goal of free elections in Vietnam contrasted with the lack of home rule in Washington.

Some classroom "role playing" situations are described to involve students in the

issues. "You are a Vietnamese youngster and you awaken one morning to find your village destroyed. How will you react?" is one possibility offered for a classroom drama.

Students could also act out "a draft board situation in which a pacifist is trying to get a conscientious objector status," the guide suggests. The teacher is advised to "help the student playing the pacifist review what his beliefs are."

VOTE IMPLEMENTED

The study guide implements a recent vote by the union membership to support next week's Vietnam Day Moratorium by remaining in the classroom and teaching about "peace and the reordering of this nation's priorities."

Charles Cheng, a teacher union official, said today that the guide is not intended as an objective lesson plan. "If you support the moratorium—as we do—this indicates you're not supporting the war," he said. "I don't think anyone has to be objective about an immoral and racist war."

The guide, however, does include some statements supporting the war made by former President Johnson and the military editor of the New York Times. Anti-war statements listed include those of Corliss Lamont, Sen. Edward Kennedy, Sen. Frank Church and Muhammad Ali, who is quoted as saying "the war for black people is here at home and not in Vietnam."

QUESTIONS RAISED

Several questions raised by teachers in a "brainstorming session" are listed as possible discussion topics. They include:

"Why did some people—including a Congressman—say Ho Chi Minh was the George Washington of Vietnam after he died last month?"

"Why are more black men killed proportionately in Vietnam fighting than white men?"

The lesson plan begins with a quotation from Martin Luther King Jr., made several days before his assassination. It reads in part:

"Now, it should be incandescently clear that no one who has any concern for the integrity and life of America today can ignore the present war. If America's soul becomes totally poisoned, part of the autopsy must read, Vietnam."

CONGRESSMAN BILL SCOTT REPORTS

HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, we send monthly newsletters to all of the people in the Eighth District of Virginia who express a desire to receive it, and I would like to share our October issue with the Members of the House, a copy therefore is inserted in the RECORD at this point:

CONGRESSMAN BILL SCOTT REPORTS

SALEM CHURCH DAM

The House recently passed the 1970 Public Works Appropriations Bill which included \$35,000 for a restudy of the Salem Church Dam project to determine the extent plans can be modified to minimize the adverse effects on natural values in the area. The Committee felt that both the Department of the Army and the Department of the Interior should further review plans relating to the recreational aspects of the area. You will recall that this project was authorized by the Congress last year and the President

included \$150,000 in his budget for preconstruction planning funds. However, many conservationist groups have expressed concern that the beauty of the Rappahannock might be marred and the Secretary of the Interior, apparently yielding to these views, requested a further study. When the matter was considered, I offered an amendment on the floor of the House to restore the funds in accordance with the President's budget but it is almost impossible to have the House overrule the recommendations of the Committee. The measure was defeated, but with the assurance from members of the Committee that the Salem Church Dam is a good project which has the support of the Committee and should be constructed in the immediate future. This matter has been studied continually since 1933 and I hope that both Army and Interior will agree on what changes, if any, should be made and that a favorable recommendation can be obtained from the Committee. Public works projects of this magnitude require a great deal of consideration in both the authorization and funding process.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES HEALTH BENEFITS

It is expected, in the near future, that the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service will hold hearings on a bill to increase the government's share of the cost of the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program. As you may know, all 36 of the plans participating in the program will have changes in benefits or premium rates and at least thirty of these will show definite increases by January 1. Some federal employee organizations have urged that the government pay all the cost of health insurance premiums. However, it is unlikely that a bill to that effect will be enacted. It seems reasonable to me that government and employees share equally in the cost of health insurance programs.

CREDIT CARDS

Hearings are scheduled near the end of the month before a Subcommittee of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee on measures to prohibit the mailing of unsolicited credit cards and similar documents. In the event you would like to relate any experience you have had with regard to unsolicited credit cards, please let me know so that your thoughts may be reflected in my testimony before the Subcommittee.

VIETNAM

Individual members of the Congress and some groups of members are expressing their views and introducing resolutions of various types regarding the war in Vietnam. Some have suggested a sense of Congress resolution that all troops should be withdrawn by December 31, 1970. While we all would like for the conflict to be terminated at the earliest possible date, it does appear that telling the communists that Congress wants all troops out of South East Asia by the end of 1970 would seriously handicap the President and the peace negotiators in their efforts to terminate the conflict. These views and a statement of support for the President are contained in my remarks a few days ago on the House floor which we, of course, will share with you if you would like a copy.

CENSUS BILL

The House has passed the Confidentiality of Census Information Bill. This legislation required many hearings over a three-month period and 630 pages of testimony. Over 80 bills were introduced before the Committee came up with a final measure which all members of the Subcommittee on Census and Statistics joined in sponsoring and which was adopted. The measure eliminates the jail penalty for refusing to answer or falsely answering census questionnaires, yet retains the provision for a fine. It increases the penalty for any employee of the Bureau of the Census disclosing information obtained from census questionnaires and en-

deavors to strengthen the confidentiality to insure the census information will only be used for statistical purposes. Perhaps the most important feature of the bill, however, provides Congressional oversight of the number and nature of questions asked of citizens in the decennial census after 1970.

RETIREMENT BILL

The House agreed to the Senate amendments and sent the Government Employees Retirement Bill to The White House for consideration. In all probability, it will be signed into law within a few days. Of course, the bill serves the dual function of stabilizing the retirement fund so that money will be available when needed to provide annuities for employees by providing for payment of interest by the government on the unfunded liability and raising the contributions of both government and employees from 6½ to 7% effective January 1, 1970. It permits future annuities to be computed on the basis of salaries for the highest 3 consecutive years of service rather than the highest 5 years as in the past. There are a number of other minor changes in the retirement law and, of course, we can forward a copy of the bill to you if you would like but most government departments will probably furnish employees with information regarding the changes soon after the measure becomes law.

POSTAL REFORM

All members of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee want postal reform. The Committee, however, is evenly divided as to whether it should be accomplished by reform within the existing Post Office Department or by establishing a postal service corporation. At the present time, we are considering a bill, H.R. 4, to bring about reform within the existing department. But a motion was made a few days ago to substitute the corporation concept which failed to carry by a 13/13 vote. At the next meeting, an amendment will be proposed which will substitute the first 11½ pages of a bill I introduced on postal reform. This substitute provides that the Postmaster General be appointed for 12 years and his principal assistants for 6 years, bringing about a continuity in the leadership of the Post Office Department, which many believe is essential for more efficient operation of the Department. The amendment provides for the filling of postmaster and rural carrier positions by promotion or competitive examinations and removes the requirement for Senate confirmation for postmaster appointments. It would also prohibit political influence in the appointment and promotion of persons within the postal field service. While the amendment to be considered is the major portion of my bill, some of it was obtained from measures introduced by other members and consultation with the Committee staff. Therefore, the prospects are favorable for its adoption.

MANASSAS CEMETERY

The Committee on Veterans Affairs recently held a public hearing on the proposal to establish a national cemetery adjacent to the Manassas National Battlefield Park. A large portion of the testimony came from veterans groups although a number of individual citizens and members of the Prince William County Board of Supervisors also appeared and testified. The Subcommittee appeared to be generally favorable to the proposal and will probably favorably report the measure to the full Committee in the near future.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Retired persons and those with fixed incomes are suffering from the rise in the cost-of-living and our mail has reflected a desire of our senior citizens for an increase in Social Security benefits. In August, I joined a fairly large number of Congressmen in requesting the Chairman of the Ways and

Means Committee to hold hearings on measures to increase these benefits and the President has recently renewed his request and raised his recommendation from 7 to 10% effective next April. It does seem, however, that January 1 would be a more desirable effective date and this is provided in a bill a number of us have co-sponsored. However, there seems to be some conflict among experts as to how large a raise in benefits can be granted without raising contributions to the fund or using tax revenue. Payments to date have been from a trust fund maintained by contributions of both workers and employers and I would oppose having annuities paid out of general tax revenues. While it would be desirable to provide cost-of-living increases in Social Security benefits without raising the contributions, a decision on this will probably be made in the Ways and Means Committee after hearings and obtaining facts regarding the extent of the surplus in the trust fund.

PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE

Our office has received some revised editions of booklets that have been popular in the past. One is entitled "Our American Government" and contains questions and answers explaining how government functions. The second, entitled "How Our Laws Are Made", explains the role of Congress. I have a smaller personalized booklet entitled "This Is Your Government In Action" describing briefly and by way of cartoons the various steps for a bill to become law. Another booklet contains a literal print of the Constitution and Declaration of Independence with related notes and resolutions. All of these booklets are current and individual copies can be sent to you upon request. However, we have also obtained a rather large supply of a booklet published in 1966 on The Constitution which can be made available in quantity to schools or student groups.

SOMETHING TO PONDER

Are you old enough to remember when pay dirt was gold bearing ore instead of best selling literature?

INDEPENDENCE DAY SPEECH FOR UGANDA, OCTOBER 9, 1962

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, there is in East Africa a small but wonderfully intriguing country of great contrasts and physical beauty. I am speaking of Uganda, where the landscape varies greatly from the lush, fertile areas lining Lake Victoria's northern shores to the arid semidesert sections of the northern province to the snow-covered Ruwenzori Mountains of the west. Though Uganda lies like a blanket across the Equator, its altitude of 3,500 feet tempers the tropical heat.

The people of Uganda are as intriguing as the landscape they inhabit. A country of 7 million in an area comparable to that of Oregon, Uganda belongs to its people, for there are few permanently settled foreign populations. Only a scant 11,000 Europeans make Uganda their home, along with approximately 80,000 Asians. The indigenous population falls into two distinct groups—the Bantu of the south and the Nilotic northerners. The Bantus are made up of peoples of

the four "Agreement Kingdoms," the traditional ruling authorities with whom the British signed treaty agreements.

Uganda independence came on the 9th of October in 1962 after a 60-year association with the British—an association which Uganda has continued as an independent member of the Commonwealth. Despite internal constitutional problems, Uganda has made steady progress toward the resolution of her difficulties under the able leadership of Dr. Milton Obote, leader of the Uganda People's Congress and President of the country.

Under Dr. Obote's direction the Ugandans have expanded their foreign political frame of reference. The past 7 years have brought increased contacts with the East in many forms, particularly in trade and student exchanges.

The trends today in Uganda point toward increased and expanded contacts with both East and West, and Africa. She is a recent member of the East African Community, and hosted in July and August of this year a visit from Pope Paul.

It is with a keen appreciation of her beauty and potential that we salute Uganda on the anniversary of her independence, and wish her prosperity and success.

AMERICAN CONCERN FOR ADEQUATE DEFENSE

HON. ALEXANDER PIRNIE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, the concern of Americans for adequate defense is deep and real. The following speech by Lt. Gen. J. W. Carpenter III reveals very significant information and analysis in the field of national security and I commend it to my colleagues:

SPEECH BY LT. GEN. J. W. CARPENTER III, ASSISTANT VICE CHIEF OF STAFF, U.S. AIR FORCE, AT THE NEW YORK STATE AIR FORCE ASSOCIATION CONVENTION, McALPIN HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, OCTOBER 4, 1969

In his very kind invitation to this event, your President asked that I come prepared to discuss the Air Force of the future—5, 10, 20 years ahead.

My experience in the planning business has convinced me that those in and around defense matters normally should be able to look about five years into the future with reasonable clarity—say 20/30 correctible to nearly 20/20. I say "normally" because these are not normal times. We are fighting a war, cutting the budget, and dealing with some very serious domestic problems simultaneously. The figurative defense eye-chart showing what is in the future could have a couple of letters cut off while we're looking at it, or a "W" turns upside down to make an "M"—or other surprising things.

On the other hand, none of these things may happen. If they don't, our five year vision is pretty good because the major weapon systems we will be using then are, for the most part, already in the program and are under development or are known to be attainable within five years.

The period ten years ahead is something else. Here, visual acuity drops off considerably to maybe 20/60, correctible to 20/40. We don't know with any certainty what the

threat to our security and that of our allies will be in 1979. Also, there is a chance that science and technology will come up with innovations that lead to weapons somewhat different, or perhaps quite different. We don't know what our national priorities will be, what progress may have been made in arms control, what will be the condition of the world economy, what shifts may have taken place in strategic concepts, and so on.

Beyond ten years, reading the defense eye chart is like telling a very nearsighted man: "The first letter of the bottom line is D. Use your intelligence and experience to deduce what are the next six letters." He would have one chance in 25 of being right on a given letter, or one in 128 million of getting all six correct. Our long-range planning odds aren't quite that long. I exaggerate to make a point.

So going beyond the first relatively stable five years of futures to a ten and twenty year projection gets one solidly into the business of prophesy.

As I thought about your President's guidance, I thought also of H. L. Mencken's observation that "the prophesying business is like writing fugues; it is fatal to everyone except the man of absolute genius." I know of very few men who fall in that category.

So I decided to take a somewhat more modest approach than that suggested by Mr. Rapp. Rather than talking about what the Air Force will look like in an uncertain future, I'm going to talk about some capabilities we believe will be needed to carry out assigned Air Force missions.

Thinking about the Air Force future can't be done in a vacuum. A starting-point always has to be the military forces of potential opponents whom we must defend against—primarily the USSR; secondarily Communist China. Military planners must base their judgment of the forces and equipment this country needs on an evaluation of the kinds of equipment an opponent will be able to produce in the future and what he could do with it. This is true no matter who the direct opponent might be. In most cases where U.S. military forces could be useful in solving a problem, the opponent—if not a major power—would be supplied by, and at least tactically backed by, one of the two large Communist states.

These two items—near-term Communist capability and future potential—can be determined with some accuracy. We cannot determine with much accuracy what an opponent will actually develop and deploy several years from now or what he may plan to use his military forces for—in other words, his intentions. Very likely he doesn't know himself what his intentions may be ten or twenty years hence. They will be influenced by what we do in this country.

For example, if we were to allow our strategic forces to become very considerably smaller and less capable than those of the USSR, Soviet intentions might become the military defeat of this country or the enforcement of demands that could amount to a significant loss of our freedom.

At a lesser level of imbalance, but still one favorable to the USSR, their intention could be that of preventing the U.S. from using its military forces—nuclear or conventional—for anything but retaliation for an attack on our home land. In that situation, the USSR would feel relatively free to use its conventional military forces in a variety of ways inimical to our interests and those of our allies.

We do know that announced long-range Communist objectives have not changed from the consistently held goal of world domination. We do not know what their specific intentions might be under the set of circumstances, unfavorable to the United States, that I have just outlined. We don't know because we have no experience in an environment where the USSR held an advan-

tage in the strategic area and at the same time had the ability to project conventional military power beyond the frontiers that it now controls. We have always held the advantage in strategic nuclear power, but our margin of advantage is far less wide now than it was two or three years ago. We have been the only nation that had global mobility on a large scale, but now that advantage is being reduced by the Soviet trend toward more and longerranging mobility.

The consequences could be very grave if present trends continue. The United States is closer to the unfavorable environment I've described than it has been in the generation since nuclear weapons and mobile conventional forces became the keys to either Communist expansion or to a relatively peaceful, largely free world. Who will hold the keys in the future—the Communist States or the U.S. and its allies? I think that is an open question today.

Consider these facts:

Today the Soviets have more ICBM launchers in place or under construction than we have. At least 230 of these launchers are for SS-9s, that have been tested with three re-entry vehicles, each able to carry a five megaton warhead. Secretary Seamans, in his testimony before the Senate Appropriations Committee this past July said, "If this system (the SS-9 with multiple warheads) is perfected and deployed, by the middle 1970s the Soviets could have the capability of destroying most of our land-based missile force."

The Soviet ICBM force together with their existing submarine launched ballistic missiles has more than twice the missile payload of the entire U.S. land and sea-based missile force. Their ballistic missile-carrying submarine force is expanding rapidly, to a current total of 45.

The USSR has developed and deployed on a limited scale a ballistic missile defense system. They are working on improving that system before the U.S. has deployed its first piece of missile defense equipment.

It is important to remember that whatever margin of superiority the U.S. now holds in terms of deliverable megatonnage rests on its bomber force. The Soviet heavy bomber force is about one-third the size of our SAC bomber force, but the USSR shows no signs of reducing its heavy bomber inventory, while we have cut ours by nearly a third in the past four years. It sometimes is forgotten that the Soviets also have more than 700 medium bombers that are capable of attacking the United States with refueling or on a one-way mission.

Our present numerical advantage in heavy bombers is reduced by the size and sophistication of Soviet bomber defenses. Those defenses have not declined in extent or quality. Ours have been reduced in size—from 775 interceptors in 1965 to 368 in 1969, for example. This reduction was made in anticipation of replacing older interceptors with an improved aircraft, but we have not had the funds to do that. By the end of this fiscal year, our force of aging interceptors will have been further reduced to 252, or less than one-third the number we had in 1965.

In the general purpose area, the USSR has developed at least nine new fighter aircraft during the 1960s. Not all have been produced for operational units. In that same period, the U.S. has not developed and deployed a single new fighter designed for air-to-air combat; that is, an air superiority fighter. The MIG-21—not the newest Soviet fighter—is in some respects the equal of our best air superiority fighter, the F-4E. It's worth noting that the USSR has provided MIG-21s to 19 other countries.

The Soviets now have about 3,600 aircraft in tactical aviation—about twice as many as the Air Force has. However, except for the air superiority role, our tactical fighters are generally superior. Red China's air force has some 3,200 aircraft, most of them fighters

but the majority inferior to our tactical fighters.

During the past year, the size of Soviet tactical aviation and ground forces has increased and their quality has improved. Soviet naval growth in both surface and subsurface craft—including ballistic missile submarines—has been significant. These developments give Soviet military forces a greater degree of long-range mobility than they have had in the past.

Air Force modernization has been cut back drastically by the demands of the Vietnam War. This is particularly true in the case of aircraft. The average age of Air Force aircraft is now more than nine years. The Fiscal Year 1970 budget includes funds for the purchase of 662 aircraft. Of these, 205 are for our allies, leaving 457 for Air Force units, 169 of which are first-line fighters. This is the smallest buy since World War II.

In one category of aircraft—long-range transports—we still are well ahead of the USSR. The C-5s and C-141s put us in very good shape there, but we are less well-off when it comes to tactical transports.

Finally, Dr. John Foster, Director of Defense Research and Engineering, recently pointed out that the United States is in danger of losing its technological superiority if present trends in U.S. and Soviet research and development continue. For the past few years, Soviet R&D has shown an annual increase of about 10% compared to a 4% annual growth in U.S. R&D—just about enough in our case to offset inflation. Dr. Foster believes that the U.S. and USSR currently spend about the same amount on research and development and that sometime last year, this year or next year their R&D programs will exceed ours in total investment. He warned that, "Research and development shortcomings are overcome not in a few years but in many years—provided the other fellow eases off and lets you overcome them." There is no evidence that "the other fellow" intends to ease off.

In his last appearance before a Congressional Committee shortly before he retired, General McConnell said: "There is still the simple truth that if the other fellow has more and better weapons than you—and the will to use them—then you had better get busy or you are lost." That warning is worth listening to, for if present trends in U.S. and Soviet military preparedness continue we will soon reach a point of military inadequacy. We had better get busy.

"Getting busy" implies the establishment of very tight priorities. We in the military are well aware of the domestic problems which have a legitimate claim on national resources. Those problems must be faced up to. Under the circumstances it is incumbent on the military to establish an order of priorities against which their requests for equipment may be judged. I believe Air Force priorities should go something like this:

First, the things that are needed for national survival in this often hostile world. This could be called the survival imperative.

Next, those weapons and forces that assure not only survival but also the ability to conduct our relations with the community of nations freely, in order to improve the economic, social and cultural life of the country. This could be called the fulfillment imperative.

Then—and to some extent overlapping the second priority—the arms that are necessary to meet treaty obligations. This could be called the legal imperative.

Finally, military forces and equipment that we may need to back up other forms of assistance in helping smaller nations help themselves to attain freedom and advancement. This could be called the moral imperative, although of course the United States is acting in its own self-interest in helping the development process in smaller nations.

Now how do these priorities apply to the Air Force in the world environment of rapidly shifting military balance which I described in my comparison of U.S. and Soviet trends? How do they apply in an environment where our deterrent ability is being challenged and our ability to dominate in conventional war through control of the air is being brought into question?

I'll begin with the first priority—survival. One can hardly conceive of this country being destroyed by conventional warfare—something on the order of World War II fought with modern conventional weapons. The oceans still provide protection against that contingency. The physical destruction of the United States is possible—so far as we now can see—only through nuclear attack. Under some circumstances, the United States could survive a nuclear war, but the cost would be so terrible that our first priority must be deterrence of a nuclear attack on the United States.

At a minimum level, this capability calls for forces that could retaliate against an attacker to a degree that would set his cost high enough to raise doubts in his own mind as to whether the gain would be worth the cost. This minimum level of deterrence very likely would prevent a direct attack on the United States. But since it could be used only in extremes, it would have little or no influence in many other situations where another country's intentions were prejudicial to our interests.

A minimum level of deterrence, then, probably would assure survival, but would deprive our forces of a role that military power has played throughout history—that of a negotiating tool to support the attainment of national goals through peaceful means. Nevertheless, it is the essential foundation on which our total military posture must rest.

The second priority—our ability to conduct freely our relations with the rest of the world—implies a military posture that removes the threat of nuclear blackmail and enables the United States and its allies to influence—perhaps to limit—the intentions of a potential aggressor in the direction of peaceful competition. I am not talking about a so-called first strike capability. I am not talking about that indefinable quantity "nuclear superiority" which means so many different things to different people. What I am talking about is strategic forces properly sized and equipped to assure that this country can ride out a nuclear attack, retaliate and emerge from a nuclear conflict with a relative advantage in surviving military forces, people, and industrial capacity.

This kind of strategic deterrent force—the kind we have had for many years—is a very potent instrument for peaceful negotiations, a very persuasive counter to the threat of large scale conventional war, and a constraining influence on those who might consider starting a small war or escalating it to higher levels. It is an asset that a great power, the head of an extensive alliance system and de facto leader of the Free World should not give up lightly or let slip away through neglect. It should not be dissipated while world conditions are as unsettled as today.

Our actual experience with deterrence, and the great majority of empirical evidence derived from civilian and military studies of nuclear war, support that fact that deterrence at either of the levels I have described is best assured by a mixed force of bombers and missiles.

The third priority—our treaty obligations—is, of course, influenced by the relative nuclear postures of the U.S. and USSR. If our nuclear deterrent forces are in good order, the chance of large scale conventional war is greatly reduced. The primary objective of our alliances—NATO being the fore-

most in size and development—is deterrence of attack on any member of the alliance. Another important objective is that of holding hostilities that might occur to the level of conventional warfare.

In modern, mechanized warfare, all the evidence points clearly to this fact: The side with air superiority holds such an advantage that its opponent could win only at tremendous cost, if at all. This was true in every theater during World War II. In a considerably different context, it was true in Korea. The Middle East War of June, 1967, was a classic demonstration.

We must, therefore, see to it that our surface forces are never deprived of air superiority. In any war, control of the air must be gained and held in order to assure freedom of maneuver and to enable us to conduct other Air Force tasks—reconnaissance, interdiction, close support and airlift—at an acceptable cost.

The fourth priority—helping smaller nations help themselves toward independent viability—calls for rapid mobility of forces that are tailored to operate in an austere environment, with freedom of maneuver assured by air superiority.

I think it is obvious that the priorities I have discussed are not to be followed in sequential order. All have to be met—as best they can be met—simultaneously. But priorities do act as a guide—determining the extent of effort that should be placed on a particular weapon system within the limits of a feasible budget.

In the strategic deterrent area, our missile force is in relatively good shape from a technical point of view. The major development and production problems have been solved for propulsion and guidance systems, warheads, penetration aids and to some extent systems for survival. Once these types of problems have been overcome, force levels can be adjusted to meet a known threat with relative ease, if the funds are available.

The bomber component is less well off. Although a great deal of preliminary research and development has been done on sub-systems for the AMSA or B-1, full scale development hasn't yet been approved. If it is funded this year, the earliest we could have the B-1 in operational units would be 1977. By that time, the technology of the B-52 will be more than 20 years old, and maintenance costs will be tremendously high. The B-52's effectiveness as a deterrent system will be greatly reduced by the technical advances the Soviets have made and probably will continue to seek, in their air defense system. We would not expect the B-36, which was retired in 1959 to be able to penetrate Soviet defenses today. There are reasonable doubts as to whether the B-52 could penetrate effectively ten years from now.

Again, in the matter of the B-1, this is a case where quantity can be adjusted fairly rapidly once the much slower work of solving development and production problems has been done. If we are to achieve the overall quality that will be needed in our deterrent forces of the late 1970s, we must consider the B-1 a top priority project.

Generally, Air Force tactical equipment for close support, interdiction and reconnaissance is in an acceptable state from the quality viewpoint. If funding is approved by Congress, the A-7D will be coming into our operational inventory as a close support attack aircraft. The F-111 is the best all-weather interdiction aircraft in the world. We are, however, in a precarious position so far as an air superiority fighter is concerned. For the next five years, until the F-15 becomes operational, the Air Force will have to depend on a very fine but aging aircraft—the F-4E—for air-to-air combat. If it is necessary to compete against an opposing fighter that is newer and more effective than the MIG-21, we will have to depend

on the skill and experience of our pilots to offset technical advantages of the opposition.

To be fully effective in a combat role where we do not have ground-based radar control, our tactical fighters should be teamed with an advanced Aircraft Control and Warning plane—the AWACS. The AWACS could also increase the effectiveness of our small and obsolescing interceptor force in defense of the continental United States. AWACS enjoys a high priority in Air Force eyes but suffers from a lack of funding.

What I have tried to do in these remarks is outline some of the rationale that underlies Air Force thinking about its role in national defense. I've painted a picture of where we stand today in relation to our major opponent, indicated the functional areas that must have priority attention and illustrated with a few current examples the weapon systems that are needed to maintain an acceptable Air Force capability to carry out its part of the over-all defense job.

In doing this, I have partially fulfilled Mr. Rapp's request for a look at the Air Force 10 to 20 years ahead. The B-1 probably will be still in use in 1990. The average life of our fighter aircraft is 12 years, so the F-15 should be around until the late 1980s. Transports retain the effectiveness for a good many years, which means C-141s and C-5s probably will be with us until around 1990.

There are two elements that I can't describe. The first is force levels. They will depend on the size and nature of threats to our security, and on how the officials of future administrations and members of future Congresses interpret those threats. The progress of disarmament negotiations between the Free World and the Communist World will also be a factor.

The second unknown is the kinds of weapon systems that will evolve as follow-ons to those I've just mentioned. Even the most competent scientists and engineers—in or out of uniform—have been notoriously shortsighted in predicting long-term scientific and technical progress. In 1959, it was the consensus of leading aerospace scientists and engineers that a man could be put in earth orbit by 1970 and maybe on the moon by 1990. Twenty years from now, the Air Force may be using—or at least building—equipment that we haven't yet thought of.

Despite the phenomenal advances of the last twenty years, it still takes from 5 to 10 years to develop, test, produce and deploy a major weapon system. Quality comes hard and slowly, but in the final analysis it is quality that counts. It can be assured only by an active research and development program and imaginative application of the resulting technology to defense requirements. Quantity, as I have pointed out, can be achieved more rapidly by a nation with our unequalled production resources and know-how.

I do not believe this country is in peril today. I do believe that a continuation of the present Soviet trend of rapid defense modernization, as contrasted to our much more limited modernization, soon could have undesirable results. It could reduce considerably the constructive influence on world affairs that the United States has exercised for twenty-five years by virtue of its recognized strength, and its attachment to the ideals of free men.

Recently, General Ryan said, "I have great confidence in the common sense of the American people and in our system of government. I do not believe the Air Force will be put in the impossible position of having to meet a growing threat with inadequate resources." I think we all share his feeling.

We have always counted on the understanding and support of the Air Force Association in meeting our defense commitments.

I know that we can continue, with confidence, to rely on your support in these trying times.

THE COUP IN LIBYA: A SETBACK FOR THE WEST

HON. ALBERT W. WATSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, one of the most astute observers of international politics in this country, Mr. Anthony Harrigan, has written an excellent article on the recent tragic events in Libya which appeared in the American Security Council's Washington Report. Tony Harrigan has demonstrated a unique ability to foretell what effects a change in the government of a foreign nation will have on this country, and had his advice been followed in the past I believe that we could have avoided many mistakes in our foreign policy. I commend his article to the attention of the Congress and the Nation as follows:

THE COUP IN LIBYA: A SETBACK FOR THE WEST (By Anthony Harrigan)

The military coup which ousted King Idris of Libya and installed a socialist government, controlled by the 27-year-old strongman, Colonel Muhamed al-Quadhafi, is an ominous development for the free world.

Libya, a vast desert land with less than 1.7 million people, long has been the target of the pro-Soviet regimes in Cairo and Algiers. The Arab revolutionaries have had the continuing objective of consolidating revolutionary rule over the "Maghreb," meaning in Arabic the western land between the borders of Egypt and the Atlantic coast of Morocco. The success of the leftist army and air force officers in seizing power from the 79-year-old monarch is a tremendous victory for Colonels Nasser and Boumediene. They now are in a position to apply massive political pressure against the moderate government of little Tunisia.

The United States has enjoyed excellent relations with the Libyan government since the establishment of the North African nation in the late 1940's. The Soviet Union had sought to acquire Libya, which had been under Italian control since 1911, as its first protectorate or satellite in the Mediterranean. On November 21, 1949, however, the U.N. General Assembly passed a resolution to the effect that Libya would become independent on January 1, 1952. The USSR opposed the resolution but failed to thwart Libyan independence. In fact, Libya was the first African nation to gain independence after World War II.

Since the 1950's, Libya has played a vital role in U.S. defense planning. The giant Wheelus Air Base near Tripoli in the western part of the country provides American fighter aircraft in Western Europe with essential gunnery and bombing ranges. Approximately two thousand U.S. Air Force personnel are based in the country. This is the last air base the U.S. has in Africa.

The British also maintain an air base at El Adem near Tobruk and the country's eastern border with Egypt. In addition, British ground forces periodically hold exercises in desert areas near the coastal city of Benghazi.

The existence of U.S. and British bases in Libya has been the focus of innumerable attacks by Nasser who many times sought to supplant King Idris. The proclamation of the Revolutionary Council in Libya which

pledges support for "Arab unity, socialism and freedom" strongly indicates that Colonel Nasser now has the Libyan government he desires. The Egyptians have had a built-in advantage in recent years as they supplied Libya with large numbers of teachers and government administrators and trained many Libyan army officers. Radio Cairo reaches more Libyans than any other broadcasting service.

In 1964, the Libyan government, yielding partially to Colonel Nasser, agreed to negotiations for the closing of U.S. air base facilities. The negotiations have been protracted, and it seemed that the U.S. would continue to enjoy use of Wheelus Air Base for a number of years. But prospects of the U.S. staying at Wheelus have virtually disappeared as a result of the coup. Indeed the United States now has every reason to fear that Wheelus may become a Soviet air base in the next few years. If the Soviets occupied Wheelus, they would be able to dominate the air over the Mediterranean. The continued operation of U.S. aircraft carriers in the restricted waters of the inland sea would be endangered by Soviet aircraft based in Libya.

In the early 1950's no one suspected the economic developments that lay ahead in Libya. The country is 90 percent desert, with a population density of only 2.3 persons per square mile. The small population is concentrated in seven per cent of the land along the Mediterranean shore. In fact, two-thirds of the population is within an 80-mile radius of Tripoli.

Along the Mediterranean coast there is a series of oases divided from one another by stretches of wilderness. Inland, the desert assumes a variety of forms. Sometimes it is a rocky plateau. In other places, it is a gravel plain broken occasionally by low hills. There also are large depressions and shifting sand dunes. In the south, Libya is a waterless wasteland. Along the Egyptian border is the so-called Great Sand Sea, six hundred miles long and 150 miles wide.

The name Libya was given to the easternmost part of the North African coast by the Greeks. In Roman times, it was part of Africa Proconsularis, and was protected by the Third Legion. The Emperor Septimius Severus was born in Libya in the year 146 A.D., of the Romanized ruling class. In 642, the Arabs conquered Libya. With the breakup of the North African territories ruled by the Cairo and Baghdad Caliphs, Tripoli was, for many years, the capital of a corsair state.

The first U.S. involvement with Libya came in 1805 when the U.S. Consul in Alexandria, Egypt, collected a mercenary force and marched into Libya. With the help of a Marine detachment, he captured the town of Derna. From this incident originated the Marine hymn, "From the halls of Montezuma to the shores of Tripoli."

Libya's history changed dramatically in 1957 when a major oil field was discovered in the southwest near the Algerian border. At the end of a decade after the find, Libya had become the world's seventh largest producer of oil. Oil and Gas Journal said in 1968 that in another decade Libya would become the free world's top oil producer outside North America. The country has been supplying oil to 22 free world countries. Forty-one companies have been active in the Libyan oil fields. Closure of the Suez Canal during the Six Day War in 1967 emphasized Libya's position as the closest major oil source to the expanding West European energy markets. With a revolutionary, pan-Arab socialist regime in power, it is questionable whether Libyan oil would continue to move to European countries in the event of another Arab-Israeli war. The Libyan government has used the oil revenues in an effort to uplift the country's population and to modernize a land that is bigger than California and Alaska

combined. The per capita income has increased from \$35 in 1951 to approximately \$800. The United States has contributed heavily to the improvement of the country, spending \$207 million for economic assistance to Libya, plus devoting \$27.5 million in surplus agricultural commodities. The British government has been making annual payments to Libya of about \$9.3 million. The U.S. and Britain also have supplied equipment for the 7,000-man Libyan army.

Dr. Edwin M. Wright of the Institute of International Studies at the University of South Carolina recently pointed out that "today Libya exports 3.3 million barrels of oil a day to Europe and will receive as her share of the profits around one billion dollars. One third of this is handled by U.S. companies who earn over \$300 million, thus supporting the American balance of payments with a neat contribution." Obviously, any interruption in Libyan oil production would have a serious effect on the U.S. balance of payments problem. The history of dealings with Arab socialist states is such that there is not much ground for optimism in the U.S.

This April, Lt. Colonel C. L. Baker, USAF, warned in the Military Review that, "there is no doubt that the communists are engaged in a slow-longrun penetration (of Libya), making contacts and sorting out opportunities for further exploitation." But the U.S. public certainly wasn't given the slightest inkling of a major change in the making in Libya. The question of a U.S. intelligence failure in the Libyan situation ought to be explored. With a large base in operation in Libya, the U.S. had unusual opportunities for on-the-scene surveillance of the political situation. It would seem that these opportunities weren't utilized. The United States had a tremendous stake in the status quo—in the quiet, steady progress of Libya under King Idris, with the prospect of an orderly, constitutional succession.

Given the fact of revolutionary Arab solidarity with the Soviet Union, and the spread of Soviet arms and advisers through the socialist states of North Africa and the Middle East, the development in Libya can only be viewed as a grave setback for the United States and its NATO allies.

Other states in the Mediterranean may conclude that the "wave of the future" lies with the revolutionary states and their patron, the Soviet Union. The little island-country of Malta, which lies between Libya and Sicily, already is resentful and fearful because of the gradual withdrawal of British aid and is increasingly mindful of the Soviet interest in the island's ship-repair facilities. To the south is the vast, empty land of Chad, which has had an insurgency problem this year. With a revolutionary regime on the Libyan side of the border, Chad may pull away from its relationship with France.

The developments in Libya are fresh proof of the decay of the Western position in the Mediterranean. The Soviets, using client Arab states, are extending their influence year by year. The USSR has only to force Tunisia into its camp and entrench a socialist regime in Morocco, and communism will influence or control all the Mediterranean littoral and the western entrance to that strategic sea.

The apparent lack of U.S. and Western awareness of what was developing in Libya reflects a growing tragic indifference to vital geopolitical areas. The West, as F. O. Miksche, the French military writer has observed, seems "driven by events instead of determining them by means of active policy." The sudden transition of Libya from a friendly, constitutional state to a revolutionary socialist nation is alarming evidence of the West's inability to recognize hurtful developments and act to prevent them.

DIRECT ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Valley Times, a daily newspaper published and widely read in my congressional district, on September 22 carried an editorial which speaks to one of the most important issues before the country—the need to change the electoral college system.

I agree with the editor's belief that the direct popular vote is the best method of selecting a President, as it guarantees each voter an equal voice in the electoral process. And, I appreciate the reference to the overwhelming favorable vote that the House recently gave to the joint resolution abolishing the electoral college in favor of direct election.

I compliment the Valley Times on its commitment to public service. The editor's suggestion that its readers participate in the democratic process by letting California's Senators know their views on election reform is most commendable. As the elected lawmakers of the citizens of California, we do need and appreciate their counsel.

Mr. Speaker, this timely editorial is most worthy of my colleagues' attention and will, I am sure, be of interest to them. The editorial follows:

NEED FOR CHANGE SEEN

In a recent editorial, we proposed that the antiquated Electoral College system be replaced by a direct popular vote.

We used as an argument some facts as outlined by Sen. Birch Bayh, Dem., Ind., who has sponsored a bill in Congress urging the popular vote. He pointed out that if there had been a change in less than 42,000 votes in three states, the people of America would not have elected a President on election day in 1968.

Sen. Bayh is confident the direct popular vote proposal can pass in Congress and, when this is done, would be ratified by three-fourths of the states. He said a recent poll showed that 81 per cent of the American people support direct popular vote. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the American Bar Association, the AFL-CIO, the UAW, the National Federation of Independent Businessmen, and leading civic groups all across the country have endorsed the direct popular election bill.

The House of Representatives passed the Joint Resolution 681 to abolish the Electoral College last week by a surprisingly large margin, 339 to 70. This was 66 votes more than the two-thirds required. The resolution now is before the Senate for debate.

In the final analysis, polls notwithstanding, the true test will come only when the matter is put to a vote in the whole Congress and then, hopefully, in the state legislatures.

California's two senators are agreed something must be done about the system of electing a president, but they may differ in approaches to the problem.

Sen. Alan Cranston, Democrat, has aligned himself with Sen. Bayh as a co-sponsor of the Indianan's bill.

Sen. George Murphy, Republican, pointed out that in the first action of the year, the 91st Congress reluctantly agreed that a North Carolina elector could cast his vote for his choice, George Wallace, rather than for Richard Nixon, the choice of the voters of the state of North Carolina.

"Although I deplore and believe the action of this elector was unethical and a flagrant disregard of the people's wishes," Sen. Murphy said, "I nevertheless was convinced that both present North Carolina law and the U.S. Constitution allowed this elector to make an independent choice and to refuse to follow the will of the people. This year's unusual election, plus the action of the North Carolina elector, makes it crystal clear that electoral reform be undertaken immediately."

He added that there are various proposals pending before the Congress ranging from the reform or modification of the present electoral system to the complete abolishment of the system and the installation of a direct popular vote. "I have not reached a final decision on which approach I shall endorse," he added.

It seems everybody is agreed something must be done about the present voting system, so something ought to be done—and quickly.

This newspaper still believes the direct popular vote to be the best method of selecting a president, guaranteeing each voter an equal voice in the electoral process.

If you believe this to be so, tell your senator. Write to him in care of the United States Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510. Even if you have an opposing view, write to him. He needs your counsel.

A TRIBUTE TO CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, on October 12, in 1492, the great Italian navigator, Christopher Columbus, discovered the new world. Columbus was only 24 years of age when he set out to prove the theory that land lay beyond the uncharted, untraveled, and unexplored waters west of Europe. That day is well known to every man, woman, and child in America, and the name of Columbus is as well known as the names of Washington or Lincoln.

Columbus Day is an appropriate time for us to recall that there was an Italian culture long before there was an America. As the heirs of western civilization, we are also the heirs of that Italian culture. It was Christopher Columbus who provided the connecting tie between the old civilization and the new world. After Columbus, Italian explorers were among the first to follow his voyage to the new world. Amerigo Vespucci, whose name still endures, explored the coast of South America only 7 years after Columbus. John Cabot, whose real name was Giovanni Cabota, sailed for the King of England to explore the mainland of the North American Continent. Giovanni de Verrazano explored the coast of North America in the early 1500's, from Cape Breton Island to the Carolinas, and in

the process discovered New York Bay. The exploration of the west was led by Italians. Alessandro Malaspina was the first white man to explore Alaska, Vancouver, and the coast of California. Fra Marco da Nizza led Coronado's expedition throughout the west and as far east as what is now known as Kansas.

The concepts of liberty, justice, and equality brought many Italians to these shores. There were Italians building a glass factory in Virginia before the Pilgrims landed in Massachusetts, and Italian colonies were flourishing in Georgia, Florida, Delaware, New York, and elsewhere before the Revolution. Several hundred Italians also fought and died in the American Revolution. When the fate of our Northwest territories hung in the balance, the land that is now Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Indiana, and Ohio was won in the battle of Vincennes in 1779 by Gen. George Rogers Clark, thanks to money and information provided by an Italian fur trader, Francesco Vigo.

Christopher Columbus is known in America as the father of immigration. Were he here, he would be proud of his many fine sons and daughters.

THE SST

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, at this time, I would like to insert into the RECORD a letter received from a constituent, Mr. Thomas Brady, of Detroit. Mr. Brady questions the use of the taxpayers' money to support the development of the supersonic jet transport in view of other pressing national needs. His reference to urban traffic congestion as one of our major problems certainly can be appreciated by millions of Americans who must face and fight daily the rush hour traffic to and from work. The following is Mr. Brady's letter:

SEPTEMBER 24, 1969.

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS,
Rayburn Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN GRIFFITHS: I would like to strongly express my opposition to development at taxpayers expense of the supersonic transport plane as announced yesterday by President Nixon.

The development cost which appears will exceed over one billion dollars is an outrageous sum to pay to merely keep abreast of France, Britain and Russia. Our needs for high speed mass transportation in the urban areas of this country far surpass the needs for an aircraft that will fly 1800 miles per hour. This need would certainly be obvious if you were to drive on Detroit's Lodge Expressway or Grand River Avenue the morning or evening of any working day.

Using Grand River Avenue, it takes 40 minutes to go from downtown to Southfield Expressway during rush hours either by car or bus. This is a 9 mile distance and the average speed is therefore approximately 13 miles per hour. I am sure this condition is common to many large cities and a billion dollars spent to improve this average would

certainly benefit more taxpayers and have more far-reaching domestic benefits than a supersonic transport.

Certainly the development and construction of high speed ground transportation networks would provide just as many jobs and stimulate the economy of the nation generally, rather than just in the state of Washington where such transport plane would be built.

I am not opposed to the theory of the supersonic transport. However, I feel there are more pressing transportation needs that deserve first consideration and action.

If the airlines feel they must have the above aircraft to compete on trans-oceanic routes with similar craft of European design and operation, then let the airline industry underwrite the cost. Further, in view of mid-air plane collisions and near disasters of recent years, it is evident that there still is much to be desired in the way of air space safety. It would seem that this is the direction in which the airline industry and governing agencies should be directing their attention and resources.

Respectfully,

THOMAS BRADY.

TANZANIA—HEART OF COMMUNIST EAST AFRICA

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the administration is said to be conducting a full-scale review of our African policy.

It is certainly to be hoped that the result of the review will be to change our shortsighted policy to one of American self-interest. I have previously pointed out the striking parallel between the United States, the Republic of South Africa, and Rhodesia. In each case, the civilized settlers of these countries severed their ties with the British crown in order to protect their civilization.

Tanzania, on the other hand, is a blend of the old British colony of Tanganyika, and the protectorate of Zanzibar. It was born in a bloody revolution, inspired, armed, and led, by Communists. Hundreds upon hundreds of Arabs were savagely mutilated and murdered solely because they were Arabs. Atrocities inconceivable to civilized man, including large-scale cannibalism were commonplace. Out of this racist violence was created the so-called emerging nation of Tanzania. Dar-es-Salaam—in Arabic, "the City of Peace"—its capital, is the city from which guerrilla warfare on Portuguese Mozambique and Rhodesia was waged for years.

Tanzania is uniformly recognized as the heart of Communist east Africa. Only today we read where private schools, meaning church and missionary schools, have been seized and nationalized.

We should acknowledge the true threat to world peace which this situation entails. We should formulate a foreign policy in this area designed to promote the interests of the people of the United States—not the lackeys of Moscow.

Mr. Speaker, I insert an article from the October 1969, issue of Triumph mag-

azine and a news clipping following my remarks:

[From Triumph magazine, October 1969]

MEANWHILE, HERE ON EARTH

(By Thomas Molnar)

South Africans, no less than Americans, have been preoccupied lately with Apollo 11's moon flight, and the fact that there is no television in this country assumes, in the eyes of the liberal press, the dimensions of a national tragedy: the absence of idiot boxes to watch the flight and landing has become a whip with which to beat the Nationalist Party government, still opposed to the introduction of this medium because of its high potential for dangerous propaganda.

The sensational moon adventure forced all other news to the back pages, including the weighty events in Kenya and Zambia. In the first, the assassination of Tom Mboya, the Westward-looking politician, fair-haired boy of the AFL-CIO's foreign political arm, has put Oginga Odinga, openly pro-Chinese, next in line of succession to old Jomo Kenyatta. If Odinga one day occupies the presidency of Kenya, then the shores of East Africa, from Somaliland to the borders of Mozambique, will be solidly in Communist hands. This fact would have a decisive influence on Zambia, the focus of African news when a white supreme court justice was brutally attacked by the president, Kenneth Kaunda, for annulling the sentence of a lower court with regard to the arrest of two Portuguese soldiers lured across the Angola into Zambia. Encouraged, chanting youth mobs went on a rampage against all seven white judges, demanding their dismissal, beating up white men, and proclaiming that "the only good white man is a dead white man." Zambia, somewhat like Nigeria farther up in the north, used to be London's answer to skeptics disbelieving in the possibility of mixed societies in Africa peacefully progressing to democracy, prosperity, and racial harmony. Now that Kaunda has drawn the line between black and white and "Zambianized" the supreme court (a measure to which the constitution does not entitle him), Western illusions are suffering the final shipwreck.

On the surface there is no reason to consider a completely "Africanized" Zambia as a cause for Western alarm. But in reality, Africanization most often means a green light for internal unrest, Communist interference, economic hardship, and permission to anti-white terrorists and saboteurs to pass through the country freely and establish bases there. The focus of Communist penetration in southern Africa has so far been Tanzania; a decisive gain for the Communist design would be the extension of their foothold of Kenya up north, and, even more, to Zambia, in the very heart of south-central Africa.

Mentioning the Communist menace now, in year number one of President Nixon's "era of negotiations," may appear old-fashioned; modernity (including Republican modernity) demands obeisance to coexistence with the Kremlin, and to the prospect of joint launching of moonships with Russian cosmonauts. Yet, while America submits to changing fashions in political-military thinking, Americans traveling abroad undergo a different experience and are compelled to reach other, unfashionable conclusions. Whether Americans travel to the moon, like Neil Armstrong, or to Southern Africa, like the writer of this report, they inevitably find the Kremlin's boys on their trajectory. Let Armstrong tell his story about the encounter with Luna 15; my story involves the evidence, suggested above, of the slow and patient build-up of Communism in this area. By "area" I mean not only the African landmass and the relentless guerrilla fighting it now witnesses against Portuguese and Rhodesians, but also

the Indian Ocean. Warships, merchant marines, oceanographic research, submarines, fishing fleets—the Russians have appeared in force, simultaneously with their similar achievement in the Mediterranean. The long coastlines of Mozambique and South Africa—in other words, the eastern defenses of the Cape sea route—are now exposed to Russian spying, and even to the landing of sabotage material and saboteurs, as on the north-east coast of South America, in Venezuela—and for the same reasons. The British withdrawal from east of the Suez, announced for 1971 but already underway, opens both South Asia and southeast Africa to Russian naval forces; our own withdrawal from Vietnam (an operation in which our future Kremlin allies are helping us “save face”) leaves the Communists sole masters of this enormous mass of sea and land, whose governments are mostly too weak to resist strong pressures.

One would imagine that Washington, worried about this situation, would be encouraging the creation of a south-seas alliance, and meanwhile, strengthening, with arms and a cooperative attitude, the naval defenses of South Africa and Portugal. But the fact is that—even with the Suez Canal unusable, and quickly becoming obsolete, anyway, thanks to the new super-tankers—the U.S. government is ignoring the importance of the sea route around the Cape, the five excellent ports of South Africa, and the Soviet build-up in the Indian Ocean. American ships are under orders to avoid South African ports; our factories and shipyards cannot sell naval weaponry, from coast guard boats to submarines, to the South Africans; our Navy may not train South African crews; instead, we are now thinking of building new Indian-Ocean bases in the newly independent Maldiv Islands—from where, as from Okinawa, we may be ejected one day.

True, we have now a foothold, literally a foothold, on the moon, and our eyes focus on that one spot. Presidents Kennedy and Nixon have been right in lauding American skill and will in achieving that objective; but great enterprises may lift other, less spectacular but more important ones, out of focus. From Armstrong's and Aldrin's angle of vision, this corner of the Indian Ocean area may seem insignificant; yet a war is going on here 365 days a year, a relentless war in which the enemy, with a variety of methods, is endeavoring to eliminate moonstruck Americans everywhere from southern Africa to Vietnam.

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 10, 1969]
NATIONALIZING SCHOOLS

DAR ES SALAAM.—Tanzania announced plans to nationalize all private schools and to transfer their teachers into the civil service. Under a bill to be presented to parliament Oct. 21, the government will take over management and administration of all the private schools and eliminate all entry requirements based on race or religion.

INDIANA DUNES NATIONAL
LAKESHORE

HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my fellow colleagues in the Congress a situation in the National Park Service which deeply concerns me.

The Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, a proposed Federal park in the district I represent, was created in 1966. Present plans of the Park Service call for

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the purchase of more than 6,000 acres of land, some of it noncontiguous and much of it filled with more than 500 homes and businesses. These plans of the Park Service I have vigorously opposed, not only because of the destruction of homes and the displacement of people that it will cause, but also because of the enormously expensive operation of buying up highly developed land in one of the fastest growing areas of the Midwest. For example, the Park Service recently obtained four deeds to property for the Indiana Dunes: \$32,960 was paid for a 5.75-acre tract; \$9,150 for a 0.4-acre tract; \$1,700 for a 0.4-acre tract; and \$6,908 for a 0.7-acre tract.

These figures show that the Park Service is paying as high as \$22,000 an acre to acquire land for a Federal park—a Federal park that will eventually mean the destruction and displacement of more than 500 homes and businesses and thousands of people. This land was sold at an average of \$10,672 an acre. Based on these exorbitant prices, the final cost for the Federal park to the American taxpayer will be \$64,032,000. I remind my colleagues that the original cost estimate was \$29,000,000.

While I am not opposed to a Federal park in my district, I feel that it can and should encompass only the large, undeveloped areas that lend themselves to conservation and recreation and that are available at a reasonable cost. My bill, H.R. 11084, cosponsored by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. DENT) and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. HOWARD) would exclude from acquisition these highly developed and costly areas of homes, businesses, and people, and would provide, I believe, a reasonable and responsible solution to acquiring land for the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore.

WYOMING'S REPLY TO THE WALL
STREET JOURNAL

HON. JOHN WOLD

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. WOLD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to the response by Senator CLIFFORD P. HANSEN, Republican of Wyoming, and myself to an article entitled the “Lonesome Land” which appeared in the October 3, 1969, edition of the Wall Street Journal. The response is prompted by the need to correct the negative and misleading impression conveyed by the article. I include the joint letter of Senator HANSEN and myself and pertinent press accounts in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., October 10, 1969.

MR. VERMONT ROYSTER,
Editor, the Wall Street Journal,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR SIR: In contrast to the headline “The Lonesome Land” which appeared above the article by Dennis Farney in the October 3, 1969 edition of the Wall Street Journal, we would have entitled it “Wyoming, Land of Opportunity and Quality Growth.”

Wyoming has some problems, but fewer than most states and far less than the staggering obstacles of over-populated areas which has as many as one out of seven, or more, on welfare rolls. The fact that Wyoming is on the threshold of economic growth that will bring opportunities unlimited for persons of courage and vision should not be obscured.

Wyoming is a land of apparent contradictions. It is a land of open prairies and virgin mountain wildernesses, but also a land with a treasure-house of natural resources. It is the most beautiful country in North America. It is a land with few people and few of the problems of crime, pollution and hypertension, faced by other states. It is the home of people who want progress.

Historical factors are now working to bring growth and progress to Wyoming.

A crisis of America today is the concentration of too many people into too little space. The crisis has not struck Wyoming, nor will it. Wyomingites have been blessed with the right blend of land and people, resources, space and time. We do not have to undo the pillages and ravages of man. Planning development that allows for maintaining natural beauty is a luxury afforded to few, but Wyoming can afford it.

American society is dependent upon energy consumption for its high standard of living. It is estimated that the nation's energy needs will double by the year 1985.

Wyoming has the natural resources to make it the energy capital of the nation. It ranks first in coal; second in uranium; third in oil shale; fifth in petroleum and seventh in natural gas.

These factors point to what we call quality growth. By quality growth we mean economic development and businesses with a high ratio of capital to employees. Their incomes are high because their productivity is high.

The elected leaders of Wyoming have always shown a willingness to work with private enterprise for economic development and progress in Wyoming. Indeed, it has been shown many times that Wyoming has provided the type of business climate which is attractive to industry. An example is the recent announcement by two electric power companies that they will construct a \$300-million steam electric generating plant near Rock Springs.

If we were starting anew, we would pick Wyoming to rear a family because of the opportunity and because it is the best place in America for children to grow up.

“It seemed as if nature had collected all her beauties together in this one chosen place,” was John C. Fremont's description of Wyoming in 1842. The original splendor has not diminished.

Wyoming, the land of opportunity, is a place where the challenge of America can be renewed. It is a place where opportunity is so great; where the people are so few, that a man can choose his fate.

Sincerely,

CLIFFORD P. HANSEN,
U.S. Senate.

JOHN S. WOLD,
Member of Congress.

[From the Cheyenne (Wyo.) State Tribune,
Oct. 7, 1969]

HATHAWAY DENOUNCES WSJ'S WYOMING
SURVEY

Governor Hathaway today described as “distorted and negatively one-sided” an article which appeared in the Oct. 3 issue of the Wall Street Journal.

The article, by a WSJ staff reporter, Dennis Farney of New York City, referred to Wyoming's “dying towns, disappearing ranches and a state economy that while booming in some areas, is stagnating in others.” Farney, in his piece, asked, “Can Wyoming itself afford the luxury of a declin-

ing population amid its scenic, wide-open spaces?"

"If he (Farney) had taken the time to look further around Wyoming, and talked to more people who are better informed, he could not possibly have written the distorted picture of Wyoming 1969 that he did," the governor said.

"While much of what Farney said in this article is true," he said, "it is manifestly obvious that he emphasized the negative aspects of Wyoming's economy, while ignoring the positive."

"A writer can go into any state in the union today and find examples of rundown neighborhoods, deteriorating buildings and decay, and by ignoring new construction, new commercial developments and new highways, present a picture of economic stagnation," Hathaway said.

Hathaway said it is true that Wyoming agriculture, like agriculture across the nation, has been in the economic doldrums in recent years.

"But," the governor added, "this is changing. Wyoming ranchers and farmers are enjoying an upturn in 1969, largely because of their cooperative efforts in improving their methods—seeking new markets and utilizing modern, progressive technology in their industry."

The chief executive said that although, as Farney stated, there are those in Wyoming who prefer the state the way it has been until recent years, he believes the majority of Wyoming citizens who recognize the need to live and compete in today's world are ready to meet the challenge of change, growth and progress.

In his article Farney quoted Wyoming citizens in several small, way-side establishments as well as at least one person in a town who indicated a desire that Wyoming stay "as is."

The governor said he, too, has spoken with "many, many people in every single town in this state, from border to border."

"I find the great majority of them," he said, "anxious to work with private industry, public officials and agencies like the State Department of Economic Planning and Development in attracting quality industry to Wyoming and planning for the arrival of such industry in a manner that will assure orderly growth, economically and socially."

Hathaway noted that facts and figures concerning Wyoming's economic progress are available to anyone for the asking, particularly journalists seeking information for factual, objective features or economic or social articles on Wyoming.

He said such information from state agencies shows Wyoming leading all other Western states in uranium exploration, increasing uranium production, among the leaders in production of trona, a tourist industry that in 1968 showed a more than 15 per cent increase and this year promises to reach nearly 9 million visitors to the state—visitors who will spend in excess of \$150 million, and will show that Wyoming leads the Rocky Mountain states in oil exploration and production. He added that the population decline mentioned in the Wall Street Journal article is known to have been reversed and that the state is now gaining in population through the advent of new industry and development.

"More than \$120 million was invested in new industrial expansion in Wyoming last year," he said. "Several new manufacturers located in Wyoming in 1968 and several have announced plans to come to the state this year, among them: Control Data Corporation; Dattel, Inc.; Dwight and Church; Georgia Pacific Company; Walker Manufacturing; Polarix Industries; Daveco, Inc.; Nutron Electronics; Hines Lumber Co.; High Country, Inc.; Western Manufacturing; Wycoa; Century Manufacturing; Donnavista; Northern Seed Co.; Reda Pump; Cannon Aeronautical, not to mention the \$300 million steam gen-

erating plant just announced to be constructed near Rock Springs."

"It is difficult to understand how a person can say Wyoming's economy is stagnating if he has really researched the matter," Hathaway commented. "However, Mr. Farney, apparently, did not know that Wyoming's total assessed valuation for 1969 climbed to \$1,236,958,572, a 4.7 per cent increase over 1968, the largest percentage increase since 1961."

"If Farney had checked," he continued, "he would have found that bank deposits in Wyoming on June 30 this year totaled \$680,307,782, nearly \$69 million above the same date last year. He would have found that sales and use tax collections in the 12-month period ending June 30, 1969, totaled \$29,482,196, some \$4,212,956 above the 12-month period ending June 30 last year—a 16½ per cent increase."

Hathaway said he is extremely optimistic, in the short and long term, about Wyoming's economic potential, as economic indicators all show gains are being made.

The chief executive noted that while Wyoming "cannot accommodate a sudden, large-scale influx of new residents, this state must have growth in order to keep pace with the demands of today's society and economy—and such growth is coming. It is our responsibility to insure that such growth is balanced with the need to maintain the state's vast store of scenic wonders and beauty."

"The Wall Street Journal article is unfortunate," he said, "as it may do damage at a time when we are making important strides. I hope the article will not nullify or set back efforts and work being done by private enterprises and public officials to promote and advance Wyoming's economy."

"Finally," the governor stated, "in answer to Farney's question concerning whether Wyoming can afford to lose population, which he termed a luxury—I think the answer is obvious, Wyoming people realize they cannot stand still—their efforts and the results of those efforts disprove his mistaken assumption that they are sitting back and allowing time and change to pass them by."

[From the Cheyenne (Wyo.) Tribune, Oct. 7, 1969]

WEEP NOT FOR OUR "EMPTY" LAND

Several years ago a proposal was being kicked about locally to buy a page in the Wall Street Journal with two illustrations, one showing a crowd trying to battle its way into a New York subway car, and the other a photo of the Grand Tetons.

The proposed caption would have read: "Do you want this?" pointing to the subway; "Or this?" indicating the Tetons. The thrust of the ad would have been to the effect that Wyoming is people- and problem-free and wants to keep it that way. It was a reverse-type selling job, of course, the basic message being that if one wanted to live in comfort or operate an industry relatively free of big urban core problems, come to Wyoming.

The ad never was bought, but some of the people who considered it now think they got what amounts to the same thing without paying a cent, in Dennis Farney's Page 1 Wall Street Journal piece of Oct. 3 about "empty Wyoming." That the message is being studied by many is evident from the reaction reported by the director of the State Department of Economic Planning and Development, Roy Peck. Mr. Peck is a newspaperman and less likely to lose his cool over what appears to be adverse publicity; there being an old theory in the latter that there is no bad publicity so long as one's name is spelled correctly.

Of this latter, there are opposing theories; but it does seem that the Wall Street Journal piece probably has a greater number of plus factors than minuses, and that it well illustrates that old saw about "never mind what you say, just so you spell my

name right." The Farney article essentially says one thing: Wyoming is a land of empty space that is getting emptier. No matter that this is a distortion, for in a lot of spots as Mr. Farney admits there is economic growth and development, which is something that might be said of any state. Furthermore, it must be pointed out that every state in this country has its Hilands, small rural communities that have grown smaller rather than larger, over the years, because of the drift away from the rural areas to the urban centers.

While the Journal piece makes a point of the absence of urban centers in "Wyoming which hasn't even one big city to provide an economic and cultural center for the hinterlands," one must question whether this would be regarded by industrial prospects as a serious deterrent particularly since most of our "cultural centers" have proven breeding spots for the most dramatic rise in crime as well as civil disorder in American history these past six years, commencing with the year 1963.

Recently a man from Washington who holds a responsible post with a major national organization related to one of our local citizens the terror that life in the nation's capital holds for him and many who reside there. He said his organization maintained its headquarters in a large office building patrolled around the clock by a corps of security guards, yet even with these, in one week there had been several major incidents in that parking lot in daylight hours including robberies, muggings and the slaying of a man discovered by one of the guards in the act of rifling a car; the thief assaulted the guard who found him and was attempting to kill the guard when another security patrolman shot the assailant dead.

Some of our people apparently are disconcerted and disturbed by Mr. Farney's scarcely concealed sneers about our rural backwash; yet if one accepts the theories of some critics of the American scene, Mr. Farney and his kind who by their condescending attitude toward such as our state are in effect defenders of the discredited megalopolises of America, then it is these latter who are behind the times.

For the new town theorists have a ready-made social experiment in the community Kerr-McGee now is building in the Shirley Basin; it is these new towns, some believe, that are going to have to replace the human ant heaps of the fetid and socially-cancerous urban cores that have produced the riots and massive physical destruction to say nothing of human casualties within the past six years.

Despite such obvious concern about our future as manifested by the Journal, Wyoming will survive; and whether it does as an economic "colony" or not will also be debatable for it must also be recalled that much of the vice-regal authority for the business empires of America may reside in Manhattan, it also is a place of absentee landlords. Their majesties for the most part and most of the time, reside elsewhere. Sometimes they even live in poor, desolate, windswept and empty Wyoming.

[From the Wall Street Journal, Oct. 3, 1969]

THE LONESOME LAND: WYOMING IS EMPTIER AND ITS ECONOMY LAGS AS PEOPLE MOVE AWAY, BUT MANY LOVE THE SOLITUDE AND BRISTLE AT CAMPAIGN TO ATTRACT NEW INDUSTRY—DANCING TO POLLY AND HER POSSE
(By Dennis Farney)

HILAND, Wyo.—West of Casper the land empties and the highway thrusts ahead. Across the dry hills of grass and sagebrush, past decrepit filling stations and lofty buttes, the road unfolds beneath the big Western sky.

Halfway to Shoshoni the road comes here—to a handful of building on the plain, a deserted schoolhouse, an abandoned motel, a

graveyard in the gray-green sage. Only three persons live here now, although once there were more than 50.

Mrs. Betty Evenson is still here. A lively 59, she still hammers out articles for True Confession Magazine on her old black Underwood when she isn't tending "The Bright Spot," Hiland's combination general store, filling station, bus stop, cafe and post office (fourth class). Mrs. Evenson loves the solitude here. But she concedes: "We can't afford the luxury of having only three people in town much longer."

LONESOME COUNTRY

Can Wyoming itself afford the similar luxury of a declining population amid its scenic, wide-open spaces? Events are forcing that question upon the 300,000-plus rugged individualists here; that's all the people there are in a vast domain almost 20 times the size of Connecticut.

Wyoming is the quintessence of a vast arc of country, beginning in the Dakotas and sweeping southward through the High Plains, where long-term economic trends are thinning out the population. These trends bring the problems of urbanization and explosive population growth to much of the nation. But here the problems are different: Dying towns, disappearing ranches and a state economy that, while booming in some areas, is stagnating in others.

This state is one of only four that have lost population since the 1960 census, which recorded about 330,000 people here. (The other three are the two Dakotas and West Virginia.) An out-migration of people seeking jobs and a declining birth rate both contributed to the loss. A Census Bureau study puts the current Wyoming population at 320,000, but another authoritative study concludes it may have slipped as low as 313,000 in 1968—roughly the number of municipal employes in New York City. Only Alaska has fewer people, and that gap is narrowing.

The population downturn is only one reflection of a state economy that in many areas is faltering. Railroad employment—a key factor in a state that owes much of its settlement to the Union Pacific—has dropped to less than 4,000 from about 10,000 in 1953. The number of Federal employes in Wyoming has declined slightly while the number in Colorado has skyrocketed. Wyoming's per capita income, \$48 above the national average in 1960, had slipped by 1967 to \$157 below the national figure of \$3,159.

A RENDEZVOUS IN NEW YORK

Gov. Stanley K. Hathaway is stumping for additional industry. He's led delegations to New York and Los Angeles, courting industrialists there with a "Wild Game Rendezvous." (The menu: Wyoming moose and elk steaks, followed by a promotional blitz.) A third foray is planned into Houston.

But most Wyomingites probably wish the Governor would stay home. When they think of industrial development they get visions of traffic-clogged freeways, smog and hordes of newcomers cluttering up the landscape. They'd like to keep Wyoming as it is.

Right now, Wyoming remains a place apart—so out-of-the-way that few people really know it. "The myths about this state are fantastic," says Mr. Pikel. "People still think we're locked in a mountain fastness with glaciers everywhere. They have the impression that everybody in the state walks around in Levis and a cowboy hat saying, 'Howdy, stranger!'"

A long drive across the state indicates there are a lot of cowboy hats in Wyoming (where cattle and sheep outnumber people about 10 to one) and a lot of colorful individualists wearing them. It also reveals that most of Wyoming looks nothing at all like its two main tourist attractions, Yellowstone National Park and the majestic Grand Teton Mountains.

Down from the western mountains and

their cool forests of spruce and fir, the land changes. It is stark, almost desolate at times—a vast expanse of rugged uplands, or flatlands gray with sagebrush and dotted with waterholes where antelope come to drink. Diesel trucks strain to make the long grades, and the car radio advertises a dance somewhere with "toe-tapping Western music by Polly and Her Posse."

The road unfolds for miles, the Union Pacific sometimes running alongside, without passing a single ranch house. And then the road will come upon a lonely white frame house beside some stunted, wind-whipped trees, or upon a deteriorating town like Bosler: A few buildings, a brick schoolhouse and an abandoned clapboard restaurant with a sign saying "EAT."

Armand Picard, 62, ranches amid such country. He's a stocky man, and beneath the brim of his rolled-up Stetson his face is sun-reddened and covered with white stubble. He leans against his battered truck, the treeless plain rolling away from him in all directions, and talks of winter nights where temperatures drop to 40 degrees below zero.

Rising costs and fluctuating profits haven't forced Mr. Picard off the land, although they've defeated many smaller Wyoming ranchers. But he says he's operating now on a 1% profit margin. "Cattle prices are just about up again to what they were in 1951 (a good year)," he says, "but everything we buy now costs three times what it did then. All the smaller operators are selling out."

Mr. Picard will stay "I'm not much of a town boy," he says slowly. "This little old town of Shoshoni (population about 750) is big enough for me." A freight train whistles, far away, and he hurries to drive a wayward cow from the tracks. Driving away, he soon seems dwarfed by the land and the distant Owl Creek Mountains, blue-black beneath the drifting clouds.

Mr. Picard is one Wyomingite who's dubious about the desirability of bringing more industry to the state. "You'd get a lot of undesirable people," he says. Another man who agrees wholeheartedly with that is Gail Hightower, 64, a Riverton barber.

"As far as I'm concerned, there are all the g—d— people here now that I care about," he bristles. His customer in the barber's chair nodding vigorous agreement. "If we can stop some of these people who are polluting the air with this that and the other, this will be pretty good country."

TALES OF NEW YORK

Down the street, Lowell Morfeld, a self-made uranium millionaire, looks up from a leisurely breakfast at the Teton Hotel and describes a harrowing business trip to New York. "Do you know," he asks incredulously, "that it's a regular thing for commuters on the Long Island Railroad to ride to work with the blinds drawn because people throw rocks at the railroad cars?" Mr. Morfeld was once a "roughneck" (laborer) on a Wyoming oil rig; despite his wealth, he wouldn't think of living anywhere else.

Neither would Robert and Dorothy Huckfeldt, a young married couple who moved out to Cody (population about 5,000) because Cheyenne was getting too big for them. Now they're happy running the "Cody Corral," a big souvenir shop that offers everything from a stuffed moose head (\$375) to a wooden sign: "Fight Smog—Buy Horses." "People in big cities (like Cheyenne) are all out for themselves," Mrs. Huckfeldt says. "Here in Cody they're a lot more friendly."

Mrs. Evenson isn't about to pull out of Hiland, either. "I love this place and I love the people," she says. "It's just paradise for a writer." And so it is. Bus drivers passing through tell her tales to replenish her supply of True Confession-type stories. (There is a formula for writing such stories, she says: "Sin, suffer and repent; end on a hopeful note, but not always.")

And when the bus drivers run out of material, Mrs. Evenson just heads into Casper, 60 miles away, and gets her ideas from a different source. "I like to hang around bars," she explains.

Declining populations are posing severe problems for some of the state's small towns and school districts, because their basic operating costs remain about the same even though the economic base is shrinking. One veteran Wyoming political observer calls the whole subject of population loss and economic growth "political dynamite." He expects it to be an issue in elections next year, when Sen. Gale McGee, a Democrat, will be among those seeking reelection.

THINKING SMALL

The bleak economic statistics provide ammunition for some native critics—including state officials and economists at the University of Wyoming—who believe the state hasn't tried hard enough to diversify its economy and stem the outflow of some of its most talented people. The critics lay at least part of the blame for that to some fundamental traits of the Wyoming character: A deep seated suspicion of "outsiders" and a seemingly ingrained tendency to think small.

"I think Wyoming missed the boat in the postwar years," says James Pikel, head of the state university's economics department. He says Wyoming remained complacent while other Western states were going after industry and pushing tourism. He and other economists agree that today Wyoming's main role in the regional economy is to supply raw materials to out-of-state firms—which process them and pocket much of the profit. "I tend to think of this state as an underdeveloped nation," says one economist.

The analogy fits. In many ways Wyoming is a classic kind of colonial region, dominated economically and culturally by the outer world. A small case in point is Harry Hoffman's liquor store.

Any Wyomingite can tell you about Harry's place. For years the cut-rate prices there have been drawing in carloads of thirsty people from places like Laramie and Cheyenne. They stock up for themselves and haul more home for friends. Organizers of Wyoming's biggest social event of the year, the Cheyenne Frontier Days, bought all the liquor for a big staff party from Harry's, says one insider. Harry Hoffman's is a Wyoming institution.

And that's rather odd, because Harry Hoffman's is in Denver, Colo.

LOOKING FOR A CITY

But that's the way it goes in Wyoming, which hasn't even one big city to provide an economic and cultural center for the hinterlands. (Cheyenne, population about 47,000, is the state capital and biggest town.) And so folks in southeastern Wyoming regularly drive 60 miles to shop in Fort Collins, Colo. A widely used hospital for southwestern Wyomingites is Holy Cross Hospital in Salt Lake City. Similarly, northwest Wyoming looks to Billings, Mont., and northeast Wyoming to Rapid City, S.D.

Economically, out-of-state concerns dominate the economy. Wyoming's largest oil produced is Pan American Petroleum Corp., a subsidiary of Standard Oil Co. of Indiana. Its largest uranium producer is Utah Construction & Mining Co., San Francisco. Despite huge deposits of natural gas, Wyoming has no home-grown gas utility; people here buy their gas from Pacific Power & Light Co., Portland, Ore.

"Our (late) Sen. Frank Barrett once said that 'Wyoming oil put the lace on the windows of Denver clubs,'" says Frank Clark Jr., a state administrator and a well-known participant in state Democratic politics. "He was about right."

Of course, there's a good reason outside capital finances most big projects—a lack of Wyoming capital. "One bank in Denver has

more assets than all of Wyoming's banks put together," says one state official. Other obstacles to Wyoming's industrial development are its geographic isolation and scarcity of people.

Nevertheless, economists at the University of Wyoming believe the state could be doing a lot more in several areas: Developing a more specialized agriculture, processing more raw materials within the state and pursuing light industries, like computer-related concerns, that aren't deterred by Wyoming's liabilities.

Says Dwight Blood, one of the economists: "I wish there were a few more people here who were willing to do more for Wyoming than just ship the oil and minerals out to places like Bartlesville and Denver."

Predictably, that kind of criticism often raises the hackles of people who think the state is doing just fine. After Mr. Blood co-authored a rather critical analysis of the state economy a few years ago, he and the other author "were roasted from one end of the state to the other," he recalls ruefully.

A BRAINWASHING JOB

One man who frequently finds himself at odds with Mr. Blood and his colleagues is Roy Peck, Wyoming's foremost salesman and an indefatigable booster. Mr. Peck is executive director of a state agency that oversees to lure industry to Wyoming. Although the natural resource development and attempts and the university economists remain friends, he admits he's "in a running battle with them" most of the time.

"The boys at the university—I'm brainwashing them, don't worry," he declares.

Mr. Peck predicts that oil and mineral activity "will provide 5,000 new jobs in the next five years, directly causing a growth of 15,000 in the state's population." Indeed, a number of concerns are rushing to exploit Wyoming's tremendous reserves: Hundreds of billions of tons of low-grade coal, an estimated \$2 billion worth of uranium, and vast reservoirs of oil and gas, among other things.

Already an influx of uranium miners has transformed Jeffrey City, once a fading hamlet in the middle of nowhere, into a trailer court that sprawls out into the sagebrush. In the uranium-rich Shirley Basin of south-central Wyoming, concerns like Kerr-McGee Corp. are laying out a brand-new town for more than 2,000 people. Oil activity has made Gillette, in the northeast part of the state, a boom town whose population has almost tripled (to more than 10,000) since 1960.

SHUTTING OFF THE DRUG FLOW

HON. JOHN DELLENBACK

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, there have been wails of anguish over Operation Intercept, the effort to stop the flow of narcotics and dangerous drugs from Mexico to the United States.

Fortunately, more reasonable voices have spoken up in its favor. I wish to insert in the RECORD two of those voices—those of the Oakland Tribune and the Houston Chronicle—both recognize that it is important to end this vicious traffic, even at the expense of a few hours' time of some tourists. The articles follow:

[From the Oakland (Calif.) Tribune, Sept. 23, 1969]

A SMALL PRICE TO PAY

To reverse the epidemic course of promiscuous use, the Nixon administration has em-

barked upon an ambitious program to halt the flow of almost 2½ million pounds of marijuana a year from Mexico into the United States.

Operation Intercept was launched last weekend along our porous border with a massive land, sea and air patrol that netted thousands of pounds of contraband.

The operation aims toward cutting off the drug from the eager U.S. market, thereby pushing the price of available marijuana so high youngsters cannot afford it.

Although the campaign successfully resulted in the drugs seizures and the turning back of countless would-be smugglers, the real measure of its profit may come from one significant side effect—the delaying of tourists for up to six hours at U.S. customs checkpoints.

Tourists already have been discouraged from entering Mexico because of the delays to such an extent that business has fallen off by as much as 75 per cent in some border cities.

Therefore, the pressures which may be brought to bear on the Mexican government by the suffering merchants could bring about enforcement of its laws against marijuana.

Presently Mexico's mini-force of 40 narcotic agents is hard-pressed to control the harvesting of lucrative marijuana patches which, on many farms, have replaced traditional crops.

So far, the Mexican government has done too little to end this open flaunting of the law. The government has not seen fit to bolster its staff nor has it experimented with use of chemicals which, when sprayed on marijuana, would nauseate users who later smoked it.

Regardless of the inconveniences and hardships, there should be no letup in the operation until Mexico moves to dry up this vast source.

Even if Operation Intercept must be continued indefinitely to accomplish its goals, it still would be a small price to pay for elimination of a drug market which some have said has reached as many as 20 million people.

[From the Houston (Tex.) Chronicle, Sept. 29, 1969]

SHUTTING OFF DRUG FLOW

The federal crackdown on drug smuggling at the U.S.-Mexican border is causing inconvenience to many innocent travelers. Over the weekend over-worked immigration officials could not keep up with the returning crowds of visitors. At some points traffic was backed up six miles, and there were delays of hours as officials carefully checked for illegal pills, marijuana and other illegal drugs.

This is part of Operation Intercept, the government's drive to cut off drugs from Mexico. The campaign seems to be paying off, for customs agents turned up thousands of pills and thousands of pounds of marijuana.

Undoubtedly Operation Intercept is going to hurt tourism in the border towns. Maybe this will make the Mexican people and government realize how serious this problem has become in the United States. If it begins to hurt tourism in Mexico, then this could have the beneficial effect of prompting Mexico to act more aggressively in the control of both pills and drugs. They have been notoriously easy to acquire south of the border.

GREEN THUMB, INC.

HON. ROBERT V. DENNEY

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to express my appreciation to an or-

ganization that is presently engaged in two commendable goals—providing work for retired low-income people in rural communities and accomplishing recreational and beautification projects.

Green Thumb, Inc., sponsored by the National Farmers Union, was established under a grant by the Office of Economic Opportunity to make use of the desire by many of our retired and older citizens to contribute in a meaningful way to their livelihood and community, and they have been highly successful in this endeavor.

Green Thumb now operates in 14 States in 150 counties, employing over 2,100 workers. At the present time, the demand is high in Nebraska for additional job openings over the 70 now filled. And, according to Nebraska Green Thumb Director Delbert Niemeier, there have been numerous requests for Green Thumb crews to help improve and develop park facilities and other projects.

For 1969, the contract with Green Thumb was for \$4,653,050. Although the Nebraska Green Thumb participation is small, only \$156,750, it contributed mightily toward conservation and beautification in the Cornhusker State.

Seldom have I had the inclination to wholeheartedly commend and support a program coming out of the Economic Opportunity Act. But in the case of the Green Thumb program, where administrative costs are at an encouraging low figure, about 13 percent, and the benefits to workers and communities so high, praise is well placed.

So that other Congressmen can become better informed on what Green Thumb does, I place in the RECORD a narrative report on its activities in the First Congressional District of Nebraska for the month of August 1969:

NEBRASKA GREEN THUMB PROJECTS IN FIRST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF NEBRASKA, AUGUST 1969

LANCASTER COUNTY

The one crew is painting all the rest rooms and bath houses at Wagon Train Lake, Stagecoach Lake, Bluestem Lake and at Olive Creek. They have also painted the four foot bridges at Wagontrain Lake.

The other crew dug the footings for two picnic shelter houses and poured the concrete foundations and slab floors for the shelter houses at Pawnee Lake near Emerald. The first week in August was spent on repairing and painting picnic tables at this lake. Some time was also spent on anchoring the tables to the ground. This was necessary because of vandalism that occurred at this park.

GAGE COUNTY

The crew at Rockford Lake have been cutting weeds on the dam site and around the boat dock area. The last few days they have been cutting brush, trimming trees and burning the brush in the areas that will be camping sites later on.

The other crew has been cutting brush, weeds and undesirable trees along the river banks in Chautauqua Park in Beatrice. Some time was spent on patching the holes in the roads running through the park. They also hauled dirt and did landscape work around the new bath house at the swimming pool. Part of the crew spent some time hoeing and watering the flowers, shrubs and trees that were planted earlier this year.

JOHNSON COUNTY

One crew has been repairing and erecting bleachers at the Syracuse ball park. They have also been painting the board fence

around the ball diamond. Some time was devoted to hoeing and watering the flowers and trees that were planted in the parks.

The other crew has been hauling dirt around the new fire house in Sterling. The rest of the time they have been working around the ball diamond in Adams. Here they have finished getting the board fence around the ball diamond and are busy painting same.

KNOX COUNTY

The one crew there has been painting posts and picnic tables at the Miller Creek and Bloomfield areas and have also been cutting brush and trimming trees in the Wiegand area along the Lewis and Clark Lake.

OTOE COUNTY

The crew at Arbor State Park has been busy tending the flower gardens and trimming the hedges in the gardens. They are still devoting some time, when the weather has been cooler, hauling dirt into the holes from which the dead tree stumps were removed. This will be leveled and seeded.

The crew at Wildwood Park has built a swinging pedestrian bridge across the creek. This past week they have built a rock retaining wall and making a drainage ditch for the excessive rainfall.

PAWNEE COUNTY

One crew has been painting rest rooms in the Burchard Lake area. They have also rebuilt the steps and guard rails leading up to the dam. They have constructed another "blind" in the Grouse Stomping area. At the present time they are constructing a rustic "trail fence" at the park camping entrance.

The other crew has been removing the block foundation from the old Governor Butler House and hauled them to the historical site. There they have poured the concrete footings and are presently relaying the block foundation. Soon this old house will be moved to its new site at the historical park.

ROTC

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, every Member of the House knows of my keen interest in the Reserve Officers Training Corps. In fact, my subcommittee recently issued a report on the program concerning the problems confronting it on our college and university campuses.

However, today I want to go to the heart of ROTC—the young man who participates in the program. Mr. James D. Hittle, Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Manpower and Reserve Affairs, has called to my attention a matter about which I think everyone should be aware.

Hittle, during a visit to the Reserve Officers Association convention last June, heard a speech given by Midshipman Charles C. Hooper on the problems encountered by the NROTC at UCLA. Following his talk, Mr. Hittle had a private meeting with Midshipman Hooper and at the end of the conversation requested that he provide the Navy with a report on what had been done at UCLA in protecting the ROTC's on campus and supporting the retention of ROTC courses with full credits.

In providing me with this report, Mr. Hittle says that it is "one of the finer

evaluations of the problems the ROTC faces on campus. Also, it shows what can be done when strong leadership and spirit are present.

After reading the report, I heartily concur with Mr. Hittle's opinion.

I was so impressed that I wanted everyone to receive Midshipman Hooper's thoughts in an area which is of grave concern to me. After reading what Midshipman Hooper has to say, however, I am firmly convinced that ROTC will weather the attacks which are being thrust upon it. And as I have said time and again, I will do everything in my power to see that ROTC remains strong where wanted and is removed where it is not wanted.

Mr. Hittle informs me that Midshipman Hooper's ideas have been of tremendous use to the NROTC program nationwide. I am inserting them at this point in the RECORD:

SUMMARY OF COMMENTS DELIVERED AT THE ROA ANNUAL CONVENTION, LAS VEGAS, NEV., JUNE 28, 1969

INTRODUCTION

This informal report on campus confrontations relating to the ROTC is being presented on the basis of the unique situation at UCLA, an independent branch of a land grant University. The experience behind its presentations qualify it as such. With the realization that the contents cannot become convincing or of applied value without being fully understood, a simple workbook approach on the student political implications is taken in lieu of a more literary or academic tack. Part I presents the basic problems confronting ROTC Units on campus. An attempt is made to collect the fragmented parts of these problems and place them in a relative perspective as to bases for existence and possible potentialities. Part II is a case study of the UCLA NROTC Unit. This study is a detailed outline of the combined efforts of its staff and midshipmen which were and still are being employed with some degree of success to maintain a firm and functionally compatible position for this unit in the face of these problems in its university environment. Part III draws a summary and conclusions based on these unique efforts. This summary is presented with the hope that sharing the experiences encountered may provide a basic framework to develop some viable policies which other ROTC units may employ, as applicable, to some of the particular and unique confrontations which they now or may soon have to face. Part IV extends the nature of this report to include the candid comments and personal recommendations of its author. These are based only upon his personal thoughts and experiences to provide a particular student viewpoint on the matter.

PART I. PROBLEMS CONFRONTING ROTC

Introduction

It must first be understood that there can be no standard list of all of the specific problems that face every ROTC Unit. The list varies in nature and degree as does the prominence of the political environment inherent in each particular campus. It is of paramount importance to have some basic idea of just what these problems can be before an ROTC Unit can attempt to effectively deal with them. Drawing upon experiences that seem to generate recurring trends in these problems, three basic situations are presented that should be understood in order for an ROTC Unit to even begin to evaluate what it may be or is already up against.

Nature of criticisms

"War-relatedness" is the political case against the ROTC. However, it is the aca-

ademic case that must be presented to the academicians who decide on the academic fate of ROTC. The crux of this issue, then, is *academic freedom*. In reality, the student/political criticisms presented against ROTC break down when evaluated from this standpoint. The opposition knows this. Therefore, the organizations trying to abolish or discredit ROTC try to hit as close to the issue as possible and try the next approach by making their main stand against "academic credibility". Their underlying reasons for moving against ROTC, however, is not at all academic or in the purist interest of an open campus or society. Only the emotional support drawn from the faculty and students even relate to these reasons. Yet, these activist groups know that academic credibility is the only argument against ROTC that the faculty might buy.

The general selling point to the "authoritative bureaucracies" that anti-ROTC groups use is on the basis of "an obvious lack" of course academic quality, qualifications and status of military instructors and compatibility of a military career oriented program with the aims of liberal education. In a more zealous effort to back their argument these groups have listed several other reasons to withdraw credit for or cancel ROTC programs. One reason is "because non-academic factors such as appearance, obedience and political beliefs count in ROTC grades". Another reason cited is "because admission to ROTC is limited by such factors as sex, citizenship, and physical qualifications". It is the basic idea that ROTC is repugnant to the fundamental principles of a liberal education, and that the quality of its curriculum expose it as such, that is sold to the decision-making bodies with the potential to oust ROTC. But this is basically a front which anti-ROTC groups use to gain recognition and status in the eyes of the students and eventually the administrators as well meaning crusaders for the true preservation of academic quality on campus. Nonetheless, every potential criticism against ROTC along these lines of "academic credibility", no matter how general or unreasonable they may seem, must first be understood and realized. This must be in order to be able to answer any of these at any moment. The instantaneous ability of the members or staff of any ROTC unit to sense these criticisms and set them down before students and faculty, in the context and dialogue in which they were issued, is paramount. Once the wherewithal to deal with the main issue is established, effort may shift into dealing with the force behind the issue—the student and faculty support. It is the over supposed amount of this support as seen by administrators that causes the universities to feel that they "must act" in the "conscience of its community". The imperative action, then, must be to assure that 1) this conscience is informed by being provided a solid answer, within the context of the university, to every criticism concerning ROTC. 2) channels of communication are established and readily available to allow dialogue with those who speak most for or authoritatively determine this "conscience", 3) no action regarding ROTC matters is taken by the university without prior knowledge of it and preparation to handle it.

Ideologically the need, worth and compatibility of ROTC speaks for itself. But in the face of preserving its programs, its members and staff as students and professors must speak for it with knowledge, with clarity and with conviction. Reason is the best weapon.

Drawing student and faculty support

For all that has been said about the impetuosity of youth and the so-called "generation revolt", a few campus confrontations are spontaneous. This seems to be particularly true in the enlisting of anti-ROTC support. It is at this stage, outside of the halls of the academic senates, that the issue turns from academic to moral in nature,

from reason to emotion. On the surface there is a moral connotation that "ROTC is an evil within the confines of the university. It feeds the war machine. It makes the university an accomplice in the war . . . and everybody knows that war is bad".

Behind the scenes, the case against ROTC is initiated by a small group. This action is often timed to coincide with a larger social grievance which currently is being aired, or to use one, should it arise. This cadre establishes itself in another group or series of groups already protesting some grievance. The new cause, higher on the "moral" ladder than the previous one, is substituted or draws major support by the spokesmen.

Next, meetings are arranged on or off campus, to discuss the issue and what should be done about it. Small contributions are sought to help the cause. Attention is drawn to already established support as espoused in writings in the underground student newspapers which "happen to deal with this very same subject". Volunteers are enlisted to distribute leaflets and posters. It is at this point that the issue comes out in the open. Bigger, public meetings are organized; rallies and forums are held to call wider attention to the issue. An immediate link between ROTC and the war machine is established. Other "immoral" implications concerning the existence of the program are made. The main intention is to stir up as much discontent as possible and win *sympathizers* to stage an impressive demonstration.

It is also at this stage that additional support is enlisted from some liberal faculty members. Some professors have already taken part in the proceedings. A lucid professor who is popular with students can be of enormous help to the cause and add "dignity" to the proceedings. These professors and student activists have injected the anticipation into the crowd that they can each have a part in the struggle that has already been waged successfully by a few.

The implication here is that the majority of the support for the case against ROTC (the force behind the issue) is drawn from an abundance of emotion stemming in considerable amount from an over eagerness of many faculty and students to maintain their own "moral purity."

Actions against ROTC

Once this emotional appeal takes hold, the issue is dramatized by calling a mass meeting or demonstration and appealing for active support from other groups. An emotional frenzy results by appealing to the moral judgements of the crowd on the "unjust war in VietNam", "University as an accomplice to the War", and the "existence of a trained killer camp on campus." Chanted repeatedly to the accompaniment of waving banners, such phrases have an effect similar to repeated suggestions at a hypnosis session.

The time for individual participation is set. This is a direct confrontation. It calls for disruption of any or all of the functions of the "military establishment" on campus. This disruption is often in the form of sit-ins at the unit staff and administrative offices, a harassing barrage of phone calls to the offices and a disruption of drill periods. Demands are also made to the university to halt activities such as an upcoming annual dress review or parade. Often universities bow to these demands with the rationalization that, for the safety of your (ROTC) students, the event should be cancelled. These actions are undertaken first so that a "meaningful symbology" can be seen in the minds of the participants for what they are doing.

From this point there is a major shift in emphasis. The previous actions receive less

emphasis as the majority of the effort goes behind the scenes. The stage for political manipulation is set. These anti-ROTC groups are really just part of the larger political movement that has already established itself within the university. Their "people" have already been "setting the political table", so to speak. It is not often a coincidence that the policy making or influential "advisory" committees are "stacked". The "conscience of the consensus of the students" is presented with the upmost professionalism at an official meeting that few people even know about. Credibility is established by informing ROTC offices about the meeting place just prior to the occasion. Here, with all the trappings of a sanctioned decision-making affair, the "pros" and "cons" of the ROTC are presented and a vote of proposed action is taken. By the end of the week the student body and faculty may very well be voting on the reduction of credit or withdrawal of ROTC—both of which are unacceptable. Timeliness is important for the ROTC has virtually no time to inject any reason into the still ripe emotion about the issue. Hardly a detail is laid to waste. Mail "sense votes" may be solicited immediately on the issue to the presiding members of the academic senate. If slipped through unnoticed they may contain only one statement for which to vote. Wording may be as follows: "I do/not support the ROTC program at this university" (please check). The majority of the professors do not consider ROTC a burning issue in the face of the deeper matters of "academic concern". Some have given little or no thought to the issue. But now they must "vote". Many may read the question analytically and reason that they do/not support the program in the sense that they do not do anything for it—others act out of "conscience". The box is checked, the results are presented and a basis for larger action is "established". Those ballots not checked can either be thrown away or returned. Those returned do not necessarily indicate the opposite vote (maybe it is an abstention?). At any rate, the students and especially the faculty really have only an exposure to one side of the coin. By not knowing enough about the other how can they vote positively for it? They have heard one voice.

PART II: CASE STUDY: UCLA NROTC

Introduction

The main assumption from Part I as to why certain ROTC units have had difficulty in dealing with the problems mentioned is that these units did not become aware of the political and academic confrontations until it was too late. At the time of awareness they were not conditioned to assert their position so that it would be defended or maintained. The following case study of the UCLA NROTC is presented as an example of how one unit has continuously conditioned itself to assert and maintain its position as an integral part of its university in the face of considerable effort to remove or discredit it.

Anti-ROTC activity

Anti-ROTC activity at UCLA has been most notable since October 1968. Activity initially mentioned in section titled "Action Against ROTC" gradually gained momentum and reached its most vocal peak in May 1969. It must first be qualified that the thrust of the activity was aimed at the Army program since its curricula could be more easily construed to match the criticisms made by the activists. This concentration on the Army was with the idea that as goes the Army, so will go the Navy and the Air Force. Having laid the groundwork since October to deal with the expected criticisms and confrontations, the NROTC initiated action and proceeded on three levels to effect active support for the ROTC programs at UCLA.

Student level

The student level consisted of political action aimed at the crux of the issue of academic freedom. This was the "gut" level powerhoused by the midshipmen. The behind-the-scenes meetings of activists and policy groups in May suddenly issued notice that a student referendum, proposing abolishment and withdrawal of credit of ROTC programs at UCLA, would be put out for vote in one week. This was conveniently timed to draw upon the very high emotional state that was present on campus in sympathy for the students at Berkeley who were "facing the barbed-wire and bayonet suppression of the militant National Guard." The People's Park situation was drawing sympathy from many less-than-liberal students who normally do not take part in any campus activism. The ROTC link to the "force and brutality of the military" was printed on posters showing bayonets being held to the faces of "the brothers and sisters" at Berkeley. The emotional tide was tremendous for several days. Yet, through this the unit had only one week to bring the real issue forward. The midshipmen as students went into high gear. The battalion commander and several senior students effected, a *contingency plan they and the staff had prepared previously*. Participation by other midshipmen was spontaneous. They were confronted with this issue as students and directed their efforts as such. The older students spent the daytime in faculty-student conferences about ROTC to insure that all sides of the ROTC view were presented and maintained. In the evenings they drew up a petition, wrote position papers and designed leaflets which were to be passed out expressing the *student view of ROTC*. A core of three individuals were able to keep operations moving. The other older students were used to head up the various phases undertaken with the underclassmen providing the majority of the manpower. The phases included having students: (1) speak with every fraternity and sorority house 2) contact members and friends on each dorm floor and conduct a general "rap" session to get those who silently approve of ROTC to speak for it 3) circulate petitions and leaflets to all living groups and continuously on the walks of campus all week 4) write articles for the news media and enlist support of local prominent T.V. commentators 5) arrange to speak with the Chancellor and other administrators to present the student view of ROTC 6) inform alumni and public about the issue 7) enlist the support from the student organizations that they either belong to or direct 8) coordinate actions with the other ROTC units.

The most important aspect to be realized in these efforts is that the issue was presented from a student viewpoint. Midshipmen were speaking for UCLA students and not the military. They spoke candidly and not from prepared outlines. They used the terms of activists in making their points. Their points were directed at clearing up some of the emotional smoke, not answering to "charges" and at making a case for ROTC. Most importantly, the effort on the student level was directed so as to convince the students that they, not just the ROTC cadets, had a stake in the ROTC issue. The point of academic freedom to choose courses and a career was driven home hard. Even more to the point was the fact that it was shown that voting against the ROTC programs would help to continue to put strength behind the active political faction that was trying to drive out ROTC and influence the administration. Why couldn't they exert the same pressure for any other program they either "approved" or "disapproved?" This was a big selling point. The results of the undergraduate voting were as follows:

Should ROTC be permitted on Campus:

	Number	Percent
A. Yes, with academic credit.....	3,217	42.5
B. Yes, with no academic credit.....	2,416	31.8
Total yes.....		74.3
C. No, under any circumstances.....	1,882	24.8
D. Don't know, no response.....	72	.9
Total voting.....	7,587	

The totals represent less than 1/3 of the total student (graduate and undergraduate) enrollment. However, this is about double the interest in annual student elections. Several interpretations are obvious—a clear majority agree in principle that ROTC should be on campus, and its structure should be changed.

The student NROTC effort was directed at VOTE A. If every ROTC cadet or midshipman voted for A there would still be approximately 2700 non-ROTC students supporting the program. The main effort is getting these students to take time to vote in the issue. This was a special referendum with only two proposals, the other considering a \$1.00 per quarter student fee increase. It is a personal interpretation that VOTE C represented the student block that occupied the administration building and was trying to effect a shutdown of UCLA all week. VOTE B represented the social choice for non activists whose conscience was somewhat satisfied by voting in some manner against ROTC. Many close friends voted for B saying "it won't hurt ROTC or my friends in it," but the Berkeley situation and the war indicate that "change" is necessary. Herein lies an area for further work—educating the student body as to the nature of ROTC programs. The vast majority are completely unaware that the programs have been restructured. ROTC again represented a symbolic means through which some change in these two situations could occur through student opinion.

Considering the climate in the prior week when it seemed certain that ROTC would fall totally into an emotional-political pit, the results were very positive and reaffirming in nature . . . far more than expected. Conditioning and readiness paid off.

It should be noted that the effect of the results of the student vote is to present to the chancellor some type of "student consensus" to present to the Regents on the campus issues. In effect, the effort by the NROTC left the Chancellor with no reason to act against ROTC and took much of the starch out of the activist effort.

Faculty level

Concurrent with the student effort, the unit staff officers effected increased efforts to support the ROTC programs at the faculty level. These officers, the commanding officer and the freshman instructor, in particular, had prepared the unit since their arrival in the fall to cope with potential campus difficulties. They had established many lines of communication with administrators and faculty that they used fully at this point. They kept in touch with the varying political climates as they changed so as to provide a base of guidance and information to the midshipmen in their efforts. The emphasis by the officers was on the academic side of the issue. They were aware of the decision-making chain of command on campus, how decisions could be effected and affected, and the procedures by which to most effectively participate in this process as faculty members themselves. They personally attended the committees on educational policies and academics, to repeatedly assert that the course relevance and content of NROTC courses were determined by the duly constituted academic processes and that they met the standards in the context of other university courses as to "academic credibility". Many misconceptions and false state-

ments would have affected faculty opinion if it were not for this effort. This effort is still in progress.

Additional time was spent in discussion with individual professors and department chairmen. Midshipmen also talked at length with the professors they knew. The purpose of these talks was to reason, and to provide professors a positive base of information with which they could formulate a positive and knowledgeable attitude about ROTC. The Academic Senate voting results are as follows:

	Yes	No	Percent
A. Abolition of ROTC courses.....	191	624	76.5
B. Withdrawal of credit, ROTC.....	297	509	63
C. Inquiry re ROTC programs.....	752	249	75

Solid support is shown for maintaining ROTC programs with credit and for an inquiry into ROTC programs with the possibility of effecting some minor improvements or recommendations.

Regents (political) level

The efforts on this level are of a wider and more general nature. Being a state owned university campus, UCLA and the other eight University of California campuses is ultimately controlled by a Board of Regents who manage the statewide university system and are accountable to the taxpayers. This is where public relations efforts come into focus. Public support can ultimately effect the views of the members of this board regarding the ROTC if it were strong enough in either direction.

The NROTC unit was in the public eye continuously throughout the year. There was a blanket drive service project conducted by the midshipmen in the surrounding communities which was a door to door effort in uniform to collect blankets for war refugees in Vietnam for Christmas. A Veterans Day presentation and program was conducted by midshipmen for the neighboring town of Santa Monica. The NROTC unit was a major participator in every campus activity in which the public participated—blood drives, charity drives, Open House, to name a few. Community support was also enlisted through the Navy League. Midshipmen had been donating their services to the sea cadet programs sponsored by the Navy League as classroom and drill instructors for a year and a half. The list of participation continues far past this and ranges from projects with Color Guard for the dedication of a new hospital to drivers for university guests. Attention was drawn to each activity by putting it before the public eye through newspaper articles or T.V. coverage. When the going got tough, the Navy League stepped in and enlisted community support to present a resolution to the Governor who is a member of the Board of Regents.

An unusual student—Regent interface also existed. Several midshipmen applied for jobs as special drivers for the Regents in the early fall. By midyear the entire driving staff for the Regents consisted of midshipmen. When the Regents would come to UCLA for meetings, these midshipmen accompanied them everywhere during the duration of their stay. Many opportunities for personal conversations were possible. Personal friendships even developed. It would not be uncommon to go to dinner with a Regent or to spend many hours in conversation about campus issues, especially ROTC. Consequently, the friendliness, appearance and intellectual exchanges of midshipmen with the Board had much potential in maintaining a good image of ROTC students and their program on a statewide level. This type of impression cannot be reflected numerically due to its unprecedented value.

The continuing effort

Having won the battle, so to speak, the main efforts at this moment are directed at not losing the peace. The activist groups, having lost their chance to build support for their case through the student and faculty votes, have continued their efforts politically behind the scenes to try to get around the realities of faculty-student support for ROTC. At present UCLA has a quasi-legal body called the University Policies Commission (UPC) which has set up several Task Forces to study areas of campus concern. One such Task Force is that on "war-related activities and ROTC". This writer is presently a member of this "study group" and was appointed to "represent a balanced view on the committee". There are four other student voting members who will spend all summer on salary "researching" to come up with some "qualified conclusions" on the matters of war-related activities and ROTC on campus. Open condemnations and proposals for abolishment of ROTC are declared continuously by the other members. The student members are campus activists who are on this task force with the purpose of placing the university approval stamp on their proposals. It is another way to gain political status and to play the university against itself. This writer has just recently been "voted" off of this force because he "has not the proper background" and is "holding up the progress of the committee". This vote has personally been discredited on its non-legality. Current effort is being undertaken to expose the background nature of the task force and the invalidity of some of its proposals. There have been similar complaints on the other task forces that the majority of members are student activists. The result comes about partially by the fact that this type of activity or "involvement" is the occupation of these students. They work at their goals on a full time basis. This is the type of effort a unit can be up against. One thing can be assumed . . . that is, that the effort will continue and an ROTC unit in this type of situation has to be able to recognize these efforts and stay in the game.

PART III: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It is believed that the issues and situations presented here are not merely local case studies but have profound and real consequences and applications. The increasing role call of ROTC units facing or receiving either being discredited or discontinued bears this out. Like buffaloes being shot, these units have looked on with interest when another of their number goes down, without seriously thinking they may be next. The example of the UCLA NROTC gives some idea what may be done in the face of the concerted political moves to eliminate ROTC. The sister NROTC units at Stanford, Berkeley and Washington have been physically attacked throughout the active attempts to remove or discredit it. We have maintained a positive orientation—some of the tools to maintain positivism: Vision . . . Leadership . . . Moral courage of the planning of its midshipmen . . . Communication . . . Public Relations . . . Gut Effort.

PART IV: PERSONAL COMMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It was tremendously encouraging to see the importance of ROTC-campus situations be so prominent at the recent ROA Convention in Las Vegas. Speaking before the convention and with many distinguished civilians and military officers, brought the need into the open for a coordinated effort on a national level to evaluate and aid each ROTC program. I realized a need is to provide continuous input from the field (from each particular ROTC unit) of the nature of current campus situations and what is being done about them. Unfortunately, until now we have been so busy dealing with the situation that we have been unable to

report it. Briefly I would like to propose the following: 1) A task force might be considered to be comprised of well spoken junior officers who would maintain a continuous liaison between the ROTC units and Washington. They could serve as an advisory group in helping to establish better lines of communications or public relations for a unit. They could collect much of the vast amount of anti-ROTC literature for reference and review. They could relate the experiences, organizations and strong points of other units that have faced campus confrontations in an effort to determine what are the most effective policies for each particular unit to employ. No two units are alike in their campus-political environments. This could eliminate a fruitless search to create on paper one policy to be followed by all. It is suggested that these young officers serve a mobile function by moving about where needed. They could provide Washington with a timely base of information so that its actions can be timed to meet individual unit needs when they exist. It is true that ROTC units are autonomous in nature, but they often are ill equipped to accept the additional administrative load, or can they divert faculty from teaching to react to criticism from untoward sources. 2) In ROTC units where the greatest potential threats are envisioned, it might be worthwhile to select the next incoming PNS and instructors on the basis of ability to fulfill the increasing demands of those positions. Often outgoing or retiring officers are assigned who will be less capable to handle the situations. I feel personally that the UCLA NROTC Unit would not be the strong and proud unit it is today without the new and very effective leadership it was assigned in the fall. Colonel Warren and LCDR Jones are the reasons that the NROTC Unit at UCLA is what it is today. The actions presented of their unit in anticipating situations and providing guidance in their solutions should be well reviewed. 3) It would be helpful to request other such papers as this from other midshipmen. Nobody possesses privileged access to the entire picture from the student view. This paper is contented only to represent my immediate personal views (and no one else's) on the situation as I've been able to see it. 4) The basic policies of those evaluating and working within the ROTC-campus situations should be policies of vision, not policies of crisis. The former must be coordinated on a timely basis and applied before it is too late for concern. The latter is too late. 5) I would like to acknowledge the Navy Department's vision in revising its curriculum for the past year. It is deemed a much more constructive one and makes it possible for us to come back to many ROTC criticisms with the opening statement "But in the Navy for example . . ."

I am honored to have the opportunity to express my personal views on this subject of maintaining ROTC and am proud to be able to say, anywhere, "in the Navy for example . . ."

Respectfully submitted,

CHARLES C. HOOPER.

**TWENTY YEARS OF TYRANNY:
COMMUNIST CHINA 1949-69**

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, the Committee of One Million has just issued a very timely booklet to coincide with the 20th anniversary of Communist rule over

China. The booklet, entitled "Twenty Years of Tyranny: Communist China 1949-69," dramatically and incisively examines how China has faltered and even gone backward in some respects under Communist rule.

The introduction to this booklet was written by my friend and former colleague, Dr. Walter Judd, and, in my view, is worthy of the attention of the Members of this body. Therefore, I commend it to the attention of all:

INTRODUCTION

(By Dr. Walter H. Judd)

October 1, 1969, marked the 20th anniversary of Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party coming to power on mainland China. What has been their record over the last 20 years? Where have they succeeded—and failed? How have the Chinese people fared under Communism? What does the future hold for the Chinese people—and Chinese Communism?

To obtain the answers, the Committee of One Million asked three distinguished experts to examine the political, military and economic trends of Communist China since 1949. Their findings are contained in this booklet whose title sums up their conclusion: *Twenty Years of Tyranny: Communist China 1949-69*.

Politically, Mao has used every stratagem and intrigue available to a tyrant to retain power, including terror and murder. Today, Mao and his associates are uncertain rulers of an uneasy country rife with rebellion. As Professor James T. Myers states:

"The Maoists' grand schemes, such as the Great Leap Forward and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, have wreaked havoc with the Chinese political, economic and educational systems . . . one sees overall a record of squandered human resources and political resources of support both within the Party and without, which if not unprecedented, must still be recorded as gross political ineptitude or outright stupidity. China still needs today, as she needed in 1949, political leaders who are able to bring internal peace, stability and a measure of prosperity to this vast and potentially great nation and great people."

Militarily, Communist China is becoming a paper tiger, capable of making threats, but incapable for the most part of carrying them out except against weaker Asian neighbors. Significantly, the most pressing responsibility of the military today is to guarantee the political stability of the Mao regime. It has created a military dictatorship or *junta* on mainland China. As Professor Jurgen Domes states:

"With the establishment of the PLF (People's Liberation Forces) as the dominant political force in Communist China, two results appear possible: (1) Communist China might be heading for a period of centralized military rule under Lin Piao; (2) A new period of military regionalism—albeit qualitatively different from that which prevailed in the early decades of this century—may soon begin."

Economically, Communist China is exporting opium to get foreign exchange with which to buy wheat to feed its people, while it exhorts its citizens to 10- and 12-hour work days. As journalist John F. Lewis states:

"Red China's agricultural base and industrial plant may be in worse shape than at any time since October 1, 1949 . . ."

"The diet now of the average peasant at best is not better than it was in 1939—not 1949 . . ."

"Since 1965, Peking's import-export activity has dropped off fifteen to twenty percent . . ."

"Many public works projects carried out with great fanfare and haste during both the Great Leap and Cultural Revolution periods are falling apart . . ."

Clearly, Communist China under Mao Tse-tung is a weak, divided and chaotic nation. It is held together today only by military force under the leadership of Mao's chosen successor, Lin Piao. The Communist Party has been reduced to a secondary role. In fact, it can be argued that what prevails in mainland China today is revolutionary anarchism. As a result, no one can predict Communist China's future with any real confidence.

Such uncertainty is precisely why the Committee of One Million now opposes, as it has since 1953 when it was formed, any concessions by the United States which would aid the Peking regime.

American opposition to the admission of Communist China to the U.N. or any other steps which would build the power and prestige of Mao's government has always enjoyed broad bi-partisan support, including that of five American presidents and seven U.S. Congresses. Furthermore, American opposition to admission or recognition has been based on the realities of the situation on mainland China and Asia.

The realities have never been better expressed than by the former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson, when he told the General Assembly:

"The first reality is that the regime in Peiping does not in any meaningful way represent those 700,000,000 people of whom we have heard so often these past two weeks: the mass executions, the iron controls, the total suppression of all personal freedom and civil liberties, the two million Chinese refugees in Hong Kong—these are proof enough.

"The second reality is that the Communist Chinese regime has already made a record of aggression and hostility toward its neighbors in Korea, in Tibet, in India and in Southeast Asia.

"The third reality is that the Chinese Communists are dedicated today—and as a matter of high policy—to war and violent revolution in other countries.

"The fourth reality is that the Republic of China is a Founding Member of the United Nations—that the Government of the Republic of China exists, and so do 11 million people of Taiwan—that its Delegation which sits here now has performed honorable service to the United Nations and its Charter.

"The fifth reality is the Charter of the United Nations—which sets forth explicitly the requirements for membership and the terms for expulsion.

"The sixth reality is the proposal which is put to us in the Soviet draft resolution—which is this: that by our own deliberate action we are first to throw out a Founding Member who is guilty of nothing, in order to empty a seat in this Hall; we are then to invite another delegation to enter this body on its own terms, to fill that empty seat; and we are to present the new delegation with a special license to commit armed aggression against the member we have just ejected illegally."

Since that address, Peking has unleashed the Red Guards, encouraged revolutionary activities in Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Africa, and even the United States, provided logistic and moral support to North Vietnam, promised in April 1969 to "bury" the United States and continued to express its contempt and hostility toward the United Nations.

The President of the United States in 1966 said, "A lasting peace will not be possible as long as the 700 million people on the Chinese mainland remain isolated from the outside world."

This Committee disagrees with that state-

ment on two counts. First, the problem is not the isolation of the 700 million people in mainland China, but the lawless behavior of the self-imposed Communist tyranny that controls those 700 million people. Second, the statement implies that bringing that Communist tyranny into the community of nations is a way to encourage improvement in its behavior. All experience indicates the opposite. If by belligerence and turbulence it succeeds in getting what it wants, why should it abandon them and become conciliatory?

If the statement had been, "A lasting peace will not be possible as long as the 700 million people on the Chinese mainland remain under Communist control," we would agree wholeheartedly.

The objective of American policy must be the return of the 700 million Chinese people to control of their own destiny. If free, they will be friendly and peace will be possible.

Therefore our government must refrain from any action—such as diplomatic recognition, trade, admission to the United Nations—that would inevitably strengthen the Communist tyranny, both at home and abroad, and would correspondingly weaken the resistance of the 700 million Chinese and the hope of the world for peace in that area.

In the face of Red China's deliberate and consistent policy of revolution and subversion, the United States must continue its present policy of no concessions to Communist China until the Peking regime abandons its aggressions and its tyrannies in fact and in deed.

Until such time, the Committee of One Million will continue to publish special reports like *Twenty Years of Tyranny: Communist China 1949-69*, with the conviction that if the American people have all the facts they will make the right decisions and support the right policies for their country and the world.

RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE

HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, I recently received the results of a postcard questionnaire poll I conducted a few months ago in the Second Congressional District of Indiana.

I present these results now for the enlightenment and information of my respected colleagues. Particularly, I invite the attention of all Members to the response to question one, regarding the war in Vietnam. The results clearly show that a substantial majority of the people in my district, despite what we may have heard from those who would have us surrender, are certainly not ready to abandon Vietnam to communism. They prefer to stay the course and fight to win the battle against the Communist slave-masters by a margin of nearly 3 to 1.

About 43 percent actually want our Nation to increase the military pressure on the enemy, while another 16 percent who gave miscellaneous "write-in" responses called for some measure of increased pressure on the enemy.

Less than one-fourth of my constituents desire abandoning the people of South Vietnam to the uncertain mercies of the Communists.

The results of my poll, representing the sentiments of 30,782 persons, including 15,906 men and 14,876 women, are as follows:

1969 PUBLIC OPINION QUESTIONNAIRE

1. If present peace negotiations concerning the Vietnam War are not successful, do you recommend:

[In percent]

	Husband	Wife	Combined
a. Immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces?	21.8	25.2	23.4
b. Increased U.S. military pressure.	43.4	41.5	42.5
c. Present military effort with continued negotiation attempts?...	16.0	16.7	16.3
d. Other alternatives? If so, what?...	18.8	16.6	17.8

Under "other alternatives," a multitude of sentiments were written in, sometimes singly, sometimes in conjunction with other responses. There were too many different responses to list them all, but a few stood out. Of those answering to Question 1.d., the percentages looked like this:

[In percent]

	Husband	Wife	Combined
Win it or get out.....	32.0	31.7	31.9
Gradual withdrawal.....	20.7	20.7	20.7
Increased military pressure with continued negotiations.....	8.1	7.4	7.8
Let the South Vietnamese assume a greater share of the fighting.....	12.4	14.3	13.2
Stop trade with Communist countries.....	2.9	3.4	3.1
Resume bombing of North Vietnam.....	15.2	16.2	15.6
Other.....	8.7	6.3	7.7

2. Do you favor a Constitutional Amendment allowing Congress to override a Supreme Court decision by a two-thirds vote?

[In percent]

Husband		Wife		Combined	
Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
68.8	31.2	70.0	30.0	69.4	30.6

3. Do you favor legislation limiting the number and type of questions to be asked in taking the 1970 Census?

[In percent]

Husband		Wife		Combined	
Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
71.9	28.1	73.3	26.7	72.6	27.4

4. Do you believe that inflation will be controlled by continuing the surtax?

[In percent]

Husband		Wife		Combined	
Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
12.5	87.5	11.2	88.8	11.8	88.2

5. Do you favor a government guaranteed minimum annual income?

[In percent]

Husband		Wife		Combined	
Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
17.7	82.3	18.9	81.1	18.3	81.7

6. Are you satisfied with President Nixon's performance to date?

[In percent]

Husband		Wife		Combined	
Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
74.4	22.6	76.0	24.0	73.3	26.7

7. Do you want stricter gun control legislation?

[In percent]

Husband		Wife		Combined	
Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
38.9	61.1	47.8	52.2	43.1	56.9

HOW USEFUL IS THE MOON? A PRACTICAL ANSWER

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, a recent edition of the U.S. News & World Report carried an instructive article on the value of the moon to this Nation and the world in the future. As we expand our horizons beyond the earth it is important to consider the ideas examined in this informative article. The article follows:

HOW USEFUL IS THE MOON? A PRACTICAL ANSWER

Of what use is the moon? Can man colonize it, mine it for hidden riches, use it for a military base? Answers to these questions are among many given in a 256-page book, "U.S. on the Moon—What It Means to Us," just published by "Books by U.S. News & World Report." Here are excerpts from one of the book's 12 illustrated chapters—this one entitled "Our Lunar Base":

Getting sufficiently established on the moon to do extensive exploration and research will be as difficult as getting there in the first place.

In the initial years of moon exploration, landing vehicles will serve as shelters, scientific laboratories, living quarters, and radio stations. In far years ahead, visitors to the moon will work in underground stations covered over by the moon's surface material to shield them from heat and cold.

Provided an atmospheric cocoon, the inhabitants of these stations will be able to live in comfort, moving in air-pressurized tunnels through an underground network of laboratories. Dressed in pressurized space suits, they will go above ground for excursions of days or weeks into the lunar badlands.

The stations may well be international colonies, much like scientific stations in the Antarctic. . . .

The exploration for usable natural resources in the moon's crust will begin early. Perhaps these will be gold or diamonds, but moon explorers will be far happier if they find water or substances they can use for rocket fuel.

Water is needed not only for drinking, but for cooling electrical equipment, for heating and air conditioning, and for growing food. The electrical generating devices called fuel cells used in manned space vehicles produce some water. They generate electricity through a chemical reaction between hydrogen and oxygen, and water is a by-product.

Permanent moon stations will probably require nuclear power plants because they can generate large amounts of electricity over long periods with a very small amount of uranium or plutonium fuel.

It is possible that there is water on the moon. If, for example, the moon was once a part of the earth, it could have taken a huge amount of water with it when it was spun away. If it passed very near the earth and was captured, its gravity could have siphoned water away from the earth's oceans. Today the moon's gravity, weak as it is, is still strong enough to pull the earth's seas and oceans, thereby causing our tides.

Some scientists believe that there is a layer of ice—like permafrost in the Arctic—not far beneath the moon's surface, insulated well enough that it does not melt under the searing midday sun. Others have suggested that there is boiling water deep within the moon, and that even today steam is escaping through lunar fissures. This suggests the possibility of steam-powered, steam-heated and cooled moon colonies.

Or it may be possible to extract water from the moon's rocks. Scientists have detected evidence of sulphur at some places on the moon's surface. On earth, sulphur is invariably associated with water-bearing rocks. But to extract water from the rock itself will require enormous sources of energy.

Bizarre schemes have been suggested. One idea is to place huge, metal-foil mirrors at places in space called "libration points," where the gravity of the earth and the gravity of the moon are balanced. Theoretically, objects placed at these points would remain there, drifting neither toward the earth nor toward the moon. Giant mirrors so located would require only tiny control jets to keep them oriented so they could concentrate and focus the sunlight on a desired point on the moon. That would drive the temperature as high as 800 degrees, enough to chemically break down the rocks, making it possible to capture their water.

Growing food on the moon is an especially interesting problem. What we call moon soil may be extremely poor or void of plant nutrients, but we might turn to a science called "hydroponics" to produce vegetables.

Years ago, scientists found they could grow plants without soil. The technique involves using tanks filled with chemically treated water. Wire-mesh screens are placed over the surface of the water and covered with rocks or cinders. Such materials merely hold the plants in place; the roots stick down into the water and grow there. Some plants flourish this way, producing more and better fruit than they do growing in rich soil. . . .

Until ways are found to develop resources on the moon, explorers will have to make more and more efficient use of what they have. Even human waste materials will have to be carefully saved. Some of it, urine for example, will be treated to extract fresh drinking water.

The successful search for sources of oxygen or hydrogen would be as important as the discovery of usable water on the moon. This would raise the possibility of one day refueling rockets on the moon for their return trip to earth, or even for missions deeper into the solar system. . . .

As we look ahead to the time when man will establish himself as a resident of the moon, we might ask about the moon's potential for military uses. Can operations on the surface of the moon do anything to enhance our national security back on earth?

In the early days of the space age, there were real fears that the Soviet Union's lead would enable the Russians to establish control of the moon. When any potential adversary can operate in an environment where we cannot, it is a matter of great concern to military planners.

Now, an international treaty, signed by both the United States and the Soviet Union, forbids placing weapons in space or on the

moon. It also prohibits a country from making territorial claims on the moon.

From a technical viewpoint, it would be possible to establish missile-launching pads on the moon to send bombs against targets on earth. The best insurance we have against this happening is the moon's great distance from us. If an intercontinental missile were fired at the United States from the Soviet Union, we might have no more than 15 minutes' warning, because the approaching warhead is shielded from radar detection by the horizon until it is in the latter phase of its flight.

On the other hand, a missile launched from the moon to the earth could probably be detected two or three days before arrival, giving time for defensive missiles to be launched to intercept it in space.

By the same token, it offers no advantage to use the moon for spying on earth when this can be done infinitely better by satellites in low earth orbit. Looking at the earth from the moon one cannot see evidence that our planet is inhabited. But satellites in earth orbit can even spot missile sites and detect rocket firings.

Satellites can be placed in stationary orbits so they observe the same point on the earth's surface all the time. At an altitude of some 23,300 miles, such satellites travel around the earth in the same time it takes the earth to turn on its axis; the result is that the satellite stays in the same place in relation to landmarks on earth.

Such constant surveillance can never be possible on the moon, even if some magical devices could be built which would allow observation of small objects. A given area on the earth would be in view only half the time because of the earth's rotation.

Nevertheless, weapons on the moon could have blackmail potential, just as a nuclear power could intimidate other nations by placing a bomb in earth orbit. It might be psychologically intimidating.

As for nonmilitary aspects, scientists have planned an exhaustive search for any evidence of life. They would be most surprised if they found any, but the possibility cannot be altogether discounted. If there is not life in the form of viruses or bacteria, there might conceivably be molecules left over from the process of life formation on earth. . . .

If the possibility of finding some crude form of life on the moon is farfetched, the idea of using the moon as the site for exciting new astronomical laboratories is not.

Just as the atmosphere filters out most of the radiation sent our way by the sun, it forms an opaque window which lets us see only a little of the energy coming from the stars. So, despite the advances of modern astronomy, scientists still have to do a great deal of guesswork about the characteristics of stars and their life and death.

In recent years, some of the most exciting discoveries of science have come from the field of radio astronomy. Gigantic telescopes which collect radio energy are making it possible to study the universe in an entirely new way.

But radio telescopes miles in diameter are needed to really take advantage of the opportunity to study the noise from the stars. It is difficult to find sites for such laboratories because of their susceptibility to interference from electronic equipment on earth. The back side of the moon is an ideal place. Protected from all interference, a radio telescope could gather information unobtainable either on earth or in earth orbit. Here again, the low gravity on the moon would offer an advantage. It would be possible to put up a gigantic receiver like a child's erector set. The structure could be built without the massive support required on earth, where gravity would make it topple.

In recent years, astronomers have discovered objects called quasars which seem to be so far away that their radiation we are now

receiving was emitted before the solar system was formed. Even now they appear to be moving away from us at velocities approaching the speed of light.

Radio energy is being studied from other objects called pulsars, which seem to be extremely small, yet generate incredible amounts of energy. They send out pulses so accurately timed that when they were first discovered it seemed that they might be intricate radio signals from another civilization somewhere.

Our lunar base, then, will extend our vision and hearing so we may perceive a greater part of the universe than has ever before been apparent. At the same time, it will enable us to look back closer than ever toward the day of creation.

MSGR. CHRISTOPHER J. MCCORMACK—A GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 9, 1969

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on the evening of September 21, I had the honor to attend a unique and touching testimonial dinner at the Columbian Lyceum on Staten Island. The ceremony was held to honor Rt. Rev. Msgr. Christopher J. McCormack, pastor of the Church of St. Ann, Dongan Hills, Staten Island, who is commemorating his 50th anniversary in the priesthood. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the following tribute to this eloquent and dedicated man, including a congratulatory letter from Francis Cardinal Cooke, archbishop of New York:

A man dedicated to a life of love and service to God and the Church. Monsignor Christopher J. McCormack has reached an apex in a career so well chosen. To participate in a celebration with him on his fiftieth anniversary as a priest is certainly a joyous occasion and one that will be so warmly remembered by his St. Ann's parishioners, family and friends. A man of sensitivity and compassion, steadfast in his approach to the work of God, so humble and modest in approach, demanding so little, this good priest truly exemplifies the best in man.

In his divinely inspired career, Monsignor McCormack has served faithfully and well in a number of assignments, the first being to the Church of Mount St. Mary, Wappinger Falls, following his ordination on September 20, 1919. Subsequent duties were assumed at the Church of St. Stephen, Manhattan, October 14, 1921 to October 22, 1940. After serving at the Church of St. Brigid in Manhattan for an approximate period of two and one-half years, Cardinal Spellman, in recognition of his idealistic work, appointed Monsignor to his first pastorate at the Church of the Holy Name of Mary, Croton-on-Hudson, on August 21, 1943. It was our good fortune to have Monsignor designated Pastor of St. Ann's on May 18, 1946 and in the past twenty-three years we all have gotten to know and love this good priest.

There is no need to recount the accomplishments achieved by Monsignor, with which we are all familiar, but a singular aspect deserves comment, and that is the complete holiness which surrounds his being and which affects us all in our quest to be better Christians. He so well fulfilled the attributes of the phrase he so often used, "noblesse oblige", for never has a parish been blessed with a man of such honor and good-

ness. Our joining together on this festive occasion in a very warm way expresses our love and devotion to a man who will be in our hearts forever.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
August 20, 1969.

RT. REV. MSGR. CHRISTOPHER J. McCORMACK,
St. Ann's Rectory,
Dongan Hills, Staten Island, N.Y.

DEAR MONSIGNOR McCORMACK: I am delighted to learn that on the 21st of September, you will observe the Golden Anniversary of your Ordination to the Sacred Priesthood and I wish to add my congratulations to those of your many friends who will celebrate this joyful occasion with you.

May it be for you a day of happy memories, as you recall the many blessings which have filled these golden years since your Ordination. My prayer is that Almighty God may continue to bless you and keep you in our midst.

I wish to take this opportunity to express my deep appreciation for all that you have done for the Church during these years. Your priestly dedication, as well as your loyalty and devotion, have been a great source of encouragement to all of us.

With renewed congratulations and prayerful good wishes, I am

Devotedly yours in Christ,
TERENCE CARDINAL COOKE,
Archbishop of New York.

ADDRESS BEFORE WALTHAM
FRENCH-AMERICAN VICTORY
CLUB

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith a summary and synopsis of my remarks Saturday, October 4, 1969, before the French-American Victory Club at Waltham, Mass., on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of this outstanding organization.

The banquet was largely attended, most enthusiastically celebrated, and was a very impressive and inspirational experience for those privileged to attend.

The summary follows:

Speaking before the French-American Victory Club at Waltham last night, Congressman Phillip J. Philbin said that our national leadership must do everything in its power to bring the war in Vietnam to an honorable end at the earliest possible time, and keep our nation strong in every respect, militarily, economically, financially and spiritually, so that all of our people can enjoy the fruits of our prosperity and the equality of treatment under our laws which our great Constitution guarantees.

Philbin assailed the high interest rates, which he said were causing great hardship to many veterans, workers and others, and threatening current prosperity.

He also deplored current government cutbacks in social, economic, educational and health areas, which he termed unwarranted, wasteful and destructive, and were impeding many fine programs of great value to some of our most pressing, social needs.

The Clinton Congressman also paid great tribute to the Franco-American people of Waltham and the Commonwealth and credited them with a loyalty to the ideas and

principles of American government which has won for them the high regard and esteem of all their fellow countrymen, irrespective of race, color or creed.

"Yours is indeed a proud heritage," said Philbin. "Your race springs from the richness of a glorious past, replete with accomplishment in art, literature, music, science, politics, religion and, in fact, virtually all the things that make life worthwhile.

"From the sunny fields of France, and from the woodland fastness and fertile valleys of Quebec and Canada, you and your ancestors have poured a stream of manhood and womanhood imbued with great humanitarian qualities, unquestioned loyalty to our country, fine citizenship, faith and industry which through the years has been an invaluable support to the government as well as to our community and national life."

The Congressman touched upon the great contributions of the French people throughout history—their fight for liberty, fraternity, equality.

"This struggle for equality," said Philbin, "goes on today all over the world, where people are oppressed or threatened by the ruthless tyranny of powerful nations striving to dominate them, and destroy their liberties.

"The Franco-Americans have magnificently carried out the great traditions of your race.

"You realize too, as we all must, that equality right here in this country in this crucial time in world history, and I mean total equality under the law, and equal treatment for all, must be guaranteed and assured in every sense of these words."

Philbin also touched on current world and national affairs.

"Let us not be deluded, and let us not be passive or unmoved, by the dangers that threaten us in the world and in this country," he said. The enemies of freedom, the individual rights of man and the liberties that we enjoy as Americans are growing stronger by the minute.

"Let no one make a mistake about that. They are fast developing a strength of arms and destructive weapons that is not only coming up to our own armed strength, but increasingly, in very important respects, has gone ahead.

"Unfortunately, some of these nations turn their backs on peace, and block and delay every effort that this government and other free governments are making to limit and control destructive weapons, and to put the affairs of this world on the firm foundation of the 'rule of law' and universal peace.

"Until that peace has come and is assured and pray it may be soon, the dangers of international disaster are dispelled, and solid international understandings and agreements have been reached that will free us all from the threats of nuclear destruction, we must keep this nation strong and prepared.

"Meanwhile, we must not allow current disappointments and delays to swerve us from our resolution and efforts to make an enduring peace for this world that will permit all nations and all peoples to live in brotherhood and understanding.

"Above all, let us realize that we are the greatest, richest, most powerful nation in all history, and we must do everything we can to strengthen the principles of freedom, enterprise and justice that made this possible.

"With malice toward none, with justice toward all, with the hand of friendship, peace and brotherhood extended to every nation and group, let us go forward until we make this nation, yes and the world, not only a better place to live but a place of opportunity, plenty, promise and hope for the oppressed, the poor and the lowly, wherever they may be. The amelioration of social, political and economic injustice must be a great goal, which I know we can reach sooner

than some think, if we unite and work together.

"On this day of celebration of this great club, it is an opportunity for us to rededicate ourselves to the high purposes of those who built and developed this great land of ours, the leaders who fostered and advanced it by their wisdom and tenacity, and all those who fought and did to sustain our nation.

"At the same time, we may well rededicate ourselves today to the spirit of the great French leaders who helped to lay down the foundations of our country and civilization—the great law-giver, Montesquieu, Lafayette, who fought with us, Pasteur and Curie, who purged us of killer disease, the memorable discoverer, Father Joliet, and other great French figures who gave life and hope to the human family, instead of the sting of disruption we see around us in some places today.

"One more thought. Let us renew our faith and our love of American democracy, the American free way of life, our freedoms, so that we may continue to live as free men and women here in America, so that our liberties may be protected against enslavement and debauchery, whether it comes from foreign aggressors who would impose the slave state on all, or from the influences in our own country that would destroy our family life, our moral structure, American institutions, and replace them with the collectivist state.

"In doing this, we will be adding lustre to the contributions of the French people to America, and all the other rich cultures of every group, and we will be proclaiming our confidence and faith that we of this great country, not only have the opportunity born of freedom to make this nation and government serve the cause and the needs of ordinary people for whom it was created, but that we also have the determination, strength, power and resolution to solve every problem that may arise, present and future, and, God willing, build and develop this nation to greater heights than ever and use our great influence to establish lasting peace and mutual help in the nation and world.

"Heartiest congratulations and many happy returns of your birthday."

RECOUNTS UNHAPPY EXPERIENCE

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, today, I am asking to have printed in the RECORD an article written by Mr. Miles McMillin, the editor of the Capital Times, the most prominent newspaper in my district.

Mr. McMillin recounts an unhappy experience he has had in dealing with the credit department of the Standard Oil Co. I, too, have had a similar experience and have discontinued my own credit account with this company because of its greediness in the handling of its credit accounts and the additional exorbitant revolving account charges. Furthermore, because of the time lapse in billing, it is literally impossible to return one's payment in time to avoid these finance charges. I have gotten to the point that I refuse to trade with companies whose interest charges are so scandalously extortionate and whose credit departments are utterly unresponsive to appeals to revise their billing procedures.

I know that this frustration is shared, not only by myself and Mr. McMillin, but by countless other Americans and therefore, I include his remarks in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Capital Times, Oct. 8, 1969]

HELLO WISCONSIN
(By Miles McMillin)

I have this day written and posted the following letter to Standard Oil, Division of American Oil Co., Central Credit Card Office, P.O. Box 6783, Chicago, Ill., 60680: "Dear Sirs: In the course of the relationship established between us by your credit card 550-438-680-5 I have received from you two statements. One, dated 8-29-69, shows a balance of '84.62 cr.' It bears this notice: 'This is a credit balance. Do not pay.' The other statement, dated 9-30-69, shows a balance of '62.02 cr.' and bears this notice: 'This is a credit balance. Do not pay.'

"On line 7 of the statement where it says 'Finance Charge' in bold face caps both statements include this figure: '.00' May I ask why it is that when I owe you money line 7 is not filled with zeros, but when you owe me money it is? Line 13 tells me that you charge me interest at 12 per cent per annum on the money I owe you. But there is no line to tell me how much interest you pay me when you have the use of my money. Are you somehow under the impression that I do not need the money as badly as you do; that I can afford to make gifts of this nature to Standard Oil? I am sure that you will understand—being the good businessmen you are—that I must either deduct interest from the next payment to you at the same rate you charge me or report in my next income tax return a gift from me to you of that amount? And since I am sure you would not want it known in the trade that you are accepting gifts I will make the deduction"

WIRED FOR DOOMSDAY: VERY
UNWILLINGLY

HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, many Wisconsin citizens have been concerned for some time about a Navy-sponsored project called Project Sanguine.

The possible consequences of Project Sanguine for the ecology of this beautiful area could be disastrous. As a recent article in the Washington Post pointed out, conservationists, biologists, and other knowledgeable and concerned citizens view the project with suspicion and concern.

Living on an electrical grid is something fine for James Bond or the Mission Impossible team, but it is considered a very unpleasant prospect by many residents of the area. They fear that important questions concerning the project may not be asked until it is too late.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I enclose a copy of the Post article at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 12, 1969]

FOREST IN WISCONSIN WIRED FOR DOOMSDAY
(By George C. Wilson)

CLAM LAKE, WIS., October 11.—The Navy in the wondrous North Woods just outside this crossroads of a town is wiring Wisconsin for Domsday.

The idea—named Project Sanguine—is to bury a backup nuclear "button" in the forest floor in case other communications are knocked out by enemy H-bombs.

If Sanguine goes all the way—it is in the test stage now—the button would be in the form of a huge grid of underground wires covering up to one-third of the State of Wisconsin.

The longest radio waves ever produced by man would be sent out of the grid—a huge underground sending antenna—and reach Polaris submarines hidden in the ocean depths. The Sanguine signal could be the one ordering the subs to fire their missiles.

Many conservationists, biologists and others view the whole project with utter horror. They fear timber will be slashed, trout streams silted and animals and plants hurt or killed by the electric currents which the Navy admits will leak out of the Sanguine system.

The opposition is becoming increasingly vocal. It is similar in tone, though not yet volume, to that which prompted President Nixon to relocate the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system.

"It's too high a price to pay," Kent D. Schiffert, chairman of the State Committee to Stop Sanguine, said of the Navy insurance scheme for war communication.

Schiffert, a history instructor at Northland College in Ashland, Wis., plans to meet with committee leaders today to see how Sanguine can be blocked in the courts.

Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D.-Wis.), opposing Sanguine from the Washington end, said Congress has never taken a good look at the project to see if it is needed. He has been briefed by the Navy on Sanguine and estimates its eventual cost at \$2 billion.

"The Navy admits," Nelson said, "that the network will give off electrical currents that will affect some 26 counties in the North Country . . . Thousands of miles of Wisconsin farm and forest will be dug up to install some 6,000 miles of cable under the ground over a 25,000-square-mile area . . . There has been no debate in Congress to prove that, even if the system will work, it is a necessary or a justifiable expense."

The Navy, in explaining Sanguine to people in Wisconsin, states that "the purpose of the test facility" at Clam Lake "is not to demonstrate the feasibility or the effectiveness of the communications technique involved. That has already been demonstrated.

"But before such a facility is constructed," the Navy continues, "we are going to show you, not tell you, that the facility will not adversely affect the area." The Navy has built what it calls an "interference mitigation laboratory" to keep electrical currents from Sanguine from disrupting the area.

After the Clam Lake demonstration, the Navy intends to move south to Park Falls, Wis., to conduct more experiments. This will mean more digging and building—regarded as a boon by job hungry residents and a bane by the concerned conservationists. So far, about \$27 million of a \$50 million set aside for Sanguine has been spent.

Official Navy press releases steer clear of the Domsday nature of Sanguine. The "fact sheet" on the project states that "Sanguine calls for the development of a single transmitter complex located in the United States that could provide communications with forces deployed worldwide."

The unmentioned fact that Sanguine is another nuclear button comes through clearly only in the explanations given at Sanguine's fenced-in command post here in the breath-takingly beautiful Chequamegon National Forest.

A "POST-ATTACK" CENTER

W. R. Hayford, site manager for RCA, which got the contract to run the test, said in an interview that Sanguine "is a post-attack communications system." He added

that the American forces could only receive the signal—not talk back to Sanguine.

To the person standing on the ground over Sanguine's long electrical cables, the setting seems all wrong for a Strangelove system. White birches lean over the 30-foot-wide rights-of-way the Navy has cut through miles of forest. Spruce trees can be heard whispering in the quiet of the forest. And other tree tops are aflame with the reds, golds and oranges of autumn. A ruffed grouse stood a little way down the road pecking up gravel—his form of teeth.

Why here? Why here of all places? It turns out that the military believes upper Wisconsin is the only place in the world where the Sanguine electronic trick can be performed well. The reason is the peculiar properties of the rock shield running underneath the swampy ground of this forest and the rolling farm land outside it.

Called the Laurentian Shield, the rock is about two billion years old and extremely dry. It lies under the upper third of Wisconsin. The dryness means that electrical currents will not move through it easily. The rock acts like a huge insulator. Electrical current in the Sanguine sending antenna, because of this rock insulator, would not be drawn off deep into the earth at those places where the system is grounded. The rock, as Hayford explained it, assures maximum sending power for the giant Sanguine antenna.

To send out an extremely low-frequency radio wave, which is thousands of miles long, the sending antenna itself must also be thousands of miles long—much too big to be put on a ship or plane.

The required length of antenna, the Navy believes, can be achieved through criss-crossing wires over the thousands of square miles of the Laurentian Shield. The resulting signals would go from Wisconsin around the world.

GLOBULAR CAVITY

The cavity formed between the earth and the ionosphere is known as the Schumann cavity after W. O. Schumann, the German scientist who explored its possibilities for radio work. Extremely low-frequency signals going through this cavity, according to scientists, will remain strong as they go around the world. They cannot be jammed.

Also, the longer a radio wave is the deeper it penetrates water. Therefore, a long wave from Sanguine could get down to American Polaris submarines hiding in the ocean depths. They have to come near the surface to communicate now—a real danger in wartime where survival depends on stealth.

Hayford said Sanguine will generate radio signals of 40 to 80 cycles per second—called Hertz. One unofficial calculation is that a signal of 100 Hertz—a much longer radio wave than any in use today—would penetrate 400 feet into the water.

If that calculation is correct, Sanguine could mean making American Polaris submarines less vulnerable to detection and attack in a war. Their mission is to clobber any nation which attacks the United States first. Sanguine, then, could be linked by its supporters to the credibility of the American deterrent to anyone contemplating nuclear war.

NOT A PRIME TARGET

Looking at that proposition from another angle, an operational Sanguine system (it is not operational at present) could be a target for enemy H-bombs. Navy leaders concede Sanguine could become a target but doubt the spread out system would ever be a prime one. The existing command and control centers for launching American ICBMs are considered prime targets. Weapons leaders long have feared that nuclear effects in a war would black out those systems.

The Sanguine fight at the moment is focused not on such longer-range strategic

questions, but on what a vast communication system would do to Wisconsin's countryside.

The Sanguine antenna now in existence consists of two 14-mile-long stretches of wires which intersect at the middle to form a cross. There is a transmitter at the intersection.

If Sanguine went all the way, such crosses would be repeated over and over again until there was a gigantic grid over the Laurentian Shield in upper Wisconsin.

The present test site has the antenna wires strung above the ground on telephone poles. In the next construction phase at Park Falls and theater, the sanguine wires will be buried in the ground.

The Navy asserts that the wires will be burned with surgical precision so the land above them can be restored to its former use, including farming. Only "scattered two-acre sites," the Naval Electronic Systems Command states, would be needed for the transmitters.

"There will be no need to denude large areas of forests land or cut wide swaths through the forest," the Navy contends.

BIOLOGICAL EFFECTS

As for how the electrical currents going out from Sanguine will affect animal life and plants, the Navy has awarded a contract to Hazleton Laboratories of Falls Church, Va., to assess such dangers.

Schiffert said "the whole Hazleton contract is a smokescreen to quiet the conservationists." He said Hazleton is too heavily dependent on military work to do an objective analysis and that the study contemplated will not cover enough of the animals and plants in the range of Sanguine's currents.

Lowell Klessig, an environmental science specialist, active in the Stop Sanguine committee, said, "Every biologist knows that the nervous system and other biological processes operate on the principal of internal electrical fields. To put an organism in an external electrical field, such as is proposed by the Navy in Sanguine, may very well alter these processes . . .

"The electromagnetic field may even influence the guidance system of migratory birds, such as ducks and geese, and cause them to lose or change their flyway patterns," Klessig said.

The Sanguine test site falls in the congressional district of Rep. Alvin E. O'Konski (R-Wis.) who sees the project as an economic lift to the area and argues that the Navy should be allowed to complete the phase now under way.

REVOLUTIONARY REFORM IN THE BEST SPIRIT OF '76

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, Senator CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR., of Maryland, wrote a very perceptive article about the Nixon administration in the *Suburban Record* of Silver Spring, Md., on September 26, 1969. In his article Senator MATHIAS gives particular insight into President Nixon's administration, its goals, its strategies, and its recognition of the roots of the crisis in the Nation today. I commend its reading to my colleagues, as follows:

A REPUBLICAN VIEW—NIXON: A PROGRESSIVE VERDICT?

(By Senator CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.)

Do you remember our friends who slept so well with the famously activist Administra-

tion of Lyndon Johnson in the White House? Some of them are now tossing and turning through the night in worry that Richard Nixon is trying to sleep the Nation's problems away. But one of these days the country may wake up to discover that the new Republican Administration—despite the desperate problems it faces at home and abroad, despite the quiet style, despite the accusation of somnolence—is launching changes in Federal policy which in historical perspective may well be viewed as revolutionary.

Americans often mistake the symbols for the substance of meaningful political change. The Johnson Administration often assumed the postures of radical change. The President declared wars on poverty, crime, disease, hunger and even on war, itself. And the Great Society did have some impressive accomplishments. I supported many of its initiatives. But in general, Johnsonian rhetoric, patterned on FDR's, and his continual crashing of the symbols of progress, disguised an Administration that wasn't really getting very far, either in Viet Nam or in the United States.

Many Americans now recognize that Johnson's great purposes and proclamations—however highly motivated or well intentioned—were not fulfilled by great accomplishment. But some of us then reach the wrong conclusion. If a President who invoked all the symbols—a veritable diapason of liberalism—could achieve relatively little, they despair entirely of the Nixon Administration which adopts many of the symbols of conservatism. Yet the Nixon Administration, in its quiet way, has developed a comprehensive strategy to attack most of the most serious problems facing the country. If it succeeds, history may well record that Richard Nixon during the first years of his tenure initiated a major progressive shift in the course of American politics. Among the victims of his effort may well be the prevailing notion that the Republican Party cannot be effectively progressive.

MAJOR GOALS

Although I have had some disagreements with the Nixon Administration, I believe that its major goals and strategies show a clear appreciation of the roots of the crisis in America today. The five major objectives are: (1) End the war, (2) Curb inflation, (3) Reform welfare, (4) Share Federal revenue with the states and localities, and (5) End the draft.

If the Nixon Administration can substantially achieve these five objectives, I believe that Nixon's first term accomplishments could rank him very high among our Presidents. He will have achieved, in fact, what other Presidents have only proclaimed in rhetoric: national unity behind a comprehensive program directed against the sources, rather than merely the symptoms of our national crisis.

Let us consider briefly, what the problems and their sources are:

PROBLEMS

One is the estrangement of youth. If the President can end the war and the draft—two of his key commitments—he will remove two of the principal grievances of young people.

A second problem is the fiscal crisis of the cities and states. This crisis was caused in large degree by decades of maldistribution of Federal revenue, resulting from southern and rural control of key Congressional committees. The northern cities, emphasizing the property tax, have strained their revenue sources and the patience of metropolitan taxpayers to the limit—while services deteriorate and immigration of the poor continues from the south. This problem explains much of the resentment of white homeowners, which is sometimes directed unreasonably against blacks and expressed in high vote totals for "law and order" candidates.

These men exploit anger but do not offer answers for urban problems.

A key answer of the Nixon Administration is to share Federal revenues, without strings, with the states and localities. Nixon's proposal contains a passthrough requirement for the cities, and the distribution formula is based not on the distribution of political power at the Federal level, but on objective criteria of population and tax effort. I am co-sponsoring his bill in the Senate. This approach will eventually allow municipal governments to address the terrible problems of the ghetto without making the overall problems of the cities worse—i.e., by excessive taxes that drive property owners to the suburbs. This investment of faith in the principle of government close to the people is a key step in fulfilling a long term Republican pledge.

Another traditional Republican commitment is to alleviate the special grievances of blacks. One of their key problems has been the welfare trap. Six out of 10 black children are at one time or other in their lives involved in the welfare program. It has long contributed to family breakdown, created an attitude of dependency, provided incentives against work, and outraged city homeowners and taxpayers. These city residents bear the brunt of the burden, though they in no way created the problems, which originated in the South.

WELFARE REFORM

Nixon was criticized for delaying submission of welfare reform proposals. But he made welfare reform one of his top priorities, while previous Administrations did more to publicize poverty—and their own experimental wars on it—than to take real steps to relieve it. Welfare reform is crucial. If it is achieved, and organically connected with a streamlined job program as Nixon proposes, the U.S. Government will have at last initiated a major campaign in its war on poverty. It will have established in practice if not in rhetoric the principle of a Federal income floor, proposed by Sen. Robert A. Taft, 20 years ago and by Vice President Agnew last year.

Affecting all these problems and interrelated with them is inflation. The President's caution is in part attributable to his recognition that a continuation of the inflationary spiral could cause a recession in which all his Administration's goals could be lost. This recognition explains his determination to extend the surtax before entering a quagmire debate on tax reform in which many of his so-called liberal opponents hope the surcharge—and the Nixon Administration—will founder. Nonetheless Nixon is committed to the first comprehensive tax reform in a generation.

As a Marylander, moreover, I can welcome not only the Administration's goals but also its grants. The previous Administration was a kind of Grant's tomb for our state. We ranked 50 out of 51 in Federal aid. Now, however, things are beginning to change. Baltimore, which had had applications pending up to 18 months, got a total of \$54 million in one month.

SIGNIFICANT STEPS

In declaratory terms, and in symbolic choice, the Nixon Administration has been conservative. Its law and order rhetoric, its Supreme Court choices, its excessive caution on school desegregation, its frequent indication of a southern strategy, all bespeak a right wing cast. Yet in terms of its substantive proposals, rather than its symbolic postures—in its distribution of money and legislation rather than the direction of its speeches—the Administration has been taking significant steps to help those for whom previous Administrations have expressed sympathy but done little—the young, the poor, and the black.

Nixon's welfare program, for example, as much as quintuples the amount of help currently available for southern Negroes. If this reform and a volunteer military are in fact achieved as planned and if the Viet Nam war is concluded—I would not be surprised if Nixon makes major inroads among blacks in the south, among youth everywhere, and among a great many of his current detractors.

I, for one, predict he will succeed in these goals. Crucial will be establishment of a two party system in the south with blacks divided between the two parties; elimination of real poverty, through national welfare standards; and relief of the cities through Federal revenue sharing. Take a good look! What is brewing in Washington is revolutionary in the best spirit of '76.

EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, the September 22, 1969, issue of U.S. News & World Report contained an article entitled, "If a Man Die, Shall He Live Again?" Editor David Lawrence, in a note preceding the article, explains that it is a eulogy that the late Senator Everett Dirksen delivered 4 years ago during a memorial service for his departed friend, Robert Humphreys. As I read this beautiful tribute, I could almost hear the eloquent voice of its author; and inasmuch as it reflects the deep faith and great wisdom of Everett Dirksen, I would like to bring it to the attention of my colleagues who may have missed it:

"IF A MAN DIE, SHALL HE LIVE AGAIN?"

(Everett Dirksen delivered on Oct. 20, 1965, at the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church in Washington, a eulogy during a memorial service for Robert Humphreys, a former newspaperman and in previous years a staff member of the Senate-House Republican Leadership Conference. Mr. Dirksen read from a manuscript he had personally written. I asked him for his copy, and it was printed on these pages in the issue of Nov. 8, 1965.

(Now that the Illinois Senator has passed away, the text may well be read once more.—David Lawrence, Editor.)

(By Everett Dirksen)

What mortal being, standing on the threshold of infinity, has not pondered what lies beyond the veil which separates the seen from the unseen?

What mortal being, responding to that mystical instinct that earthly dissolution is at hand, has not contemplated what lies beyond the grave?

What mortal being, upon whom has descended that strange and serene resignation that life's journey is about at an end, has not thought about that eternal destination and what might be there?

Centuries ago, the man Job, so long blessed with every material blessing, only to find himself sorely afflicted by all that can befall a human being, sat with his companions and uttered the timeless, ageless question, "If a man die, shall he live again?" In the Easter Season, when all Christendom observes the Resurrection and seeks answers to many questions, there in the forefront is the question raised by Job, "If a man die, shall he live again?"

If there be a design in this universe and in this world in which we live, there must be a Designer. Who can behold the inexplicable mysteries of the universe without believing that there is a design for all mankind and also a Designer?

Consider what is recorded in the Book of Genesis. First, the Designer created Heaven and Earth, void and formless. There was darkness on the deep. Only darkness and ocean and no light. Let there be light said the Grand Designer of the universe, and there was light. Let there be a firmament, said He, and there was a firmament. Let there be grass, said He, and herb, yielding seed. How could an earth continue without the seed of continuity? And there was.

Two lights He made, sun and moon. Came the stars by His design. He called for living creatures in the water and fowls to fly above the earth. And it was so, even as it is now. He called for earthbound life—cattle, beasts, and creeping things. The design was nearly complete, but not quite.

He created man with dominion over all other living things. And then this seemingly incredible thing—every green herb for meat. Yet it is every green thing which sustains all living things from the day of the first man until this very moment.

Man alone, of all living things received intelligence—a brain, a mind, and a soul. He alone, with these attributes, had the capacity for faith and hope, for inspiration and ambition, nobility and dignity, and the capacity to remember and to forget.

In a world of scientific wonders and achievements, no atom with all its force to destroy, to frighten, and annihilate could conceive an idea, build a structure, write a document, utter a spoken word, entertain compassion of charity or hope. Only to man came this endowment of intelligence, dignity, divinity, and dominion over all living things.

Who would persuasively contend that this work of the Great Designer could end in oblivion, in destruction without a trace? Who will contend that this—the noblest work of the Great Designer—man, with dominion over all livings things, man, with a brain and a will, with a mind and a soul, man, with intelligence and divinity, should come to an end when the spirit forsakes its earthly temple?

Except for the handiwork of the Great Designer, nothing in this world is created and nothing is destroyed.

The Eiffel Tower is but the fashioning, forming, and shaping of materials already here.

The pyramids, which have stood for centuries, are but the craftsmanship of men on stone already here.

The atom—author of both joy and misery—was always here. It remained only for time and intelligence to isolate it and lay bare its awesome power.

The glory and beauty of the nation's Capitol is but the work of gifted men upon materials already here.

All this from the hand and grace of the Great Designer, whose handiwork is everywhere.

How could His work be destroyed? Not by fire, for that but transmutes what man put together into other forms such as light, heat, energy, and gases. Not by earthquakes, which but tumble man's work but do not destroy the elemental substance. Not by storms and tidal waves, which only rearrange what the Great Designer placed here.

The gaily colored leaves fall so gently to earth in this autumn season not to be destroyed but to be embraced by nature for future use. The falling leaves are a reminder that winter will soon be here to embrace the earth in wintry sleep. Comes the inevitable caress of spring, also from the hand of the Great Designer, to bring life and color, fragrance and beauty to the eager earth.

It is the Resurrection of spring. It is an answer to the ageless question of Job, "If a man die, shall he live again?" Surely he shall, as surely as day follows night, as surely as the stars follow their courses, as surely as the crest of every wave brings its trough.

Five hours before Bob Humphreys' spirit left its earthly, pain-wracked temple, I shook his hand. Somehow I knew that the Great Designer would spare him until I could return to the Capitol and say good-by. We spoke but little. It was not necessary. His last word to me was his request that I make this testament to him. There were no tears. I was borne up and comforted by the unquenchable faith and belief that, even as the hands of Heaven already reached out to embrace him, he would soon be in a higher, nobler realm where neither pain nor anguish could touch him.

I admired him. I respected him. I loved him. In him were those glorious attributes which I have seen so often—a fidelity that one can scarcely put in words—a devotion to his country unsurpassed by that of any patriot whose name glows from the pages of history—a sense of perfectionism that impelled him ever to find perfection—an affection for her who was his devoted companion and who was the force that sustained him in his hours of agony—a faith that could move mountains—an inextinguishable belief that man's course must be ever onward and upward. He will be long remembered because he is enshrined in so many hearts.

And now he has gone to labor in the larger vineyard of eternal life. All this is because the Great Designer made it a part of the grand design for life on Earth and in Heaven, Farewell, Bob.

COLUMBUS DAY

HON. HAMILTON FISH, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, October 13, my State, the State of New York, celebrated Columbus Day. This day has been set aside to honor the men who discovered America. It also serves to honor those Americans of Italian ancestry who have done so much to build this land. We are a nation of immigrants from every corner of the globe. The American landscape is a vast mosaic composed of many cultures and heritages, each contributing individually and collectively to our great Nation.

As this is true of our great Nation, also is it true of my Hudson Valley district, the 28th District of New York, which I have the honor of serving here in Congress. For our Hudson Valley is the result of the mixing of many cultural patterns, with one of the most important being the contribution made to our area by our citizens of Italian descent. In business, the professions, in political life, they have been leaders. They have fought gallantly in our wars. They have helped build our economy. They have contributed incalculably to the social richness which makes the Hudson Valley.

Mr. Speaker, I feel I would be remiss on this day set aside to honor that great navigator, Columbus, to not also pause to pay tribute to the thousands of those dedicated citizens of Italian ancestry. America is richer for their coming.

SWEDEN LOSES \$35 MILLION
AMERICAN ORDER

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, from time to time I have suggested that Americans know their friends and their foes, even if those responsible for the operations of our State Department are confused on this point.

When Sweden intentionally became a haven for deserters, draft dodgers, and assorted misfits, the American people took notice of the fact. When Sweden commenced a program of collaboration with North Vietnam, the American people understood that this was not a friendly gesture to the United States. When Sweden announced its intention to make large sums of money available to North Vietnam, the people of the United States recognized that such aid to the enemy was a downright unfriendly gesture toward us.

Although the Government failed to act, I am pleased and proud to note that some Americans have done so—and in the sensitive money nerve, Sweden, donating money to our enemy, has just received notice of the cancellation of a \$35 million American order.

Mr. Palme, who says he is not anti-American, will surely understand that the cancellation was not anti-Swedish.

I include two Stockholm reports as part of my remarks:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 9, 1969]

CANCELED ORDER

STOCKHOLM.—A Swedish firm said it lost a \$35 million American order because of the Swedish government's plan to send aid to North Vietnam.

Erik Sundblad, director of the Stora Kopparberg Mining Co., Sweden's oldest industrial enterprise, said that after announcement of a recent government decision to give Hanoi \$40 million in aid he got a call from the United States canceling the \$35 million order, which was ready for signature. Sundblad declined to identify the caller.

[From the Washington Star, Oct. 12, 1969]

SWEDES NOW PRO-UNITED STATES, ACCORDING TO U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

(By Robert Skole)

STOCKHOLM.—This may come as a surprise to the Nixon administration and conservatives in Congress, but the U.S. Information Agency figures Swedes are friendly toward America. And they are so convinced, they're putting more taxpayers' money on it.

The American library here—now tucked away out of sight and out of demonstrators' way on the fifth floor of an office-hotel building in downtown Stockholm—will move next month to a new ground-floor location just a stone's throw (pardon the expression) from Stockholm University and the main Stockholm public library, a gathering place for local students.

Unlike American libraries in many other countries, the library here has not been a target for demonstrations—even though countless anti-Vietnam war parades have streamed past. The library has been in an inconspicuous place.

Now, however, it's another story. The new library is going to be located in a former consumer cooperative supermarket, and will have large, tempting plate glass windows.

"We want the exposure," says Robert Plot-

kin, young, cultural attache at the U.S. Embassy. "We have an excellent periodicals collection that should be most attractive. We expect the library will be used more by students than it was in the old location."

What about demonstrations?

"No, we're not worried about them. Things have been pretty quiet in Stockholm recently."

However, judging from reports in the Swedish press from the United States, one gets the impression here that many Americans are firmly convinced otherwise. Especially after the announcement the other day by Foreign Minister Torsten Nilsson that Sweden will give \$40 million in economic aid to North Vietnam during the coming three years.

Many Swedes—particularly nervous businessmen—get the impression that if Americans had only been very annoyed with Sweden up to now, then they are absolutely furious today. Anti-Swedish speeches by irate congressmen are well-reported here, and each one adds grey hairs to the heads of Swedish firms' North American region export managers.

BUSINESS BOOMS

Ironically, however, business is booming—as usual—for American companies in Sweden.

The Swedish government recently went into a partnership with an American firm, Combustion Engineering Corp., in a firm to manufacture large steel pressure tanks for the nuclear industry.

The company is owned half by the Swedish state and one quarter by Combustion Engineering and one quarter by a private Swedish steel corporation. When the Swedish steel corporation asked the government to help it set up the new plant, the government urged that Combustion Engineering be brought in as a partner.

Representatives of the Swedish Ministry of Industry have been talking with a number of companies in the United States with an aim at establishing similar joint ventures.

"We don't want the American money," a ministry official said, "We want the American know-how."

He said that the American companies he talked with were not at all disturbed about the cool Swedish-American relations caused by Sweden's acceptance of U.S. Military deserters and her granting diplomatic recognition to North Vietnam.

"The Americans were interested in business—not politics," he said.

And well they should be. On a per capita basis, Sweden is America's best customer. Swedes import far more from the United States (\$511 million worth in 1968) than they export to the United States (\$451 million worth in 1968).

Even though American businessmen are not worried about the political situation's affect on their sales here, Swedes definitely are concerned about their sales on the American market.

So far, the cool relations have not had an effect: Swedish exports to the United States are up by about 15 percent over last year. But Swedes fear that the latest "Issue"—the promise of economic aid to North Vietnam—might do the trick. They recall how last year the longshoremen's union threatened to halt unloading Swedish goods in American ports.

(A definite move in the direction of lessened U.S. imports from Sweden came in an Associated Press story on Friday that a Swedish firm had lost an American order worth \$35 million because of the Swedes' economic aid to North Vietnam. Erik Sundblad, director of the Stora Kopparberg Mining and Industrial Co., at Falun, declined to identify the U.S. firm. "We received a short, tart telephone call from the United States cancelling the order," he said.)

STUDYING LOANS

One ironic piece of the picture is that on the very day that Foreign Minister Nilsson

announced the economic aid plan. The U.S. Tennessee Valley Administration announced it had awarded a \$2 million order for electrical transformers to ASEA, a Swedish heavy electrical equipment company.

Making biggest headlines here on the subject of Swedish-American trade were reports that the Export-Import Bank was studying loans to Sweden. But businessmen are not especially worried over this since there are only a few loans, the largest being some \$50 million in credit guarantees for purchase of Douglas and Boeing aircraft by the Scandinavian Airlines System.

"Do you think Boeing and Douglas would let this order be affected?" commented one Swedish official. "Not a chance."

He also said that Sweden only holds a minority interest in the airline.

Adding to the irony of the Swedish-American "conflict" is the fact that some Swedish firms have been criticized by leftist newspapers here for assisting the American "war machine."

The American affiliate of SKF, the Swedish bearing giant, was pointed out as supplying vital ball bearings to helicopters used in Vietnam. And it's not unlikely that every American aircraft in the war has equipment that uses high-quality special Swedish steel.

Newspapers last year sharply criticized the government for allowing Swedish scientists to work on Pentagon-financed contracts.

(Olof Palme, who has been elected head of the Social Democratic party and who will be prime minister, said the government did not halt these contracts because they involved only basic research, and they were only a small part of research at universities here. He said one study involved research on young doves—and he suggested a counter study of old hawks.)

Oddly enough, under Swedish law, this research cannot be secret—which means that anyone here—including Russians, Red Chinese, or North Vietnamese—can get copies of the research reports simply for the asking.

The North Vietnamese, obviously, are now more interested in products more useful than research reports. It is expected that on the top of their shopping list, under the proposed economic aid, will be paper for schoolbooks and fertilizers. Under Swedish policy, a country that receives foreign aid is not bound to buy products in Sweden.

The North Vietnamese Embassy here had no comment on the Swedish aid announcement.

Because of many Swedish connections with America, the official was asked if the North Vietnamese feel Sweden is unfriendly, just as many Americans feel Sweden is unfriendly to America because of their connections with North Vietnam.

He laughed and replied "No, we don't think Sweden is unfriendly."

STAFF MEMBERS INTIMIDATED ON
PLANNED VIGIL

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I am both alarmed and saddened by tactics now being employed by some misguided individuals relating to efforts of congressional staff members who plan to show their concern over the Vietnam war on the upcoming moratorium day.

It has come to my attention that certain people opposed to the planned silent vigil upon the east front steps are spreading rumors that any staff member

who participates in the vigil will be arrested.

Not only is that a false statement, but it is also blatant intimidation of the rights of citizens to free speech and to petition the Congress.

As a result of Judge Greene's ruling in the case of the Quakers who attempted to read war dead names upon the Capitol steps, orderly nondisruptive gatherings can be held here on the Capitol Grounds. The staff members who initiated the idea of the peaceful silent vigil have made it a point to emphasize their wishes to adhere to the standards laid down by Judge Greene. The Capitol Police have been advised of the vigil.

I endorse the concept behind the moratorium day as a valuable means of conveying to the leaders of this Government that the people of America are tremendously concerned over our tragic adventurism in Southeast Asia, and that actions must be taken to speed up our disengagement from Vietnam.

The proposed vigil on the Capitol steps by congressional employees must be regarded as a meaningful indication of concern over our national policies, and I deplore the "scare schemes" being used to dissuade staff members from joining the vigil.

DESEGREGATION WILL BE ENFORCED

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks a storm of controversy has surrounded the Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, Jerris Leonard. Much of the criticism in my view has been unfounded and based on politics rather than substance.

The thoughtful Washington correspondent for the Cincinnati Post, Richard Starnes, has performed a service by interviewing Mr. Leonard, and I want to include as a part of my remarks the candid, forthright remarks of Jerry Leonard so that the record can be clear:

[From the Cincinnati (Ohio) Post Oct. 10, 1969]

CIVIL RIGHTS OFFICER VOWS: DESEGREGATION WILL BE ENFORCED

(By Richard Starnes)

WASHINGTON.—The nation's chief enforcer of civil rights laws insists that "the court orders on desegregation are going to be compiled with even if we have to use federal muscle to do it."

Jerris Leonard, assistant attorney general for civil rights, who last week aroused a storm of criticism by what seemed to be a temporizing, yes-but approach to desegregation delays, was at great pains to make his meaning clear in an exclusive interview in his freshly decorated, blue-carpeted Justice Department corner office.

"I believe strongly in the rule of law that says community attitudes cannot determine whether the law will be compiled with," he said. "The fact that some people don't like radar speed traps does not mean the courts are going to declare them illegal.

"But"—and this is the kernel of Leonard's battle with the all-out, do-it-now desegregationists—"community attitudes do have

an important bearing on the methods you follow."

Leonard, 38, occupant of one of the chronically hottest hot seats in Washington, came to the Justice Department after 12 years in the Wisconsin legislature and an unsuccessful attempt to unseat Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D., Wis.). In spite of six children (the oldest 15) and a week end of being skewered with right-thinking editorials heated cherry red with indignation, Leonard says he has developed a comforting philosophy that prevents ulcers:

"The facts of life tell me that the decisions I make will be too much for some people and not enough for others. Of course, a person has a visceral reaction when he feels his position is being misunderstood, but I have no lingering disagreement with the press."

Leonard's office walls are decorated with the ikons of the successful young sub-cabinet appointee—an autographed photograph of a smiling relaxed President Nixon, and another autographed photograph of Attorney General John N. Mitchell, who looks to be a relaxed and affable as a man sitting for his third consecutive root canal job. Leonard himself is easy-going and forthright.

"I read over the transcript of the press conference last week that got me into hot water," he said with disarming candor, "and I can see now what I said could be subject to misinterpretation. But there never has been so much as a hint that we were not going to enforce specific court orders."

Leonard last week fell into a trap that has claimed many a bright young man not yet wise in avoiding all of the manifold deadfalls with which Washington abounds.

In trying to explain why the civil rights division had gone along with a Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) plea to federal courts in Mississippi for more time for pre-integration work in 33 counties, Leonard simultaneously said too much and not enough. When a hell-for-leather approach to integration is adopted, he told his press conference, "the only thing that changes is the resistance that you run into." He added that critics of Administration desegregation policies, implicitly including at least one civil rights division lawyer who resigned in protest, were running off at the mouth" and were "misinformed."

Patiently Leonard retracted his words and tried to make it clear what he had meant. "My point was that unless you had more resources available, you would not be taking more cases to court, even if the court did change the time schedule."

Although he made it clear he would continue to try to achieve school integration by peaceful means, Leonard repeatedly and forcefully insisted that de-segregation is "the law of the land and it is not going to be changed."

"But we are talking about a fundamental change in the mores of a great many people. There is no question but that we must desegregate the school systems, but we have an obligation to the children to try to keep it together while we do it. I can say this—with preparation programs, and in-service training and the seminars and all the rest of what we are trying to do in Mississippi that the possibilities of resistance are being diminished.

"There are things you can do before you have to call in the marshals and—God help us if it comes to that—the troops. Mostly sweat, I guess I'd describe it."

Leonard dismissed one of the capital's most durable bogey-men this political season. "If there is a deal between the Administration and the South to delay integration," he said, "then nobody has told me about it."

Characteristically, however, he added that it "isn't surprising for certain elements of the community to be somewhat suspicious. But it is unfortunate for rational, intelligent elements in the national community to put upon us simply because we are trying to find better techniques.

"So far as I am concerned, that's all we are

trying to do. It is a question of methods, techniques and pace. School desegregation is the law of the land, and it is going to be compiled with."

CHICAGO'S COLUMBUS DAY PARADE

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, this year I am especially pleased to join my colleagues in the Congress and my fellow Americans in commemorating Columbus Day because the Congress has passed a law providing that in 1971 and thereafter Columbus Day will be observed as a national legal holiday throughout the United States.

At long last, Christopher Columbus, the courageous Italian navigator who discovered America 477 years ago, will receive appropriate recognition for his role in opening the door to the future of the Western Hemisphere and in paving the way for the development of our own great country.

Each year, my own city of Chicago celebrates Columbus Day with a series of specially planned events culminating in a gigantic parade on State Street. The Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans, comprised of more than 40 Italo-American civic organizations, in cooperation with other groups, sponsors the Columbus Day parade and many of the other festivities planned to honor the great explorer. Mr. Anthony Sorrentino has ably served for many years as consultant for the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans and coordinated the various events scheduled in celebration of Columbus Day.

On October 4, 1969, the Third Annual Columbus Day Debutante Cotillion was held in the Grand Ballroom of the Conrad Hilton Hotel in Chicago under the auspices of Our Lady of Pompeii Church. This year it was my privilege to serve as the honorary chairman of this event, and I want to extend my congratulations to the board of directors of the cotillion—Rev. Gino Dalpiaz, Mrs. Mary Curran, Mrs. Ralph Davino, Mr. and Mrs. Matthew DelPrincipe, Mrs. Angela DeVito, Mrs. Sam DiBuono, Mr. and Mrs. Gabe Ditore, Mr. Salvatore J. Guardino, Mrs. Sam Iazzetto—and to the chairmen and members of the various committees who worked so hard to make this a highly successful occasion.

The general chairman and cotillion coordinator was Mrs. Mary Curran, who did an outstanding job, and assistant chairman was Mrs. Matthew DelPrincipe. The chairmen of the various committees were as follows: Finances, Mr. Salvatore Guardino; congratulatory expressions and program, Mrs. Angela DeVito; special guests, Mr. Matthew DelPrincipe; tickets, Mrs. Sam Iazzetto; debutantes, Mrs. Ralph Davino; secretarial, Mrs. Gabe Ditore; and publicity, Mr. Gabe Ditore.

The prelate of honor at the cotillion was the Very Reverend Monsignor Edward M. Pellicore, and the guests of

honor included Mrs. Frank Annunzio, the Italian Consul General in Chicago, Honorable Giuseppe Avitabile, and Mrs. Avitabile. The honored sponsors were Mr. and Mrs. Victor J. Failla, Mr. and Mrs. William Gage, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Pantaleo, and Mr. and Mrs. William Valentino.

Sixteen lovely debutantes were presented at the cotillion. They were: Denise Annoreno, Maryann Belmont, Joanne Calafiore, Lynn Cerone, Pamela Cerone, Marie Cuzzone, Cathy D'Ambrósio, Kathleen Ann De Farno, Rosemarie De Vito, Lorie Dolce, Linda Ann Durante, Carla F. Giampa, Karen A. Ippolito, Darlene A. Jenero, Theresa Nicastro, and Rochelle Pantaleo. Once again, I want to congratulate these debutantes and their proud parents on this happy occasion in their lives.

Seventeen-year-old Cheryl Rose Gliosci, of 4927 Twining Avenue, Bellwood, Ill., was chosen from 12 semifinalists to reign as queen of the Columbus Day parade. The prizes awarded to the queen included two tickets to the ABC Great States Theater, given with the compliments of Henry G. Plitt, dinner for two at the Italian Village Restaurant, 79 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Ill., donated by the Capitanini family, two tickets for the opening night at Pheasant Run Theater, given with the compliments of Carl Stohn, Jr., and a free 21-day trip to Italy, sponsored by the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans via Alitalia Airlines.

Members of the queen's court were Diane Benedetti, 25 West 200 Denise, Naperville, Ill.; Sherry Marie Sparacino, 2923 South Haynes Court, Chicago, Ill.; Charlotte Luporini, 1612 South 51st Avenue, Cicero, Ill.; and Palmira Johnson, 1329 Hazel Court, Des Plaines, Ill. Prizes for the queen and the queen's court included gowns, shoes, and bags, donated by Gamble-Aldens Department Store, and two tickets each to the ABC Great States Theater.

The judges for the queen's contest were Mr. John Fischetti, Pulitzer Prize-winning cartoonist for the Chicago Daily News, 401 North Wabash, Chicago, Ill.; Mr. Mike Rotunno, photographer at Metro News Photos, O'Hare International Airport, Chicago, Ill.; Miss Jory Graham, columnist for the Chicago Sun-Times, 401 North Wabash, Chicago, Ill.; Mr. Gianandrea Montanarella, district sales manager, Alitalia Airlines, 36 South Wabash, Chicago, Ill.; and Miss Grace Zalecke, fashion coordinator, Gamble-Aldens Department Store, 5000 West Roosevelt Road, Chicago, Ill.

Winners of the citywide "Legacy of Columbus" essay contest conducted in both the public and parochial schools were: First prize, Nancy Haley, 1551 South Wolf Road, Hillside, Ill., Immaculate Heart of Mary High School; second prize, Charles Doyle, 11000 South Lowe Avenue, Chicago, Ill., St. Ignatius High School; third prize, Margaret Murphy, 5244 South Lavin Street, Chicago, Ill., St. Augustine High School. First prize was a \$250 U.S. savings bond, second prize was a \$50 U.S. savings bond, and third prize was a \$25 U.S. savings bond which were donated by the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans. Additionally, Sister Mary Alexandra,

10900 West Cermak Road, Westchester, Ill., was awarded a \$100 U.S. savings bond for her contribution to the prize-winning essay as teacher of Nancy Haley.

Judges for the essay contest included a committee of educators who are members of the Gregorian Society. The committee was headed by Joseph J. Sirchio, principal, Chicago Vocational High School, 2100 East 87th Street, Chicago, Ill., and his committee members were Mrs. Ann Knapp, Rudy Alfano, Mrs. Josephine Ortale, and Mrs. Ida D'Indri.

Also in conjunction with the Columbus Day celebration, the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans sponsored a Festa Della Moda fashion show held at the Sheraton Chicago Hotel on October 5. More than 150 persons, including children and adults, participated in the fashion show, and displayed authentic handmade Italian costumes depicting the native dress of the various regions in Italy.

Additionally, the 45th Annual Columbus Banquet sponsored by the Grand Lodge of the State of Illinois, Order Sons of Italy in America, was held on October 11 in the Grand Ballroom of the Sherman House in Chicago. More than 1,000 people were present at the banquet to hear the principal speaker, Hon. Philip J. Romiti, judge of the Circuit Court of Cook County, and to participate in this gala event.

General chairman of the banquet was Amedeo A. Yelmini, and the cochairman was John G. Spatuzza. The toastmaster was Grand Venerable Martin R. Buccieri. Also participating in the banquet for her first appearance was the Columbus Day Queen.

This year, because Columbus Day fell on Sunday, the gigantic Columbus Day parade was held on Monday, October 13, which is a legal holiday in Illinois. Leading the parade were the honorary chairmen of the parade, Hon. Richard J. Daley, mayor of Chicago, and Hon. Giuseppe Avitabile, Consul General of Italy in Chicago.

The Governor of Illinois, Hon. Richard Ogilvie, and Lt. Gov. Paul Simon joined in leading the parade, and following them in the line of march were political dignitaries, civic leaders, members of the judiciary and businessmen from the community including: Congressman ROMAN PUCINSKI; Federal Judge Alexander J. Napoli; Attorney General William J. Scott; Secretary of State Paul Powell; Senator Sam Romano; State Representative Lawrence DiPrima; Alderman Fred Roti; Alderman John Aiello; Alderman Dominic Lupo; Alderman Joseph Jambroze; Alderman Vito Marzullo; Hon. Anthony Laurino; Hon. Louis Garippo, Sr.; Hon. Anthony Girolami; Col. Frank Chesrow; Director of Public Works and Buildings William Cellini; Chairman of the Parole and Pardon Board Lawrence Pusateri; Cook County Superintendent of Schools Robert P. Hanrahan; County Treasurer Edmund J. Kucharski; George M. Keane and Bernard J. Korzen of the county board of tax appeals; City Treasurer Marshall Korshak; City Clerk John C. Marcini; Chairman of the Metropolitan San-

itary Commission John E. Egan; President of the County Board George W. Dunne; County Commissioner Charles S. Bonk; County Assessor P. J. Cullerton; County Clerk Edward J. Barrett; clerk of the circuit court, Matthew Danaher; County Coroner Dr. Andrew J. Toman; County Recorder of Deeds Sidney R. Olsen; County Sheriff Joseph I. Woods; and State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan.

Some of the leaders in the Italian community in Chicago who participated in the parade were Victor J. Failla, president of the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans; Anthony Bottalla, first vice president; Arthur S. Pullano, second vice president; Charles Porcelli, third vice president; Dr. Nicholas J. Bruno, fourth vice president; Dr. James F. Greco, fifth vice president; Ettore Di Vito, secretary; and John G. Rovetto, treasurer. Also participating were past presidents, Peter R. Scalise, Anthony Paterno, and Dr. Mario O. Rubinelli, and Rev. Armando Pierini, P.S.S.C., director of Villa Scalabrini, the Italian Old Peoples' Home in Melrose Park, Ill.

The general chairman of the 1969 Columbus Day Parade was James Coli. Special assistants to the general chairman included Frank Catrambone, Charles Porcelli, Dr. Mario O. Rubinelli, Dr. Mary Ellen Batinich, and Mrs. Anthony Sorrentino.

The cochairmen for the parade were Congressman FRANK ANNUNZIO of the Seventh District of Illinois, Frank Armanetti, Fred Bartoli, Anthony Bottalla, Martin R. Buccieri, Dominick Di Matteo, Victor J. Failla, Nello V. Ferrara, Anthony Paterno, Arthur S. Pullano, and Dr. Mario O. Rubinelli.

Also participating were Louis P. Farina, cochairman of the speakers platform committee; Hon. John D'Arco and Hon. Peter C. Granata, cochairmen of the public officials committee; Anthony Paterno, chairman of the television and radio sponsors committee; Mrs. Anthony Sorrentino, president of the women's division of the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans; Mathew J. Alagna, chairman of the finance and souvenir book committee; Frank N. Catrambone, Sr., Mrs. Serafina Ferrara, and Joseph DeLetto, cochairmen of the finance and souvenir book committee; Dominick Dolci, chairman of the business and professional committee; Hon. Victor A. Arrigo, chairman of the program and arrangements committee; Domenick Di-Frisco, chairman of the publicity and queen contest committee; Joseph DeSerto, chairman of the religious program and organizations committee; Dr. Mary Ellen Batinich, chairman of the authentic Italian costumes committee; Mrs. Frank Amico and Mrs. Elena Frigoletti, cochairmen of the authentic Italian costumes committee; John G. Rovetto, chairman, and Sam Canino, cochairman of the floats committee; Lawrence Spallitta, chairman of the float personnel committee; Dr. James F. Greco, chairman of the bands, marchers, and transportation committee; John Leto, chairman of the labor committee, and Marco DeStefano, grand marshal of the parade.

The other members of these commit-

tees are: Joseph Fusco, Joseph Nicoletti, Anthony Apa, Dominick M. Alberti, William Boschelli, Peter Lavorata, Fred Mazzei, Vincent Lucania, Tom Ardino, Joseph Bottalla, Sam Cerniglia, Carl Cipolla, Charles P. DeVito, Anthony J. Fornelli, Albert Litterio, Vincent F. Lucchese, Gerald L. Sbarboro, Horatio Tocco, Jerry Zurla, Joseph Comella, Dr. Joseph H. DiLeonarde, William Fantozzi, Rosario Lombardo, Amedeo Yelmini, Charles Carosello, Joseph Sirchio, Joseph Alagna, Charles Cannon Giannone, Dominick Gentile, Vincent Saverino, Daniel A. Becco, Carl Ferina, Michael R. Fortino, Louis Moretti, John Spatuzza, Mrs. Stella Boschelli, Mrs. Ann Brody, Mrs. Maria DeSerto, Mrs. Carmella Giacomina, Mrs. Adelaide Janz, Mrs. P. Lavorata, Mrs. A. Menconi, Mrs. Marie Pediti, Mrs. A. Parisi, Mrs. A. Salvatore, Mrs. A. Sorrentino, Mrs. T. Romano, Mrs. A. Tufano, Mrs. A. Yelmini, Mrs. M. Nuzzo, Mrs. G. Guidice, Joseph Pope, Russell Bonadonna, Stephen Fiorentino, Mrs. Lawrence Spallitta, Joseph Tolitano, Peter Barbero, Rudolph Bilotta, Frank Bottigliero, Joseph Fontana, Peter Realmuto, Paul Iaccino, Edward Coco, Henry L. Coco, John Parise, Bruno Phillipini, and Alfred Rota.

The highlight of the Columbus Day celebration, the Columbus Day parade, began on State Street at 1 p.m. Immediately before the parade, a wreath-laying ceremony took place at 10:30 a.m. at the Columbus Statue in Vernon Park, and prior to this ceremony, Solemn High Mass was celebrated at Our Lady of Pompeii Church in Chicago at 9:00 a.m.

The theme of the 1969 parade was the statement made by Astronaut Neil Armstrong when he first walked upon the moon:

One small step for a man, one giant leap for mankind.

More than 60 floats took part in the procession and traced the contributions of Italians who have aided the progress of civilization from Galileo and Vespucci to Marconi and Fermi.

Over 225 units marched in the parade, representing every branch of the United States military forces. Drum and bugle corps, school bands, and scores of marchers participated in the parade. Women and children wearing authentic native costumes of Italy rode on the floats, and Mr. Louis Espiscope, 7401 West Winnemac, Chicago, Ill., depicted Christopher Columbus on one of these floats.

The parade, which attracts over 1 million spectators, was televised over WGN-TV for 1½ hours. The telecast of the parade generally attracts an estimated television audience of an additional 2 million people. State Representative Victor A. Arrigo narrated the parade for the television audience. Sponsors of the telecast were Frank Armanetti of Armanetti Liquors, Anthony Paterno of Paterno Imports, and Dominick Di Matteo of Dominick's Finer Foods.

At the conclusion of the parade, another wreath-laying ceremony took place. The second wreath-laying ceremony was at the Columbus Monument in Grant Park in Chicago at 3 p.m.

Columbus Day festivities were brought

to a close at a reception at 4 p.m. at the Chateau Royale, 5743 West Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Ill. Mrs. Serafina Ferrara was the official hostess at the reception which was held in honor of all of the committee chairmen and committee members who participated in making the 1969 parade a tremendous success. Leaders of the Italo-American organizations from Illinois were present at the reception, as well as officials from the city of Chicago, from Cook County, and from the State of Illinois.

It is a source of great personal pride to me to know that in every State of the Union, all of our people, regardless of age, race, or creed, have joined together to celebrate Columbus Day and to honor the memory of the courageous Italian navigator who discovered America 477 years ago. I am certainly pleased to participate in this observance of Columbus Day, and I look forward to 1971 when the citizens of our beloved country will observe this special day as a national legal holiday.

Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, I want to commend all of the officers and members of the Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans in Chicago for sponsoring this gigantic patriotic celebration on our main street in Chicago—State Street—and for demonstrating to the world that all Americans are proud of our democratic institutions. And I am especially proud of these people who have made a genuine contribution to our democratic way of life.

HUBERT HUMPHREY COMMENTS ON THE NIXON RECORD AND THE FUTURE

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, at this time last year, we all watched the closing month of the presidential campaigns with boundless interest. We heard promises from both sides of the end of the surtax, a revised tax system, a sharp decrease in crime, an end to the inflationary spiral. Now, 9 months after inauguration of the Republican administration, we have the surtax extended, a tax reform bill passed under House Democratic leadership but sharply attacked by the administration, a crime rate which has risen 10 percent in just 1 year and monthly sets new records in the Nation's Capital, and inflation which shows few signs of stopping. What happened to last year's promises?

I am privileged today to enter in the Record the comments of former Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey on the Nixon administration's record of performance. A man of broad experience in domestic problems, particularly those of the metropolis, Mr. Humphrey's comments are valuable, I believe, for the insight he brings to those issues which should command our attention. His concern is for the quality of American life, for the safety of the American city dweller, for the health of our divided

society. Let us take these articles to heart, and translate those promises of a year ago into action today.

The articles follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Sept. 22, 1969]

NO WAY TO RUN AN AIRLINE, A RAILROAD, OR A NATION

(By Hubert Humphrey)

A year ago, six weeks before the election, Richard M. Nixon told the American people of his concept of the presidency. He said: "The next president must take an activist view of his office. He must articulate the nation's values, define its goals and marshal its will."

All thru the campaign, candidate Nixon said he would stop crime and inflation and rising taxes. He promised peace at home and abroad.

In his acceptance speech at Miami, he said: "The wave of crime is not going to be the wave of future of the United States of America."

He said: "Let us build bridges, my friends, build bridges of human dignity across that gulf that separates black America from white America."

And he said: "I see the day when our senior citizens and millions of others can plan for the future with the assurance that their government is not going to rob them of their savings by destroying the value of the dollar."

The Republican theme in 1968 was a special concern for the silent American, the forgotten American. They pay most of the taxes. It is their dollar being eroded by inflation. They suffer from increasing costs of higher education for their sons and daughters. They are the victims of spiraling medical costs. They are being squeezed by tight credit and high interest rates. Their neighborhoods are threatened with violence and crime.

Their pain and suffering was to be eased. A new administration would set America on a new course. Let's take a look at the record.

Crime is still out of control. FBI figures for 1969 indicate a 10 per cent increase in the crime rate. After all the campaign rhetoric, Attorney General John N. Mitchell now says: "Basically, street crime is outside the jurisdiction of the federal government."

Food prices are rising 8 per cent a year. In most cities, hamburger and bacon have gone up 10 cents a pound.

Parents who sent their children to college this fall found costs up \$100 to \$200 per year. The average increase was 8 per cent.

Families who hoped to buy a new home this year have found interest rates rapidly rising, with the average rate for a new home now 8 per cent.

While the nation's housing needs are estimated at 2.5 million units per year for the next 10 years, new housing starts have dropped from an annual rate of 1.8 million in 1968 to 1.4 million this year, and the rate may drop even more.

The cost of living, which went up 3 per cent in 1967 and 4 per cent in 1968, is increasing at an annual rate of 6½ per cent under President Nixon.

The White House sat idly by while the big banks increased the prime interest rate to 8½ per cent, and there is talk of another increase.

Despite a campaign promise to the contrary, President Nixon demanded extension of the 10 per cent income tax surcharge.

A tax reform bill finally passed the House of Representatives, but it was the work of Democrats in Congress, not the Nixon administration. The bill provides \$9 billion a year in tax relief for low and middle income families, but the Nixon administration says the House bill gives too much tax relief to the low and middle income families and not enough to business. So the administration

proposal is to hand corporate business, which is already enjoying record profits, \$2 billion in extra tax relief.

Hospital and medical costs continue to rise at an alarming rate. Budget cutbacks are forcing reductions in medical research, hospital construction and neighborhood health centers.

Candidate Nixon's "black capitalism" program no longer is mentioned at the White House. "Black capitalism is a shambles," according to Whitney Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League.

During the campaign, candidate Nixon also emphasized that they did not want a government of "yes men." He promised an administration of "open, candid dialogue."

One of President Nixon's first nominations was that of Dr. Franklin Long to head the National Science Foundation. President Nixon called Dr. Long "a man of eminent credentials," but then when it was discovered Dr. Long opposed the Nixon ABM plan, the nomination was withdrawn. After withering criticism from the scientific community, President Nixon again reversed himself and offered the job to Dr. Long, who by this time wanted no part of the administration.

Then HEW Secretary Robert Finch selected Dr. John Knowles to be his assistant secretary for health. But top officials of the American Medical Association, which had contributed heavily to the Nixon campaign, objected. After six months of political infighting, Secretary Finch finally had to back down. Senator Goodell (R-N.Y.) concluded: "The choice was between filling the nation's top medical post on the basis of merit or politics. Politics won."

In March, Clifford L. Alexander, Jr., chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, was warned that businessmen were complaining of "being harassed" by the commission. He was told "it is going to stop or somebody is going to lose his job." The next day, Alexander was replaced as chairman, and in April Alexander resigned from the commission, saying: "The public conclusion is inescapable: vigorous efforts to enforce the laws on employment discrimination are not among the goals of this administration."

After eight months, it is beginning to look as if the Nixon administration may not only be veering to the right as part of a "southern strategy" of re-election, but it may not get off the ground at all.

We were told the Nixon years would be a beautiful flight into the future. What's happened? The plane made it to the end of the runway, but its engines are sputtering and it's not moving. I think one of the problems is that the pilot is looking over maps that were good in the 1950s but are out of date in 1969.

As we head into the 1970s, the flight into the promised land probably will be cancelled and passengers will be taken back to the terminal for a safer, slower horse and buggy. The forgotten American has been forgotten.

I say this is no way to run an airline, a railroad, or a nation.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Sept. 29, 1969]

AS WE ENTER THE 1970'S, WE MUST TAKE A FRESH LOOK AT WHERE WE ARE GOING
(By Hubert Humphrey)

For the past 25 years, the United States has been in the hands of a generation shaped by depression and war. Much of what we have tried to do has centered around expanding the economy at home and containing communism abroad.

Our nation has developed the means for producing an unparalleled quantity of consumer goods while searching for and achieving some stability in the world.

Now as we enter the 1970s, we must take

a fresh look at where we are going. We must reorder our priorities around the imperative that government must improve the quality of life for all Americans.

You do not have to look far for evidence that we have much to do and undo.

The air in most of our urban areas is a menace to health. Air pollution is so bad in cities such as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles that on some days up to 40 per cent of the sunlight is blocked out.

Industry pollutes the air, not because technology has failed to provide a way to clean the air, but because many businessmen say it is too expensive to install air pollution control equipment. Jet planes pollute the air, not because we cannot build cleaner jet engines but because the airlines have been slow to adopt new pollution control devices.

Autos pollute the air worst of all, because we have neglected mass transit in favor of lane after lane of freeways. The auto industry finally, under government edict, installed air pollution control devices on new cars, but state and local governments do a haphazard job of inspecting the devices to make sure they are properly maintained and working.

There is a lack of concern and commitment and co-ordination running thru all of our environmental problems. For instance, we know the number of autos on our streets and highways will continue to increase rapidly as our population and standard of living increase. We know we must develop cleaner fuel combustion engines. Yet after the Senate in July passed a bill calling for \$90 million in research on pollution from fuel combustion engines, the Nixon administration asked the House to cut the research funds to \$18.7 million. We get rhetoric, but not enough research.

Water pollution is the same story.

The excuse is not always money. In the case of pesticides, we simply have not insisted that new chemicals be adequately tested before they are marketed. The Federal Government has failed to co-ordinate even its own use of pesticides.

Look at the food we eat.

The food industry is a \$100 billion a year business, yet it spends only \$12 million a year on research and nutritional testing. We get fancier and more expensive new food products, but little is done to improve the quality of the diet of the American people.

The Food and Drug Administration admits it does not have the resources necessary to control the safety and quality of the food we eat, the drugs we take, the cosmetics we buy. Americans spend \$7 billion a year on cosmetics, yet the Food and Drug Administration spends less than a million dollars a year to make sure these new cosmetics are safe and pure.

Federal regulatory agencies in general have not lived up to their responsibility to the public. A special committee of the American Bar Association recently reported that the Federal Trade Commission might just as well be put out of business if it cannot do its job more effectively.

Some regulatory agencies have become either so political or so close to the industries they regulate that they are nothing but paper tigers. The Federal Communications Commission, for instance, which recently has shown signs that it will require performance as well as promises from those who use the public airwaves, now has two new appointees. One is Dean Burch, an Arizona lawyer and the 1964 campaign manager for Barry Goldwater. The other is Robert Wells, a Kansas broadcaster.

The Federal Aviation Administration is working on 1950-type solutions to 1970 problems. The public pays the price in loss of time and loss of life for our inadequate air-

ports and inadequate air traffic control. It is intolerable that in this age of the jumbo jet we have so many over-crowded airports jammed so close in to our cities.

The list could go on and on. If we are going to improve the quality of life in America, we must have better law enforcement, better health care, better schools, better housing, more green areas, more mass transit, and more metropolitan planning.

And it isn't as if all of this will use up all our resources. Much can be done with a modest increase for research and testing and enforcement of adequate standards.

The quality of life in America will be improved if each of us insists—that it be improved.

Find out what is happening in your community. If you care, you will not be alone. Many citizens groups are already at work.

Let your city councilman and your congressman know how you feel.

We must not accept pollution as the price of progress. We need not tolerate congestion and haphazard planning. We can get effective regulation if we demand it.

We must put an increasing emphasis on a decent life for all Americans, on the creation of neighborhoods where there is a feeling of community, where people know one another, where there are community and educational and cultural resources.

In particular the young people, who will inherit the earth, must protest the pollution of our air and water with the same fervor they protest the production of napalm and the shipment of nerve gas across the country.

We cannot be a civilized and happy people in a jungle of steel and concrete. We need the good earth—trees, flowers, and open space. We need clear air to breathe, clean water to drink, good food to eat.

We must make the quality of life the central issue of the 1970s.

THE ADMINISTRATION IS TRYING TO PASS THE BUCK—AGAIN

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to announce with pleasure that I have cosponsored the resolution which my good friend, the gentleman from New York (Mr. OTTINGER), introduced last Thursday to require the executive branch to respond within 60 days to requests from committees of this Congress for reports on legislation.

We have all heard the President, his obedient Cabinet members, the newly elected Senate minority leader, and yes, I know it is hard to believe, the minority leader of the House rise up and point an accusing finger at this Democratic Congress and rail that we are holding up the earth-shattering legislative proposals of the Nixon administration. Yes, Mr. Speaker, if we did not know it was only fall, I am sure many of us would swear it was snowing outside. The tremendous amount of snow which this administration and its obedient servants are hurling at the American people to cover up their own ineptness staggers the imagination. I am sure, from the display of sleight-of-hand which the administration is trying to foist on the American people, that the President has decided

that the buck must be passed beyond his desk at all costs. This certainly is not the responsible leadership which the American people have every right to expect from their President.

While the administration goes about weeping and gnashing its teeth over the inaction of the Congress, I suggest a look at the record for those who would like to know the facts rather than the fabrications of the Nixon "Madison Avenue" approach to government. The facts show that the administration has not yet finished submitting its legislative proposals to the Congress for this year. I wonder if the President has forgotten that the Congress has a habit of studying Executive proposals—not rubber-stamping his wishes. I see no way that the Congress could act on his proposals without having the opportunity to study them carefully, allow interested Members and private citizens to have their views heard, and then, if they warrant consideration by the House or the Senate, bring them before the full membership. The committees cannot operate in a vacuum. We must have the cooperation of the executive branch just as they must have ours. First, we need to know what the President's program is. Second, we need to know what the administration's position is on legislation which is pending before the committees. It is this inability of the administration to submit the needed reports to the committees at which the resolution I have sponsored today is aimed. If we hear nothing from the executive branch within 60 days after a report has been requested, according to the resolution, the committee chairmen can assume that there is no objection to the bill in question and proceed accordingly.

I have been advised, for example, that the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee has requested administration reports on 124 bills which the committee considers priority legislation. Yet to date the Budget Bureau has cleared and forwarded to the committee only 15 reports. I am sure that you will be hearing more about this in the near future but now I would like to comment on the deplorable lack of cooperation which the Bureau of the Budget has evidenced toward the Judiciary Committee Subcommittee on Immigration of which I am a member.

In May of 1968, the State Department submitted an executive communication to the Speaker of the House recommending the introduction of legislation to modernize certain provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act relating to nonimmigrants. One of the provisions was to delete a section of the law and take out the word "temporary" from that section so that an alien henceforth be admitted to the United States temporarily to undertake work that may be permanent in nature rather than undertake work which would be limited in nature. Of course, in order to effect such a temporary entry, it is essential that it be established that Americans are unavailable to do the type of work required.

This provision was incorporated, in the present Congress, in both H.R. 445, by

Mr. FEIGHAN and H.R. 9112 by Mr. CELLER. Reports were requested from the Departments of Justice, State, and Labor on February 10, 1969, on H.R. 445 and on March 24, 1969, on H.R. 9112. To date, reports have not been received by the committee on these bills. The committee has made continuous inquiries at the Bureau of the Budget as to why these reports were being held up. The only response received was that reports from Justice and State were before the Bureau of the Budget but the Department of Labor had not submitted a report. As of yesterday, October 13, the Department of Labor had not submitted a report to the Bureau of the Budget, notwithstanding the fact that the Bureau of the Budget advised the committee that reports on H.R. 445 and H.R. 9112 would be presented in advance of the hearings scheduled to commence on this legislation on October 6, 8, and 9.

The Bureau of the Budget negligently or intentionally failed to respond to the numerous requests of the committee for reports on the pending legislation and for an executive policy relative to the import of the proposed amendments.

Although the Secretary of State was requested 2 weeks in advance to designate a witness to appear before the committee, and was requested to submit statements in advance, the Department's witness was unable to get her statement cleared until sometime around 5 p.m. on Friday, October 3. The Department of Justice had similar difficulty in having a witness cleared to appear before the committee. As a consequence, it was necessary for the Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality to cancel future hearings since it would serve no useful purpose to have department witnesses appear before the committee with their hands tied and unable to state their endorsement or opposition to the proposed amendments or to offer appropriate changes.

The proposed changes in law affect the labor certification which, since the 1965 amendments, has been the heart of our immigration policy. The lack of interest in the Bureau of the Budget to respond to comments on these proposals is not only an insult to the Congress but demonstrates the complete disregard for effective Government cooperation.

The job of passing the buck that this administration is trying to put over on the American people is to be much admired. If I did not know better, I would be inclined to think that the administration has Joe Namath, John Unitas, and Sonny Jurgensen on retainers as advisers in passing.

The patterns of the administration receivers are a wonder to behold. But, let me remind the administration that to complete a pass the quarterback must first have the ball. Mr. Nixon will not have the ball until he lights a fire under the Bureau of the Budget as they turn loose the information which the Congress must have to act on legislation pending before it. If the President needs a match for his fire, I hope the resolution which I and others have cosponsored will serve him well. If this administration would cut down on the rhetoric

and get on with the business of governing the Nation, we all would be better off.

UNITED STATES DEEP IN MAZE OF INDIA AID

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, serving as I do on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I have been disappointed over the ineffectiveness of the foreign-aid program and the tremendous waste in the huge amounts poured into India.

Since the new administrators of the aid program have been, as expected, made captives of the agency structure, they continue to look upon India as a "sacred cow" and again assign a very extensive share of aid funding to India.

An editorial in the San Diego Union, Saturday, October 4, hits the nail on the head on this subject. The editorial follows:

A PROBLEM FOR CONGRESS: UNITED STATES DEEP IN MAZE OF INDIA AID

As Congress turns to the subject of foreign aid, it might give serious thought to the nettle called India.

Since June 1952, the United States of America has given this massive and strategic Asian nation more than \$9 billion, about two-thirds of its entire outside assistance.

In those same two decades an increasingly militant brand of Socialism has continued to squander that aid. The masses of India are poorer than ever, industry languishes and an increasing trend toward nationalization does not improve the outlook.

Externally, India's turn to the left has been even more dramatic.

The death of Ho Chi Minh in North Vietnam brought effusive eulogies from top Indian officials, including Prime Minister Indira Gandhi—at a time when Hanoi was bent on aggression and death in South Vietnam.

India is talking about raising its relations with North Vietnam to the ambassadorial level after a break of seven years. There even is a movement in the governing circles to recognize the illegitimate liberation government which the Communists are seeking to establish in South Vietnam.

India was heavy-handed in seeking entry into the Islamic conference of Arabs who talked about war, not peace, in the Middle East. El Fatah Arab guerrillas were not only officially received in New Delhi recently, they were showered with flowers at the airport.

India consistently opposes the United States in the United Nations, particularly regarding the seating of Red China, which has designs on Indian territory. In fact, India now adopts a conciliatory position toward Communist China and in return receives silence instead of diatribes from Peking.

And not the least concern of Congress should be a paradox raised by our aid to India. The Indians see nothing wrong in using American aid funds to reinforce their own multi-million dollar foreign aid programs—the Colombo Plan and the African Assistance Plan.

The Indian aid goes to the Himalayan countries of Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim; to Indonesia, Ceylon and Burma; to Europe and even to the United States! India is actually assisting us with a bagasse paper-making plant in Hawaii.

India feels it can provide such aid to further its own interest even through millions of its own citizens are jobless, homeless and starving. Congress must ask if this arrangement, over which it has no control, is a legitimate use of American funds.

And Congress should ponder even more deeply what we have actually achieved in our own national interest by supplying two-thirds of India's foreign aid in the last two decades compared to what Communists have achieved on the basis of Russia's supplying 5.5 per cent of that same total.

HOUSTON'S ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAM—GOING UP OR DOWN?

HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, Saturday, October 11, the Forward Times, a leading Texas Negro owned and operated newspaper, carried an editorial describing the Harris County Community Action Association's progress—or lack of it. In doing so the Forward Times highlighted a very serious national program—for the ever-present struggles within HCCAA are, unfortunately, prevalent all over the country.

So that all Members of the House of Representatives can have the benefit of the views expressed by the Forward Times, I would like at this time to submit it for the RECORD:

HOUSTON'S ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAM—GOING UP OR DOWN?

If Houston ever becomes the scene of a major riot, our feeling is that it will have its beginning within the official ranks of the local poverty program.

The little people are angry, frustrated, and making little noises. But they still exist each day with hope against hope that one day the program will begin to function as it was designed to in the beginning.

The struggle for money and power has a strange way of bringing out the worst in people and almost from the very beginning, the officials of the local poverty program have constantly made the news with their nearly all night internal squabbles over positions of power.

Some day we expect these long verbal battles of the past and present to take a turn toward violence. For a program designed for the upgrading of the poor, there seems to be a play for high stakes at the top.

The local poverty program has become a political football and as always, the poor end up being kicked around.

First there were employee strikes, then a merger, then mass resignations and firings. Then came a dispute about the Concentrated Employment Program, and who should run it.

In the latest developments, it turns out that the Harris County Community Action Association is on probation. They have been told to shape up over there or else by their bosses in the U.S. Department of Labor.

Some people in the community and on the HCCAA board seem to feel that Executive Director, Francis Williams, is the wrong man for the job. Others feel that he is the ideal man to head the program. The latter was the feeling of Forward Times at the time Williams took over the reins of the \$14 million program.

It was our contention at the time that Williams had stepped into a fire he did not start,

and while we hoped that by this time, Williams would have been able to quench the flames and get the job done. It seems that he has grabbed hold to something akin to the California brush fires. As soon as one is put out, two pop up somewhere else. So instead of being effective in the community as he would like to be, Williams finds himself in the role of "fire chief" forever putting out fires.

During the latest behind the scenes bickering, Mrs. Joan Bowers, who has headed the local Concentrated Employment Program for the past eight months, resigned.

Mrs. Bowers came into Houston with two strikes against her. As soon as she was named to head the program, signed petitions protesting her appointment were circulated here and there. Mrs. Bowers was a foreigner coming in to do a job that some local wheels had their eyes on. The pattern was set and Mrs. Bowers could do nothing right from the time she first occupied her desk.

Our dealing with Mrs. Bowers was quite different from those we have had with other anti-poverty officials. She placed people that we sent over in a matter of a few days without getting bogged down in a lot of agency red tape.

Her parting shot was that she wanted the bigger hunk of the anti-poverty money to go to the poor and not employees.

Some of the things we have never been able to understand about the operations of the local programs, designed to aid the poor, stand out. For example, we can cite two occasions where officials announced a cut back in operating expenses were necessary.

Certain staff members are cut, other staff members receive salary increases at the same time the cut is being made and a large number of trainees are scratched from the program.

It turns out now that Mrs. Bowers, who fought just a little while back to keep CEP separated from another state organization, says she was forced out.

It seems to us that every time an employee of the Program expresses an earnest desire to give the poor the benefits of the program, they are forced out. Be it the little neighborhood developer or a VIP, they are canned.

It is about time they revamped the whole program or close it down. It's about time, the politicians, and the political hustlers leave the program alone. It's about time for all the night squabbling and petty jealousies be shelved and all people involved get down to the business of upgrading the poor and reducing the welfare rolls of this city.

Even though Francis Williams avoids Forward Times like the plague, we still believe he is the best man for the job. We feel that he can and will straighten out the problems that beset the HCCAA and its problem child, CEP.

The fires within the organization are still dangerous and could well destroy the program. This must not happen. Too many people in the community need HCCAA and CEP. They need what it may offer in terms of jobs, training and dignity in years to come.

Those fires need to be quenched and the time is now. Perhaps others connected with the poverty program, the board of directors, community centers, could become fire fighters like Williams and get down to the business of working for the poor.

Others are doing a good job of upgrading the poor. They are not receiving any grants at all. Surely HCCAA and its children with their \$14 million annually could knock a small dent in Houston's condition of poverty.

Forward Times hopes so.

I would like to point out that this article was not written by a conservative or by a paper with an anti-OEO bias but rather, as I stated before, by a leading

Texas Negro newspaper. In maintaining the hope that the "program will reach the poor," the Forward Times echoes the hope of America and, surely, the hope of this Congress.

REMARKS BY DONALD RUMSFELD

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the new Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Donald Rumsfeld, appeared this morning before the National Association for Community Development Conference and presented an excellent discussion of the opportunities available to community action agencies across the country, as a result of the new direction given to OEO by President Nixon and Director Rumsfeld.

I would like to include at this point in my remarks the text of Mr. Rumsfeld's statement:

REMARKS BY DONALD RUMSFELD

I welcome this opportunity to meet with you. As participants in a joint national, state and local enterprise, I hope we can build a strong, effective partnership for Community Action.

I appreciate the staggering difficulties you've encountered in building these programs and the reasons for your fears about their survival. From the beginnings of Community Action in 1965, the plight of the Community Action director has been an unenviable one. He was promised vastly increasing funding—and he was told to plan for it, and he promised it to the poor—and instead received little more after three years than at the beginning. He was assigned to mobilize participation of the poor, so that the dispossessed would help make decisions, and he and OEO were then criticized for these decisions or the unaccustomed style of self-expression by the poor. Finally, the ultimate humiliation, he was informed that a new program would be established to cure poverty in the cities—a program named Model Cities with goals and rhetoric barely indistinguishable from his own, to operate in the same cities, among the same people, through separate organizations.

To attempt an objective evaluation of community action before this group would require more audacity than even I have—and it took plenty to take this job. To judge the success or failure of a program you must have a set of goals against which to measure results. But Community Action has never had only one set of goals—it has many *different sets*. The founders of Community Action had differing theories about how to achieve social change. Instead of making choices, they wrote *all* of their theories into Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act, and set up a program flexible enough to accommodate and serve them all at different times and places. To really *know* Community Action, you almost have to *live* it. It is different things in different places, and evolving all the time.

Few programs were ever so unformed at birth and few were so completely and broadly defined, for good or ill, by the times in which they were implemented. Perhaps the story of Community Action must be told by a poet or mystic rather than a politician or historian.

The public image of Community Action has been mixed, the product of rumor and rumination, a source of fear and resentment among many citizens whose support is vital to your work. Community Action has been in many ways a victim of its own rhetoric. Its vocabulary and syntax have spawned massive expectations among the poor—unfortunately unfulfilled, and massive fears among the non-poor. We have operated too long on the assumption that the poor have natural enemies with whom it is useless to talk. The prophecy has been self-fulfilling: we have created enemies, many of whom might have been natural friends if we had sought them out.

The poor have been denied not only income and dignity and self-determination but, as a further impediment, they have been barred from natural alliances with many who share their aching despair about the quality of life in this country. They have been isolated, treated as a separate nation at war with the rest, as if only they were the ones calling for improved services, as if only they were pointing to the dizzying blight of our cities, as if only they felt institutions were unresponsive to their needs, as if only they wanted social change.

Those who live at the margins of poverty, and even above, share some of the same desperation with schools and cities and institutions. It is not just the poor who will benefit from change. It is in the interest of the whole Nation that the deep harm of poverty be eliminated. So it is time that we begin bridging the chasms between these groups, building more effective communication, sharpening and explaining our goals in terms that build alliances, rather than alienation.

Given the history of Community Action this Administration might have found it expedient to abolish the program. But it did not. The President announced less than six weeks after assuming office that the vital work of Community Action would be pressed forward. He sent to Congress a bill that would extend for two years, rather than one, the present legislation, without crippling amendments. He gave the agency added responsibility for experimental and research activities, and for innovating and developing new social programs. He increased the budget allocations in Fiscal 1970 for such activities and in critical advocacy programs like legal services. We have reorganized the agency to clarify and more clearly assign its different functions. Throughout, we have emphasized the importance of involving the poor in local decision-making, and making local institutions more responsive to the needs of all citizens.

Today the President has sent a message to the Congress reiterating for the third time his request for a two-year extension of the OEO legislation without crippling amendments. In this message he stated "OEO is now strengthening its present operating programs, including the community action agencies . . ." and pointed out the difficulty of running programs when with one-fourth of the fiscal year already gone, the Congress has still not acted on the authorization or the appropriations.

As I look ahead I see four critical things which you and I must do to strengthen our partnership and assure greater success:

First, we need to clarify what Community Action is all about—what we are trying to accomplish and communicate it better or risk loss of public support.

Second, we must focus our program activities more sharply on basic objectives.

Third, we must substantially increase the capabilities of CAAs to perform their functions effectively.

Finally, we need to increase OEO's own capacity to provide effective support for local Community Action Agencies.

The achievements of CAAs across the country over the past five years have been substantial. In the CAA, local citizens have built the foundations of a new American institution. It embodies some of our best national traditions: local initiative; self-help; concern with what works in practice, not just in theory; and creative interaction between government and private sector initiatives. There is enormous potential in this still young local institution. Where it is being used most effectively, it is producing results. We all recognize, however, that in some instances the CAA is falling short of its potential.

While I am a relative newcomer to this business compared with some of you, I speak not as an outsider who has come to criticize. I speak now as one who has taken the problems faced by Community Action as my own, accepting the responsibility to try to help develop effective solutions and to promote the success of this program.

In that spirit, OEO will expect more from CAAs in the years ahead. You also have a right to expect more effective help from us. I believe that, together, we can make some important things happen. Let me turn briefly to the four items I listed:

First, *sharpening the objectives of Community Action*. CAAs have suffered from conflicting demands on them. Massive expectations have been built into their national and local mandates. They have been expected to be all things to all men, from comprehensive planners and coordinators, to efficient operators of wide-ranging service programs, to developers of creative new approaches, while serving as advocates, negotiators, and communication channels.

It is simply unrealistic—and unfair—to expect CAAs to solve the whole range of interrelated problems of poverty in this country.

The resources and the powers of many other institutions—public and private, national, state, and local—must be applied to the problem. Other planners and coordinators, and other program operators have important responsibilities—and valuable resources.

Where does this leave the CAA? Threatened, uncertain, dwindling in significance? That is possible if we pursue Community Action as a vague, diffuse enterprise, reaching tentatively in all directions with inadequate resources.

But it can be—and will be—a different story if we decide what our specific objectives are—not as the whole anti-poverty show, but as a vital part of it—and then concentrate our energies on doing our part with maximum effectiveness and impact.

Our purpose—yours and mine—is to help to move a whole system of public and private institutions in this country toward finding and applying the means to deal with poverty. That's a lot different—and more "do-able" than trying to do all the planning and coordinating, providing all the services, and solving all the problems ourselves.

Let's be more specific about the kind of leverage we are trying to exert. What kinds of impact do we want to achieve? When you clear away the mass of program and administrative detail, and get down to the basic question of why we are in business, you find five essential goals for Community Action:

First, we are in the business to *mobilize and help channel the human and financial resources* of government and private groups at all levels into action. There have been noteworthy achievements on this front. But CAAs must increase their efforts to tap, or gain redirection in the use of other public resources—federal, state and local—and to mine the vast resources of the private sector.

Second, we are in business to *generate new and better approaches* to solving problems. We have to stimulate not only new program designs and techniques, but also improvements in institutional habits and practices, planning and decision-making processes, laws and regulations to make them *more responsive* to the needs of the poor.

CAAs must play a major role in the search for better answers. They are in a unique position to tap the experience, imagination and initiative of local citizens and groups who are close to the problems, in widely different communities throughout the country. Drawing on these local assets, CAAs must be actively developing, testing, demonstrating, and promoting the broader adoption of new approaches. This effort includes what has been called—somewhat vaguely—"institutional change." It is a term that warms the hearts of some, and scares others to death. Call it what you will, the fact remains that CAAs are not in business to supplant other agencies, but to help improve their effectiveness and their responsiveness to the poor.

Many CAAs have shown that they can stimulate new program approaches and constructive institutional change. But some have yielded to pressures that turn their attention inward to their own program operations, neglecting their responsibilities in the larger community. And some have administered the same programs year after year, without change or experimentation. We should break out of this mold.

Third, we are in business to increase both the opportunities and the capabilities for effective *participation of the poor* in the planning, conduct, and evaluation of programs which affect their lives. Both the form and the substance of that participation are important to the success of our efforts.

We should move beyond establishing seats for the poor on board committees, and concentrate on *strengthening the quality and effectiveness* of their participation in the deliberations of these councils.

Fourth, we are in business to *build effective communications bridges* between those who should be working together to solve poverty problems: the poor and the non-poor; government and the private sector.

The CAA board is a unique institution where government officials, leaders in the private sector, and the poor can jointly assess how well the community is responding to its problems, exchange experience and "know-how," and mutually stimulate new thinking about ways to lick the stubborn problems that keep people poor.

An important part of this communication function is the CAA's role as an advocate for the interests and needs of the poor. Let me cite an example of an effort that probably requires more attention by CAAs. A CAA which assists neighborhood-based organizations should also be working to educate the broader, non-poor community to understand the character and value of such self-help organizations. The CAA—board members as well as staff—should help the non-poor recognize that the efforts of poor people's organizations to influence programs affecting the residents are legitimate counterparts of the similar functions long performed by citizens' associations and other organized groups of the non-poor.

In its role as advocate, the CAA must measure its effectiveness by its achievements—its success or failure in gaining support and resources for its goals. Obviously, CAAs can not long pursue forms of advocacy which are self-defeating—which go beyond the scope of the statute or which lead to a withdrawal of support.

One of the most difficult tasks faced by CAA boards and staffs is to make judgments as to the effects of their activities. CAAs can strengthen their legitimate efforts to in-

fluence the policies of community institutions. But if CAA efforts are dominated by the kind of confrontation tactics which divide communities and further isolate the poor from other groups instead of bringing them into closer relations with the community, Community Action will soon be without the broad support it must have. And the really good efforts of CAAs could go down the drain. The results would be tragic for this country—the poor and the nonpoor alike.

Finally, we are in business to *strengthen the process of planning and coordinating* anti-poverty programs so that the resources invested will produce maximum progress. Experience has shown that it is difficult for many CAAs to try to be the master planner and coordinator of all anti-poverty programs in the community. But to perform its other role effectively the CAA must work closely with other agencies that have planning and coordinating responsibilities.

The delivery of services to the poor is often an important part of a CAA's work. But I have not included this as part of our basic mission. The name of the game is to get those services provided responsibly by the agencies which should bear the responsibility. CAA service programs are simply one important way to redirect the community response to poverty problems—in short they can help to produce a "multiplier effect."

The Administration has recently proposed a reform of the welfare system, the \$4 billion Family Assistance Program that makes OEO's budget look like a midget. Along with increased funding for services in job training, day care, and food programs, this is the most sweeping and significant piece of social legislation since the Social Security Act in 1935. The real task then for OEO, the most difficult and challenging work, is not to maintain people or operate a large service bureaucracy. Rather, it is to find new ways of opening economic opportunity, of raising the capacity of individuals to participate in the economic life of the Nation. The Family Assistance Program frees OEO to experiment with new programs, to do research on problems, to evaluate the effectiveness of all government programs affecting the poor, to encourage institutions to be more responsive to the people they serve, and to perform responsible advocacy. An income maintenance program will keep people alive, but it will not solve the basic problems that keep people poor and dependent. Nor will it provide the new programs and knowledge we need to give those people new skills and confidence and dignity.

The second major item on our agenda must be to make sure that our *day-to-day activity is focused directly on the performance of our mission*. Many things need to be done to assure this. Let me emphasize only a few points today.

In working toward all of our goals:

1. OEO must clarify and formalize the kinds of directions I have been discussing, so that everyone concerned will have a clearer understanding.

2. In developing a greater range and depth of program models and techniques for adaptation by CAAs, OEO must give more emphasis to programs which directly promote our goals as their primary purpose, not merely as side effects.

3. More attention must be given to development and use of effective *non-program techniques* by which CAAs can stimulate a better local response. For example, staff and board negotiations, public education, provision of local training or technical assistance, and coordinated planning and evaluation of local programs.

Some special things need to be done to *promote the development of new approaches* through Community Action. OEO must structure its program development activity

so that it draws upon the results of CAA efforts.

Through evaluation feedback and other means, OEO will help expand the exchange of experience—both successes and failures—among CAAs, so that each can learn more from a wider range of experience.

Significant CAA successes may be picked up and tested more broadly through national demonstration projects.

Selectively, R&D as well as local projects which demonstrate the broadest potential applicability may be further expanded for more extensive demonstration as National Emphasis Programs.

This approach clearly recognizes that we cannot develop all of the new ideas we need in Washington. CAAs must serve as hundreds of laboratories, generating a wealth of experience using different approaches under widely varying community conditions.

Other special efforts will help in *stimulating both new approaches and mobilization of resources*:

1. CAAs must be encouraged to follow a policy of local delegation of well established programs. The human and financial resources of the CAA itself must not be bogged down in the permanent delivery of services that other agencies should be providing.

2. OEO must place less emphasis on negative controls and sanctions, and greater emphasis on offering positive incentives and rewards for excellence, which make sense to those who carry the burden of performance at the community level. Aside from various forms of public recognition, outstanding CAA performance should be rewarded by allocating back to CAAs funds released by local spin-offs and project terminations. Funds should also be augmented on a competitive basis for innovative or resource mobilizing projects.

The specific strategy for improving the community response to poverty must vary, of course, from CAA to CAA based on local circumstances. Problems which have posed particularly difficult issues for Community Action are Model Cities and rural areas.

There is a need to clarify the role and responsibilities of the CAA in a *Model Cities* situation. The relationship between the CAA and the Model Cities Agency will depend largely on the local context and the kind of working agreement that can be reached among the responsible individuals locally. I doubt that the Executive Branch will or should try to dictate the character of this local relationship in detail. Yet at the Federal level we cannot in good conscience wash our hands of the problems faced by the CAA and the Model Cities Agency in sorting out their responsibilities under the conflicting statutes passed by Congress. We have to be concerned, and we should assist in developing solutions.

While there are several alternatives which might recommend themselves in particular local circumstances, I suspect that the most productive course in many cases may turn out to be a division of functions between the two agencies, preserving and capitalizing on the natural assets and strengths as well as the basic missions of CAAs. It is worth thinking this possibility through at least.

Community Action in *rural areas* needs substantial improvement. Compared to the cities, many rural CAAs got off to a slow start, and have generally developed more slowly since.

This situation reflects not only the inherent, unique difficulties faced by Community Action in rural areas; it reflects also a failure of the Federal government, including OEO, to come to grips with rural poverty.

In this context, rural Community Action efforts should be built around a strategy to promote economic development and income improvement. By coordinated involvement in

local and regional efforts to generate business and industrial expansion and create self-help enterprises, the rural CAA can have a major impact in mobilizing resources of the Farmers' Home Administration, Economic Development Administration, and other federal, state, and local agencies, as well as the private sector. This is necessary to gain the maximum anti-poverty results from the way other resources are allocated and used to increase economic opportunity in rural America.

Experience emerging from some of our most effective rural CAAs indicates that this is a feasible strategy which can produce important results.

Our third major need is to help *increase the effectiveness of CAAs*. Everything I have discussed thus far will be meaningless without the solid capacity for performance in CAAs. For that reason, the most crucial investment OEO makes in Community Action is not in one program or another but in CAAs as local institutions that can do a job.

The full development of CAA effectiveness must include at least three basic elements:

1. Clear understanding of the needs and the CAA's mandate, and a commitment to pursue them.

2. Technical program know-how.

3. Administrative competence.

Fundamentally, all of these must grow from within the community, but there are important things OEO can do to help. For example:

1. OEO recognizes that the prime teacher in Community Action today is experience, and that the experience is in the field, not in Washington. OEO must help CAAs understand and share the lessons which are being learned from experience in communities throughout the country.

2. On the basis of knowledge emerging from field experience, from research and demonstration, and from all other available sources, OEO will intensify its effort to develop program guidance and models and feed them into the system for your use. Emphasis will be on describing what works and setting overall standards of quality, not on prescribing a single version of the program which must be followed in detail everywhere. The latter approach would destroy the basic effort to keep the whole Community Action system open to local experimentation.

3. In expanding and sharpening the training and technical assistance available to CAAs, OEO will again avoid the temptation to think it knows all the answers. Our role is to help locate or develop sources of high quality assistance, orient them toward Community Action, and help you hook up with them. But the determination of needs and the selection of sources should increasingly be a CAA responsibility, to assure that the assistance is relevant and used most effectively.

4. OEO must do more to help CAAs develop sound management capability. We are expanding our effort to help in such areas as executive recruitment and training, Project Upreach for nonprofessional career development, and the comprehensive approach for the Concentrated Management Improvement Project (CMIP).

5. We have a largely unmet responsibility to see that the vast potential of the CAA board is developed and that it becomes a powerful force behind the goals of Community Action. The broad-based board is central to the concept of the CAA and its role in the Community. Those who accept the responsibilities of CAA board membership, must carry the function of the CAA out into the broader community, playing important roles in mobilization of resources and other facets of the CAA's effort.

6. If OEO is to provide significant help in developing CAAs with limited resources, we must concentrate assistance where it will do

the most good. That means we must be prepared to reduce funding where the investment is not paying off. In the long run, I think that most CAAs—and the poor—stand to gain from this approach.

7. In rural areas, single county CAAs may be strengthened by consolidation with others, to pool limited resources and apply their efforts to a broader area which is more susceptible to an integrated economic development approach.

8. In the past two years, CAAs have generally strengthened their effort through closer involvement of local government officials. There is a great deal which can still be done to improve the local government contribution, and to involve the state governments, which control large and important resources. We must work to strengthen state and local government support of CAA efforts. We are already working to strengthen the contribution that can be made by SEOO's. This does not mean that it would be desirable to amend the Act to turn over the program to the States—and I have consistently opposed such amendments in the Congress.

9. Finally, OEO can help build the stature and effectiveness of CAAs by operating at the national level as an advocate for your needs and an interpreter of the work you are doing. I hope that we can improve our own effectiveness on this front.

Which brings me to the fourth and last point: *Increasing OEO's Capacity To Provide Support for Community Action.*

1. We have just completed a major reorganization of OEO Headquarters, which will strengthen our capacity to carry out our responsibilities.

2. A re-shaping of Regional Offices is in progress, including expansion from 7 to 10 offices, and co-locating them in the same cities with the Regional Offices of the other major domestic agencies.

3. We plan to increase and strengthen the internal staff training for OEO employees, to increase their effectiveness in support of local Community Action.

4. I have already referred to the increased attention which is being given to evaluation and program development work in OEO.

5. I have also mentioned the increased emphasis on positive incentives, in our relations with CAAs. This should include not only recognition and funding but, perhaps more important, the freedom to experiment and to tailor local strategies to local needs.

The joint effort which I have been discussing requires much from all of us. The problems are urgent, the mood restive, and the pressures great. We can complain, look inward, or quit—or we can set about the job and arrive down the road having achieved something worthy of the people we are here to serve. I'm taking the latter road.

DISPUTES CLAIM OF INSUFFICIENT ENGINEERING MANPOWER

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. DINGELL, Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of a news release from the Consulting Engineers Council which was issued on October 9, 1969. So that my colleagues may have an opportunity to read of the views of the Council on the availability of engineering resources, I insert the text of the news release at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

NEWS RELEASE FROM THE CONSULTING ENGINEERS COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C.,

October 9, 1969.

U.S. Consulting Engineers today are taking strong issue with the Federal claim that there is insufficient engineering manpower available to handle the design of much-needed waste treatment facilities. This claim was a major factor in the defeat of a House effort to appropriate \$1 billion in grant money for waste treatment plant construction, as called for in the Clean Water Act of 1966.

An Administration request for a repeat of the 1969 waste treatment appropriation of \$214 million was boosted to \$600 million in House action on Wednesday. Coordinated by Rep. John Dingell (D. Mich.) and introduced by Rep. William Minshall (R. Ohio), the \$1 billion appropriation would have pumped nearly \$2 billion in state and local funds into a program which is now running well behind its legislative authorization.

Federal Water Pollution Control Administration officials opposed the larger appropriation, contending that it was more than could be spent this year because of a lack of available qualified engineers to perform the necessary design of up to \$3 billion worth of waste treatment plants.

The nation's independent engineers, headed by the Consulting Engineers Council, scorned this claim, labeling it "totally" inaccurate and without foundation. Basing its argument on a sampling of 114 of its more than 2,200 member firms, the CEC asserts that U.S. consultants can assimilate design work covering more than \$5 billion in fiscal 1970 waste treatment plant construction without adding a single man to existing staffs. (In the past twelve months, two CEC member firms alone have designed \$350 million in waste treatment facilities.) The Council's survey indicates that firms in only five states—Missouri, New York, Massachusetts, Illinois and Michigan—could produce the necessary engineering for at least \$1 billion in waste treatment plant construction.

As rebuttal to FWPCA claims of insufficient engineering manpower, the Consulting Engineers Council points out that \$3 billion worth of treatment plants, divided among fifty states, comes to only \$60 million per state. With at least fifteen engineering firms qualified in waste treatment design in virtually every state, that is an average \$4.5 million worth of construction per firm. This is well within the capability of most U.S. consultants, and certainly within the capability of the more than a dozen firms that last year designed for treatment facilities with a construction value of \$50 to \$150 million.

As a final argument, the CEC points out that not only are there engineers available, but they are looking for work. Consultants in the fields of water and sewage system public works particularly are beginning to feel the effects of higher interest rates on municipal bonds. One Denver firm told the CEC that it was reassigning a number of sanitary engineering employees to other civil engineering work in order to keep them busy. With many communities unable to obtain funds for design work, engineering projects are being stalled in the preliminary planning stage for lack of state and Federal assistance. (Last year the Minnesota State Pollution Control Agency accepted applications for \$15,325,078 in grant requests, covering \$46,733,902 in total construction. Because of limited funds, only \$3.92 million, or one-fifth of the total request, was made available.)

Although the Consulting Engineers Council does not specifically support Congressional effort to boost Federal assistance to \$1 billion, the engineers are adamant in their protesta-

tion that the much-needed facilities, if they had been generated by the defeated appropriation, could easily have been designed with existing engineering resources.

DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, the Standard-Times of New Bedford, Mass., recently ran a three-part series on the governments of southern Africa. Written by Edward D. McGlynn, assistant professor of history at the Salem (Mass.) State College, these articles outline in an objective and forthright manner recent political and diplomatic developments in southern Africa. In order that my colleagues may have the benefits of Professor McGlynn's analysis, I include the series from the Standard-Times at this point in the RECORD:

SOUTHERN AFRICA: THE WHITE GOVERNMENTS—DEVELOPMENT, POTENTIAL AND RACE RELATIONS

(By Edward D. McGlynn)

Southern Africa consists of the Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia, the Portuguese "overseas provinces" of Angola and Mozambique plus several small black states—Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland, and Botswana—all more or less economically dependent upon South Africa, the richest and most industrialized nation on the African continent.

Some 45 million people live in Southern Africa of whom about 10 per cent are of European stock. The region is about two-thirds the size of the United States, and although much of it is undeveloped it abounds in riches—coal, iron, gold, diamonds, asbestos, manganese, zinc, copper, and chrome ore.

The recent discovery of oil in Angola added the one major industrial element that the region had hitherto lacked.

American, European, and Japanese businessmen visiting Southern Africa wax enthusiastic over the area's great economic potential. In September an international consortium of European and South African firms announced plans for the development of Mozambique's remote Cahorra Bassa, a territory rich in coal and iron, into the "Ruhr of Africa."

COMMON PROBLEMS BRING UNITY TO SOME

Because of a commonality of problems and the hostility of much of the outside world, South Africans, Rhodesians, and Portuguese have moved closer together politically and economically. South African police units support Rhodesian troops along the Zambian frontier, and thanks to the cooperation of South Africa and Portugal the Rhodesians have been able to survive the UN-imposed economic sanctions.

But cooperation among the three powers does not mean that Southern Africa can be treated as a monolith. There are considerable differences that cannot be ignored. South Africa and Rhodesia are sovereign states capable of pursuing their own national interests whereas Angola and Mozambique are answerable to distant Lisbon.

The Republic of South Africa, including South West Africa, is three times the size of Texas, and leads the world in the production of gold and diamonds. It is a modern industrial state with a sound economy and one of the world's hardest currencies.

Its cities are comparable to those of the United States and Europe. Its origins go back to 1652 when Dutch settlers founded Cape Town as a halfway stop—"a tavern of the seas"—between Holland and the Dutch East Indies.

The descendants of the Dutch settlers and the French Huguenots and Germans who later joined them are the Afrikaners, who now number about 2 million. The Afrikaners along with the 1.6 million English-speaking white South Africans control the Republic. The Afrikaners are not the least embarrassed by the fact that they are a minority among the 18 million people in South Africa. South Africa is theirs, they will quickly inform the visitor, and they intend to see it remains so.

RACIAL POLICIES DIFFER

The racial policies and attitudes of the South Africans, Rhodesians, and Portuguese greatly differ. In South Africa the policy is apartheid, on separate development, which in effect means rigid segregation.

"Slegs vir Blankes"—"Whites Only"—is the ubiquitous sign throughout South Africa, and transportation, employment, housing, education, entertainment, and sport are all segregated. Miscegenation is a crime, and non-whites may not vote in national elections.

The Afrikaners are well-rooted in South Africa, and their name for themselves means "of Africa." Their language, Afrikaans, although derived from Dutch, is spoken nowhere else in the world. South Africa is their only home, and they are no more Dutch than the descendants of the Pilgrims in Massachusetts are English.

Their historians claim that their ancestors arrived in South Africa before the Bantu (Negro), and that it was not until the 1770's that Afrikaner frontiersmen encountered Bantu coming from the northeast.

The British annexed the Cape of Good Hope during the Napoleonic wars, and sought unsuccessfully to Anglicize the Afrikaners. The 19th Century saw a struggle for control of South Africa between the Afrikaner, the Briton, and the Bantu with the primitive Bantu finishing last.

During the Boer War (1899-1902) the numerically superior British forces eventually wore down the tough Afrikaner commandoes, as they called their military units. In 1910, London deemed it wise to grant South Africa its independence, and since then every South African prime minister has been an Afrikaner.

MINISTER-POLITICIAN LED NATIONALISTS

In 1948, the Nationalists came to power led by Dr. Daniel Malan, a Calvinist minister turned politician. The Nationalists initiated apartheid as a means of insuring continued white rule. The Afrikaners have a tradition of allegiance to a stern brand of Calvinism, and to this day their politicians still speak of their "divine mission" to preserve "white civilization" in South Africa.

The Catholic Portuguese also refer to their historic mission, that of "civilizing the African." The Portuguese were the first Europeans to enter Black Africa way back in the 15th Century when they established themselves in Angola and elsewhere. It was from Angola that slaves were found for the plantations of Brazil.

By the early 16th Century the Portuguese were in Mozambique where their sailing ships would await the prevailing winds that would take them across the Indian Ocean to India.

Portugal declined in the 17th Century and Angola and Mozambique became unimportant backwaters. When Dr. Salazar came to power in Lisbon in 1928 a new era dawned for Portuguese Africa as immigration and economic development were officially encouraged.

Angola, 14 times the size of Portugal, has 6 million people of whom 300,000 are Euro-

peans. Mozambique, three-fifths as large as Angola, has 8 million inhabitants including 200,000 Europeans.

Unlike the South Africans, the Portuguese approach to the Bantu is cultural rather than racial.

While the South Africans emphasize the tribal divisions among the Bantu so as to prevent the development of a black national consciousness, the Portuguese tend to ignore tribalism and seek to assimilate the Bantu. The use of the Portuguese language and the spread of Catholicism are encouraged by the Portuguese.

RHODESIA SPARSELY POPULATED

Rhodesia was founded in 1890 and although equal in size to all six New England states plus New York, New Jersey, and the Canadian province of New Brunswick has only 5 million people, of whom 230,000 are Europeans.

On racial matters Rhodesia falls midway between South Africa's apartheid and Portugal's assimilation policy.

There is segregation in Rhodesia, primarily in housing and education but, unlike South Africa, the Bantu may vote providing they meet the educational and property qualifications, and Bantu members sit in the Rhodesian Parliament.

Rhodesians do speak of eventual black-white parity, and sports and transportation are integrated. In Rhodesia racial segregation rests primarily upon custom; in South Africa it is the custom and the law.

The South Africans, Rhodesians, and Portuguese cooperate with each other because to do so is mutually advantageous but their histories, cultures, and outlooks differ considerably.

REVOLT OR INVASION ARE UNLIKELY

George Orwell once wrote that political language is "designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind."

An example of this kind of political language was the charge that Rhodesia constituted a threat to world peace.

This was the view of the United Nations following Rhodesia's seizure of independence from Britain in 1965. The charge was echoed by the American ambassador to the world body, Arthur Goldberg, and by the assistant secretary of state for African affairs, John Palmer.

This view was based upon the belief that the enraged black states would hurl their armies at white-ruled Rhodesia. Ghana, Kenya, Zambia and other African nations talked tough, and President Nasser in Cairo, about 4,000 safe miles to the north, declared war upon Rhodesia.

Well aware of the limitations of the black states and familiar with the war record of Nasser's Egypt, the Rhodesians were not unduly worried.

Four years later the feeble imaginations of Goldberg and Palmer no longer help shape American policy, and Kwame Nkrumah, the tough-talking dictator of Ghana, is now in exile writing his memoirs. Prime Minister Ian Smith is still in office in Salisbury, Rhodesia's attractive capital.

There have been some minor guerrilla incursions—the last was in August 1968—but the "threat to world peace" never materialized. The economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations against Rhodesia are still in effect even though they were initiated on the now obviously mistaken notion that Rhodesia constituted a threat to the peace.

SANCTIONS SEEN AS FAILURE

Sanctions are now universally recognized as a failure. They have inconvenienced the Rhodesians but they have neither crippled the country's economy nor the will to resist. George Ball, Goldberg's successor at the United Nations, accurately described the sup-

posed political efficacy of economic sanctions as a "romantic delusion."

Rhodesia a threat to peace? The very idea is ludicrous to anyone who has driven through the Rhodesian countryside, or walked the broad streets of Salisbury and Bulawayo that are policed by smartly turned-out African constables who are unarmed.

Imagine unarmed police officers in American cities!

Rhodesians and South Africans point out to the visiting American that their cities have not witnessed such violence as have Los Angeles, Detroit, Newark, Cleveland, and Chicago.

The widespread belief in the United States that Rhodesia and South Africa are on the brink of revolution is quite unfounded.

If internal disorder should materialize, the efficient police of both lands seem quite capable of handling matters. Invasion may be ruled out altogether as the military capacity of South Africa and Rhodesia is quite formidable in the African context.

South Africa's secure position precludes any serious action by the United Nations with respect to South West Africa. This diamond-rich territory, twice the size of California, is a former German colony taken by the South Africans during World War I.

After the war the League of Nations granted the territory as a mandate to South Africa. The United Nations has long sought to pry the area away from South Africa but to no avail. In 1966, the World Court in effect threw out a case brought by Liberia and Ethiopia against South Africa's occupation.

U.N. ORDER IGNORED

The United Nations in a rage ordered South Africa out of South West Africa. Three years later the South Africans still hold the territory, and administer it very much as if it were an internal part of the Republic.

This year the world body gave the Republic of South Africa until Oct. 4 to surrender control. South Africa's foreign minister, Dr. Hilgard Muller, publicly retorted: "We have been in South West Africa for 50 years and we intend to remain in South West Africa."

The deadline date will come and go and South Africa, not the United Nations, will control South West Africa.

Prof. John Barrett, formerly with the South African delegation to the United Nations and now director of the Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg, declared earlier this month that the world body will just have to learn to face reality about South West Africa.

"Only the United States or the Soviet Union is strong enough to dislodge us from the territory," according to Prof. Barrett, "and neither power wishes to get involved."

While internal disorder is minimal in South Africa and Rhodesia there are active revolutionary movements in Angola and Mozambique.

When a bloody revolution broke out in Angola in 1961 many foreign observers predicted the speedy departure of the Portuguese. Eight years after the Angolan outbreak the Portuguese presence is stronger than ever.

A less serious uprising occurred in Mozambique in 1964, but the assassination of its most prominent rebel leader, Eduardo Mondlane, earlier this year was a serious blow to the lagging revolution. Both revolutions were in many respects tribal uprisings, that of the Bakongo in Angola and of the Makonde in Mozambique, dressed-up as modern political movements.

BOTH OUTBREAKS CONTAINED

Both outbreaks have been contained and neither has impeded the economic advance of Angola and Mozambique.

The success of the Portuguese in localizing the conflicts has surprised many observers. Portugal, perhaps Western Europe's poorest state, may well accomplish what France could

not do in Indo-China or Algeria and what the powerful United States apparently cannot do in South Vietnam—crush a guerrilla-led "war of national liberation."

One reason why guerrilla movements have flourished in Southern Africa is because South Africa and Rhodesia have made known the fact that if necessary their forces will follow a policy of "hot pursuit" chasing guerrilla bands across international frontiers right into neighboring black states.

To underscore these warnings Rhodesian jets not infrequently violate Zambian air space, and Portuguese army units have pursued rebels into the Congo and into Zambia.

The disinclination of the white powers to recognize "privileged sanctuary" has led to a marked decline in enthusiasm among the Congolese and Zambians for harboring "liberation movements."

In Zambia, President Kenneth Kaunda seized dictatorial powers this summer in an effort to thwart any attempt to oust him from power.

An attempt on his life was reported late this summer, and interested observers in South Africa and Rhodesia believe that Kaunda, an implacable foe of Rhodesia, may not long last in power.

His removal from the scene may possibly lead to better relations between Zambia and Rhodesia, thereby further reducing tensions along the Southern African frontier.

FOREIGN POLICIES AMBITIOUS, AFFECT UNITED STATES

The announced British withdrawal from "East of Suez," scheduled for late 1971, has thrown a fright into many of the states along the shores of the Indian Ocean.

The increased activity of the Soviet fleet in that vast sea clearly indicates that the Russians intend to replace the departing British as the area's dominant influence.

To prevent this the Republic of South Africa has proposed to Australia that the two nations join together to police the region. However, in late August Canberra rejected the proposal and announced that the growth of Soviet influence in the Indian Ocean was inevitable and posed no threat to Australia.

The South Africans hope that the Australians will rethink their position but still intend to keep the Russian influence as far from their shores as possible. To do this South Africa is wooing the Indian Ocean states of Mauritius and the Malagasy Republic (formerly Madagascar).

The Malagasy Republic possesses the naval base of Diego Suarez, now leased to France. Now that De Gaulle is gone and France no longer is concerned with "grandeur," the French fleet may follow the British out of the Indian Ocean. In such an eventuality, the South Africans will offer to lease the base for their own small but smart navy.

URGING INCREASED ECONOMIC TIES

Pretoria is encouraging South Africa businessmen to seek ties with Mauritius and the Malagasy Republic and tourists from the republic are encouraged to visit the islands on the premise that increased economic ties will lead to closer political connections.

The two island-states would benefit economically from closer ties with South Africa, but it remains to be seen if they would leave naval and air bases to the republic.

The South African interest in the Indian Ocean is but one aspect of a three-pronged "outward policy" initiated by Prime Minister B. John Vorster and his defense minister, Dr. Hilgard Muller.

This policy seeks to lessen South Africa's isolation by improving economic and political connections between South Africa and neighboring states. The middle prong of the outward policy is concerned with the states to the north of South Africa.

While relations with Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozam-

bique are understandably quite good, relations with neighboring black states are also satisfactory. Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland, and Botswana are all on good terms with the republic, and even Zambia, led by the anti-Rhodesian Kenneth Kaunda, does considerable business with South Africa. Further afield, francophone West Africa is being courted by the republic with good results at least with the tiny Republic of Gabon.

ANTICIPATE COOPERATION WITH BLACK STATES

The South Africans neither expect to be loved by the black governments nor to win converts to apartheid, but they anticipate winning cooperation from many black African states based upon the fact that the republic is Africa's most economically sophisticated state, and the South Africans are willing to share their knowledge and expertise with their less developed neighbors to the north.

How successful the South African policy will be only time will tell, but Pretoria is confident that economics will triumph over ideology in the final analysis.

The third prong of the outward policy is concerned with the South Atlantic Ocean. In this area the republic is seeking to reach an agreement with Argentina similar to that which it had sought with Australia.

The reception in Buenos Aires has been much more encouraging to Pretoria in comparison with that received in Canberra.

Last spring ships of the South African navy called at South American ports, and even engaged in a joint exercise with ships of the Argentine navy. Buenos Aires has officially denied any plans for a pact with the republic, but in Pretoria the feeling is that as the two nations are concerned with keeping order in the South Atlantic then eventually an understanding will be reached.

"We do not expect a formal pact," one South African put it, "but we do want an understanding with Argentina regarding the activities of outside powers in the South Atlantic."

Not too many years ago the late Eric Luow, then South Africa's foreign minister, remarked that his country, because of its racial policies, was the pariah of the world community. Luow was not opposed to apartheid. He was merely expressing a fact of diplomatic life.

Quite aware of their international reputation, the South Africans expect to be publicly rejected by many of the governments they court, but remain confident that they will achieve many of their ends on the quiet.

So far as Argentina is concerned, a naval "arrangement" with South Africa designed to forestall Soviet influence in the South Atlantic seems quite likely, as evidenced this year by the joint naval operation and the exchange of visits to South Africa and Argentina of high-ranking naval officers.

PORTUGAL COURTED BRAZIL

A similar effort by Portugal to obtain closer ties with Brazil saw the mother country publicly rebuffed by her South American offspring.

This year Brazil received official visits from the Portuguese prime minister, Dr. Marcelo Caetano, and the South African foreign minister, Dr. Muller, both intent upon wooing the Latin giant. Brazil's foreign minister, Maghalaes Pinto, issued a public statement to the effect that his country intends to maintain good relations with Portugal and South Africa but is not prepared to enter into a pact with them.

Pretoria and Lisbon, nevertheless, remain quite hopeful.

The foreign policies of the Southern African powers are ambitious and show considerable initiative. They are designed, like all foreign policies, to serve the national interest, but it is also to the best interest of the United States that the policies of Pretoria and Lisbon succeed in creating an orderly

and prosperous area in the Southern Hemisphere.

Such a development will diminish the necessity of American involvement in that part of the world thereby lessening the possibility of future "Vietnams."

COLUMBUS DAY

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. FARBSTEN. Mr. Speaker, Columbus Day honors more than one man. It honors every Italian who has come to our shores since that first brave and persistent explorer.

The Italians who came to America seemed determine to live up to the standard that Columbus set for them. From the first days of our discovery, the sons of Italy were to play an important role and become an inseparable part of America. Giovanni Cabota, better known as John Cabot, was the first European to explore the mainland of the North American continent. Amerigo Vespucci, for whom "America" is named, explored the coast of South America and was among the first to recognize that the new continent was not a part of Asia. Giovanni di Verrazano was the discoverer of New York Bay and the Straits which bear his name.

Some of our earliest settlers came from Italy; in fact, there were Italians building a glass factory in Virginia before the Pilgrims landed in Massachusetts. An early Italian settlement was in my own city of New York.

Italians played a major role in our Revolution, Civil War, and in the two World Wars. Filippo Mazzei was among the first men to urge publicly that the American colonies split with England. William Paca of Maryland was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and several hundred Italians gave their lives in the Revolutionary War. Over 200 Italian officers served in the Civil War, and many more in the two World Wars. Several have been awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for outstanding bravery and service to their country.

It would be impossible to list all of the contributions that citizens of Italian descent have made in American society. In commerce, names like Amadio P. Gianini, founder of the Bank of America, Sebastian Poli, of Fox Movie Corp., and Gino Pualucci, of Chun King Corp., stand out. In politics and government, Italians have distinguished themselves as Congressmen, Senators, Cabinet officials, mayors, aldermen, and just about every other public office in the land. In the field of music, Italian Americans like Enrico Caruso, Ezio Pinza, and Anna Maria Albergheggi have enthralled American audiences. Musicians, singers, and actors, like Frank Sinatra, Tony Bennett, and Perry Como, lead a long list of Italian Americans who have brightened the land with their entertainment. The same can be said for Italian Americans in the field of sports.

But the real contribution that Italian Americans have made to our society

comes not from the few whose names will go down in the history books, but from the citizens who are known only to their neighbors through their perseverance, hard work, and good citizenship.

I am privileged to represent that part of the city of New York which has always been referred to affectionately as "Little Italy." It is here that so many of the finest "sons of Italy" live and contribute to the rich cultural heritage of our city. The warmth and closeness of Italian families, and the joy which they take in sharing what they have, has always made me feel welcome when I have visited my constituents there. It is to these people, the heirs of the dream which Columbus unfolded, to whom Columbus Day is truly dedicated.

THE OBSERVANCE OF COLUMBUS DAY

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, to those of us who might be rightly designated as the "Senior Citizens" of this body, the observance of Columbus Day has real significance. To those of us who struggled year after year to obtain due recognition for Christopher Columbus by having his birthday proclaimed a national holiday, October 12 has deep meaning indeed. Each of us feels a very personal connection with the impressive ceremonies which our fine Italo-American organizations will conduct throughout our land. We shall join with them with genuine enthusiasm as they pay tribute to that great Genoese navigator who so bravely commanded his followers in his tiny armada to "Sail on, Sail on and on."

Once again, Mr. Speaker, I repeat my plea that this special day, honoring the name and achievements of Christopher Columbus, be used to pay tribute to the thousands upon thousands of staunch men and women who came to our shores as did Columbus but who remained to give this country greatness. Certainly, this national holiday should remind us of the magnificent contribution which the countrymen of this great navigator have made to this Nation.

A few weeks ago I had the pleasure of meeting with an impressive number of Italian press representatives in Naples and alluded to the Italian contribution to America with this statement:

Because of being brought up in Brooklyn with its large Italian American population, I soon learned the importance of the contribution which Italian immigrants have made and are still making to the life and welfare of our country.

More recently as I watched, almost in holy awe, our astronauts making their historic explorations of the moon, I could not help but wonder how significant it would have been to have seen Christopher Columbus step ashore in the New World. I wonder how the world in the 15th and 16th centuries would have reacted to Amerigo Vespucci's first landings on the continent later to bear his name.

As our courageous spacemen moved about

the moon's surface leaving the first footprints of mortal man and as I watched them follow a flawless schedule reduced to mathematical perfection I could not help but think of the host of men of science over the ages who made this "Impossible Dream" possible. I thought of men like Galileo, like Enrico Fermi. I thought, too, of Fillippo Mazzei, the physician and counselor to Thomas Jefferson, who gave the framer of our Declaration of Independence those immortal words "that all men are created free and equal," for had not man at long last been made free of his earthly bondage and given equality of the universe?

I was pleased to have the Italian press give extended coverage to these remarks and to publish my praise of the Italian people for their great contribution to our social, cultural, and economic growth. All papers stressed my remarks concerning the debt of gratitude which the people of the United States owe to the people of Italy, as well as to the ties of friendship which bind together the people of our two countries.

It was my good fortune while in Rome to be once again accorded an audience with His Holiness, Pope Paul VI, and to receive from him a greeting of deep affection and appreciation of my fellow Americans.

Mr. Speaker, as we join with our fellow citizens who take just pride in their Italian relationship to the great Christopher Columbus and who on Sunday will honor him with moving ceremonies, I suggest that we contemplate the message given my associates and me by His Holiness at Castel Gandolfo on August 17, 1969, which reads as follows:

DEAR FRIENDS: To receive a visit from persons of such distinction is an honor which We appreciate, and We are grateful for this opportunity of meeting with you.

With the whole world We watched as two of your fellow countrymen made mankind's first footsteps on soil outside this planet. We are constantly aware of the assistance your country is giving to other lands struggling to develop their resources. Indeed, few countries can have had similar weight in deciding the fortunes of the whole human race.

Because of this importance, We ask you to encourage your fellow citizens to use their nation's power and influence wisely and generously, with a view to the true welfare of all men. We pray that they may be inspired by such noble idealism, and We invoke upon you, on your dear ones, and on your country God's richest blessings.

TYRANNY'S MODERN FORM: BUROCRACY

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 13, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Tribune's world renowned columnist Walter Trohan has just returned from an extensive study of political conditions in Western Europe and it is, therefore, intriguing that his first column upon returning to Washington is to express frustration with the Washington bureaucracy.

The point made in Mr. Trohan's column of Wednesday, October 8 in the Chicago Tribune is, in my opinion, a very

fair commentary on the unholy power which bureaucrats wield over the taxpayers.

The article follows:

TYRANNY'S MODERN FORM: BUROCRACY

(By Walter Trohan)

WASHINGTON.—Burocracy, a vast faceless mechanism, which pulses from Washington to every city, town, and house by the side of the road in America has become the modern form of tyranny.

Federal bureaucrats have developed a finely honed strategy, according to William Morrow, professor of political science at DePauw university, for wringing solid appropriations out of recalcitrant appropriations committees in order to perpetuate themselves and their aims.

In his book, "Congressional Committees," Prof. Morrow contends Congress has "lost its legislative initiative" to "a burgeoning burocracy," even tho many congressmen still have a "psychological desire" or craving to do what the constitution mandates—legislate.

Not only have burocrats captured legislative initiative, but they have also captured some measure of control over every phase of American life and even death. One of the most entrenched strongholds of burocracy is the Food and Drug administration, which literally controls citizens from the cradle to the grave.

The FDA refuses to sanction use of a glue which has been proven successful in thousands of operations abroad in binding metal joints on bone shafts. Senior citizens, who cannot afford to go abroad, must wait FDA approval here, before they can expect to walk or walk without pain.

The FDA has approved the use of L-Dopa, a new drug for Parkinson's disease by some 200 institutions. But there are a million sufferers from the disease who are begging for help, who cannot get into the institutions for years, because of the lack of available beds. The FDA will not authorize use of the drug on an outpatient basis, altho many doctors insist this should be done.

The FDA undoubtedly has done much good, but many accuse it of arresting the development of new drugs and stifling the use of new drugs by those who may need it most.

Burocrats in the department of justice, who had no knowledge of the newspaper business, are telling two Arizona newspapers how to operate their advertising and circulation departments. The Supreme court last March found that the two papers were engaged in a joint operating agreement that violated anti-trust laws.

The papers bowed to the agreement and worked out a system of separation. But burocrats, who know nothing about the newspaper business, are dictating, not refereeing, the operation of the system. It is possible the dictation may force one of the newspapers out of business.

The instances of burocratic dictation are too numerous to mention. They seem to multiply. It may be possible to understand burocratic playing of politics as evidenced by criticism of the Nixon administration's civil rights program from burocrats, who are largely Democrats; or statements from Democratic burocrats seeking greener pastures in the outer world that inflation will continue, but burocratic playing God with every facet of life is open to question.

Burocracy is jealous of money and power. It is possible that burocratic power is so great that burocrats may be able to spawn their own leader, who will most certainly be a dictator.

"Burocracy as burocracy is impregnated thru and thru with the spirit of mediocrity," said Leon Trotsky. "Stalin is the most outstanding mediocrity of the Soviet burocracy."