

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## ADDRESS OF THE POLISH PRESIDENT IN EXILE, HIS EXCELLENCY AUGUST ZALESKI

## HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as I have before on numerous occasions, I am pleased to insert into the RECORD the speech of His Excellency August Zaleski, the President of the Polish Republic in exile, delivered on October 11 at Caxton Hall in London on the occasion of the opening of a new session of the Council of the Republic of Poland, which functions as a parliamentary body in exile.

This is a forceful, pertinent, and accurate commentary on the situation in Poland and the continued Russian occupation of that land:

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE POLISH REPUBLIC IN EXILE, LONDON, OCTOBER 11, 1969

The news reaching us from Poland is still very sad. Our Fatherland remains under Russian occupation and is forced to pursue policies dictated to her by the leaders of the Kremlin who, of course, exploit the situation to their own advantage. It has to be said that in doing this Russia does not only pursue her own immediate interests, but aims at weakening Poland, both politically and economically, being aware that Poland will make use of any opportunity that may present itself to throw off the yoke of Russian imperialism.

We cannot forget, however, that the present international situation is the result of the so-called Yalta Agreement freely concluded by our own allies towards the end of the war: this ceded the Eastern part of the Polish Republic to Russia and gave her such rights in the Western part so that Poland is now virtually a Russian colony. It may be that the authors of the agreement deluded themselves that these concessions will satisfy Russia who will then forego further territorial aggrandisement. They did not take into account that Russia, throughout her history, has always pursued a policy of territorial expansion. Only the ostensible motives changed with time. They were in turn: the gathering in of alleged Russian lands, the expansion of the Russian Orthodox faith, the unification of all Slav peoples under Russian rule, a civilising mission to any backward, or only allegedly backward, country of the world and lately the unity of all Communist states.

There is no doubt that the Polish people as a whole are well aware of all this and do not cease in their struggle to bring about a radical change in the situation. We, Poles outside Poland, are also called to work towards this goal with a deep faith that sooner or later the world will understand that in the nuclear era any international conflict can be solved only by peaceful means. The principles of law and justice must oust any idea of war which could only lead to a major catastrophe involving not only the loss of innumerable human lives but the end of civilisation itself.

Alas, the United Nations Organisation, created as a forum for the peaceful settlement of international conflicts, has so far been unequal to its task. It still remains a task for the future involving the whole of man-

kind. Poles everywhere will contribute to this general aim without forgetting their more immediate goal which is the restoration of the independence of their Fatherland.

The Government will report to the Council on their activities and present their plans for future action.

In declaring the third session of the present Council of the Republic of Poland open I pray that God may bless your labours.

Mr. Speaker, may I observe that the Polish Government in exile is far more representative of the true aspirations and thinking of the people of Poland than the officials that are maintained in office in Moscow by Russian bayonets.

## GUARANTEED WAGE AND HUMAN DIGNITY

## HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, by whatever title one wishes to label it, the guaranteed annual wage proposal should be the subject of much discussion in the months ahead. Pushed for a number of years by the welfare staters, this issue, if finally put to the people for approval through their representatives in Congress, should be an indicator as to what extent the American people have retained their historic sense of individual responsibility. Granted, it is hard to answer the humanitarian argument of alleviating the poverty of the disadvantaged with the cold rebuttal of personal responsibility and workability of the program, but the so-called poverty program of recent years and its tragic abuses should have provided an object lesson.

Lawrence Welk, the nationally known orchestra leader, commented recently on this all-important issue. In the August 5 issue of *Christian Economics*, he looks ahead to the effect that such a program would have on the children of recipients of a guaranteed wage:

I am also concerned about the effect such a guaranteed wage plan would have on our children. A child raised in an atmosphere of defeat and apathy, and taught to expect that his every need will be taken care of whether he works or not, stands little chance of developing a strong character. His own natural eagerness to learn and to grow and to excel is cut off at the very beginning of his life, and he may never know the thrill of achievement on his own.

Mr. Welk's views are not those of a politician or a statesman, as he points out, but as one who has known extreme poverty and who has climbed to success by hard work and his own initiative. He bases his argument not only on his own experience but on the success stories of members of his orchestra whose names are household words to Lawrence Welk fans.

The virtues and qualities of those who made this Nation unique cannot be

stressed too often, and for this reason I include the views of Mr. Lawrence Welk on religious faith, human dignity, and wholesome industry in the RECORD at this point:

[From the *Christian Economics*, Aug. 5, 1969]

## GUARANTEED WAGE AND HUMAN DIGNITY

(By Lawrence Welk)

(The author is well known throughout America for his Saturday night television program, *The Lawrence Welk Show*.)

Numerous spokesmen today are advancing the theory that a guaranteed annual wage plan for every person in the United States would solve our hard-core unemployment problem and dramatically alleviate the suffering of our poor. I share very deeply the common concern we all feel for these terrible conditions . . . but I believe there is a better solution than a guaranteed annual wage.

I speak not as a politician or a statesman . . . but simply as a father, a business man, an orchestra leader and a concerned citizen of this country which I love so very much. I have known extreme poverty in my lifetime, and I have been blessed with a measure of success, and I have had a unique opportunity during these past forty-five years in show business to observe human nature at work. I base most of my objections to the wage plan on the lessons I have been able to learn through practical experience and observation.

A guaranteed annual income would pay each person in the United States a fixed sum of money every year. Four thousand dollars has been suggested as the minimum amount for a family of four. If the head of the household earns part of that sum, the government will make up the difference. If, however, he earns nothing at all . . . the government will pay him the full amount.

To my way of thinking this is a negative approach which does not solve the basic problem. Instead of inspiring and helping a man fulfill his potential by working to support himself and his family, it actually encourages him to sit back and do nothing, secure in the knowledge that the government will take care of him. This destroys his initiative and his will to succeed. It robs him of his natural human dignity, and even the right to direct his own life.

I am also concerned about the effect of such a guaranteed wage plan would have on our children. A child raised in an atmosphere of defeat and apathy, and taught to expect that his every need will be taken care of whether he works or not, stands little chance of developing a strong character. His own natural eagerness to learn and to grow and to excel is cut off at the very beginning of his life, and he may never know the thrill of achievement on his own. A child who is encouraged early to earn extra pennies by shining shoes or selling newspapers or doing household tasks, stands a much better chance of reaching them than a child who is taught to do nothing.

The most destructive aspect of the guaranteed wage plan, it seems to me, is the fact that it endangers our free-enterprise system . . . and I believe with all my heart that this is the best system the world has ever known.

We have achieved a higher standard of living, given more, helped more, and been more alert to the needs of our citizens than any people, under any other form of government in the history of the world . . . and I, for one, do not want to lose it. I believe one of the reasons our country has been able to accomplish so much is that our founding

fathers and early immigrants had the freedom to dream great dreams and work hard to achieve them. We must not lose this right.

My own parents came halfway around the world in search of the freedom this country offered . . . and they found it. They started with nothing but boundless hope and optimism, and through sheer hard work managed to acquire their own farm. Thousands of others did the same thing. Their achievement was limited only by their energy and initiative. Nobody tried to stop them, or tell them what to believe or how much they could earn or whether they could pray to their God or not. The Constitution of this country guaranteed them their basic freedoms. They taught their children what a priceless gift that was and what a great nation this is. To lose our liberties now would be tragic and senseless, but I'm afraid we stand a very real danger of doing just that if we continue to trade off our personal freedoms for more and more government paternalism. The bigger the government . . . the smaller the people.

I grew up on a small farm in Strasburg, North Dakota, along with seven brothers and sisters, and my parents taught all of us children the value and joy of work. They will never know how grateful I have been all my life for their example and their teachings! Our parents taught us that nothing good is ever achieved without work, and that there is a kind of joy in work itself which contributes to one's peace of mind and inner tranquility.

And the work should be quality work! A few years ago American children were taught routinely that a job worth doing was worth doing well, but somewhere along the line that idea seems to have vanished. Today . . . in talking with various businessmen . . . I have learned that it is becoming more and more difficult to find competent workmen . . . men who take real pride in performing their craft. In my own profession, I have found it next to impossible to find a well-trained young musician. I have been looking for almost two years for an experienced young violinist, and have not been able to find one who combines talent with the training and self-discipline necessary to do the job. True competence in any field takes time, perseverance, infinite patience . . . and hard work.

Rather than give a man money, simply because he exists . . . let us educate him to the glory that can be found in work . . . and then bend every effort towards helping him find and hold a job. I do not think it is ever too late to help a man accomplish this, no matter what his condition in life. We can start right now by educating our people to the fact that this is still the land of opportunity, and that any job . . . no matter how lowly . . . can lead to a successful and happy life if it is performed with spirit and enthusiasm. Our primary goal should be to build the character of the man who is doing the job, for in this way we will build the character of the nation as well.

One of the deepest joys of my own life has been to recognize the potential in other people and help them try to achieve it. It is a wonderful experience to watch any man or woman develop his talents to the fullest and I have noticed that the happiest people in our orchestra are always those who work the hardest.

Many examples come to mind . . . Years ago I suspected that Larry Hooper, our pianist, could also be a singer, because of the exceptionally deep resonance of his speaking voice. When I encouraged him to try, he found to his surprise that he really could sing, and he not only developed into a popular singer, but his whole personality improved! Jack Imel, who was a drummer and dancer on our show, came to me with ideas for production sketches, and the more he worked, the better his ideas became, until

today he is the assistant to our brilliant producer, Jim Hobson.

Myron Floren overcame the twin handicaps of poverty and serious illness. Myron was stricken with rheumatic fever as a youngster, but he turned all of his energy and willpower into making a full recovery, and was able to regain his health completely. His fortitude, dependability and complete devotion to whatever task he undertakes have become almost legendary in our band. He has developed the inner strength and self-confidence necessary to handle whatever new responsibilities come his way. He has today reached goals no one would have thought possible for him when he was a young boy growing up in poverty on an obscure farm.

You cannot build character and courage in an able-bodied man by taking away his initiative and spirit of independence. You cannot buy happiness for a man. He must earn that for himself. That is one of my basic objections to the Guaranteed Annual Wage Plan. It does not really help a man to grow.

We have made tremendous progress in the fields of science and technology. We have learned how to send a man to the moon and probe the underside of the sea. We have learned how to split the atom and harness the energy of the sun. We have built giant computers that do incredibly complex jobs for us. But we have neglected our most important obligation. We have neglected our primary duty to build men.

I think we began to get into serious trouble when we took God out of our schools and out of our hearts. We need to re-introduce basic moral values into our lives. We need to affirm again those American verities of hope and courage and faith . . . the principles of fair play and integrity, and an honest day's work for a day's pay.

Somehow I feel that the real answer to our difficult problems can best be found in the teachings of Christ. He spoke of the dignity of the individual human being. He demonstrated through the love and compassion of His own life just how valuable each human soul is.

A human being is far too valuable to be paid off in money. A human being grows and prospers through the dignity of work.

#### A MILESTONE IN NUCLEAR POWER AT HANFORD, WASH.

### HON. CATHERINE MAY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Speaker, an event of some significance has occurred at Hanford, Wash., and I believe the Members of this body will be interested.

A real milestone in the history of nuclear power was reached at Hanford, Wash., at 1 minute past 9 o'clock yesterday morning. That is when the world's largest power-producing nuclear reactor reached the 10 billion kilowatt-hour in total electric generation.

This reactor, which was authorized to go into power production by the Congress 7 years ago, has become the first reactor in the world to reach the 10 billion mark. The next closest contender in the United States is a reactor at Roe, Mass., which may make the same mark late this month or early next month.

Ten billion kilowatts is a tremendous amount of power, Mr. Speaker, and I understand that this reactor may hit its second 10 billion kilowatts in a much shorter period of time. Owen Hurd, man-

aging director of the Washington public power supply system, which operates the steam generating plant, tells me that the second 10 billion mark will possibly be observed in about 2 years.

The Hanford steam plant was authorized by Congress in September 1962, financing arrangements were completed in 1963, and the power from the plant was synchronized with the Bonneville system in 1966.

My congratulations to Mr. Hurd and WPPSS.

#### COHOES MODEL CITY STRATEGY

### HON. DANIEL E. BUTTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. BUTTON. Mr. Speaker, I have strongly expressed my support in the past for the model cities approach to solving the problems of our cities, and would like to underscore that commitment once again. Model cities encourages and requires a strong local alliance between citizen, city government, and business to get the job done. I feel the city of Cohoes, in my district, exemplifies these key ingredients in its strategy for implementing the model cities program.

I recently received from Mrs. Virginia B. McDonald, vice chairman of the Model Cities Social Services Planning Committee, a letter informing me of the progress of the Cohoes model cities program. Cohoes is one of 150 cities that has completed its model cities plan. Mrs. McDonald, widow of the late mayor of Cohoes, Mayor James E. McDonald, under whose guidance the model cities program got its start, also enclosed a copy of the program strategy statement which I feel gives an excellent example of how one model city is doing.

Because this program strategy statement makes such good sense, and because it raises questions critical to the direction our country is taking in facing up to the problems of our older, core cities, I am inserting Mrs. McDonald's letter and the accompanying statement in the RECORD at this point and commend it to the close attention of all Members of this House:

OCTOBER 10, 1969.

HON. DANIEL E. BUTTON,  
Longworth House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BUTTON: In keeping with your request to keep you informed of the progress and activities of the Cohoes Model Cities Program, the Director, Paul Van Buskirk, has asked me as Vice-Chairman of the Social Services Planning Committee, to forward to you a copy of the Program Strategy Statement.

This statement will give a brief, but concise, insight to the approach which the City of Cohoes wishes to use in implementing the program. We would appreciate your review and comments, and opinion as to whether the statement is in general agreement with the policies of Congress and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Yours truly,

VIRGINIA B. McDONALD,  
Vice Chairman, Social Service Planning  
Committee.

## STRATEGY STATEMENT

The CDA Planning Committees' Planning Board and Governing Body, as a result of the Workshops, Pilot and Comprehensive Survey and background studies, selected five program components in which the long range goals are addressed to the following five categories listed in order of strategy sequence:

1. Human Resources
2. Relocation
3. Housing
4. Economic Development
5. Physical Environment

The program components were selected for a number of reasons: they provide convenient "packages" for specific identified problems (see Part I); they form reasonable bases for the development of overall strategies and approaches to problem-solving; and they are easily translated into statements of long-range goals as formulated by the CDA committees and boards.

Because of strong interrelationships and interdependencies among selected program components, the CDA planning committees and boards found it very difficult to arrange goals strictly according to problem severity. (Each of the broad program components contains specific high-priority problem areas.) Hence, strategy programming or sequencing of activities, as reflected in the order of the above listing became a very significant and sensitive undertaking.

The reason for the selection of the order of long-range goals was:

Since the development of MNA human resources is considered without question to be the most important objective of the entire program, it would be necessary to provide MNA residents with improved social and health services, educational opportunities, counseling, etc. These resources will provide the MNA residents with necessary services and assistance which is needed to improve their quality of living. This program will enable MNA residents to call upon the many resources which are needed to support and maintain the physical improvements they desire in their neighborhoods; such as housing, open spaces and employment opportunities. A secondary benefit of the Human Resources Component is that MNA residents could rely on their resources for assistance to protect their investments, and community investments, of money for physical improvements and prevent the recurring deterioration, which would require further investments for corrections in the future.

Another reason for giving primary attention to development of human resources is to allow an alternative approach to solving MNA problems, should financing or other problems preclude other needed programs. In other words, since human resources can be improved independently of other planned improvements, residents would be given the necessary social tools to instill initiative, and create the ability, desire, and awareness of a decent quality of living. An objective of the program is to develop human resources for a resident who may have to rely on his resources to improve his neighborhood regardless of the success or failure of other planned programs.

The reason for selecting relocation as the second item in the sequence of Model Cities activities is the demonstrated necessity to have a well-established relocation program functioning before critically needed physical programs (which require displacement) are undertaken. The relocation program would be carefully coordinated with the social services cited above and would provide sensitive and efficient relocation services for MNA families, individuals, and businesses. To build new houses and rehabilitate existing housing units without properly planned and coordinated relocation services could result in a completely ineffective overall program.

The object of the Cohoes Model Cities Plan is to look upon relocation not as a necessary evil but as an opportunity to serve MNA residents, provide social services, and upgrade the quality of living.

Housing was chosen as the third item in the strategy sequence. Once the human resources and relocation programs are formulated and delivering services, relocation could commence with the assurance that new or rehabilitated housing is decent, safe, and sanitary and that it meets residents' needs and preferences. Furthermore, as a result of the human resources development program, residents would have available financial assistance and services needed to acquire, or rent and maintain, decent and safe housing. The housing program is viewed as a logical extension of both the human resources and relocation activities.

Economic Development is placed fourth in the sequential order of activities. In order to obtain adequate housing, provide physical improvements and enjoy the benefits of improved health, education, etc., there must be sufficient economic activity to increase individual income levels and to broaden and reinforce the city's tax base. This program would help provide future revenues as well as the industrial and commercial facilities and services necessary to sustain residents.

It seemed logical to the CDA planning committees that the physical environment can be maintained and upgraded only after proper social services are provided, relocation services are firmly established, housing is available, and activity in the economic sector has been stimulated. Specific physical improvements which would support each of the other strategic activities would include additional and improved parks and open spaces, better streets (including sidewalks, street trees, lighting, etc.), a reduced level of structural and environmental blight, and major improvements in sewage and waste collection, treatment, and disposal.

## STRATEGY AMONG GOALS

Housing, especially for low and moderate income families, was ranked by the CDA Workshops as the Model Areas most serious problem and the CDA attaches greatest importance to this goal.

The objective of the Housing Goal is to provide 1,000 new housing units, to rehabilitate 500 substandard houses, to remove 600 dilapidated units, and to increase homeownership in the MNA by 428 families. In order to achieve this goal, it will be necessary to accomplish the objectives of the following goals:

**Human Resources Goal:** To have in effect the necessary home management and home maintenance programs and other social programs related to housing.

**Relocation Goal:** To have the Central Relocation Agency established and a Relocation Plan formulated.

**Economic Development Goal:** To have programs formulated to raise income levels above the Cohoes CPIC.

**Physical Environment Goal:** To begin to establish and administer an effective system of regulatory controls and to demolish "dilapidated" housing units (vacant ones first).

One of the greatest concerns of the MNA residents is in the area of economic development. This was brought out in the CDA Workshops, Comprehensive Survey and Pilot Survey. The Economic Development Goal would be of greatest concern, next to the Housing Goal.

The objectives of the Economic Development Goal are to implement a comprehensive employment program, to bring all MNA households above the CPIC income level, to rehabilitate non-residential structures, redevelop and develop land for industrial expansion and to have in effect, a long range industrial and commercial development pro-

gram. In order to reach this goal, it would be necessary to develop the following:

**Human Resources Goal:** To have effective education programs; such as vocational and skill training, adult basic education and adult education.

**Relocation Goal:** To have, in operation, a Central Relocation agency and relocation plan for industries and businesses.

**Physical Environment Goal:** To redevelop 26 acres of industrial land.

## STRATEGY AMONG PROGRAM APPROACHES AND CHANGES WITHIN A GOAL

**Human Resources:** The strategy among program approaches within the Human Resources Goal will be described according to the sub-components for the sake of clarity. With reference to related program approaches among the sub-components, the program approaches of the Human Resource Component are geared to the family as a unit. Programs, projects and activities have their objectives formulated to the family.

**Social Services:** The activity for this program approach would provide for the development of social services under a "single roof" concept (Human Resources Center) for delivery to identifiable families. The initial action would be to commence a Comprehensive Social Services Study to identify MNA families, their characteristics and need and to evaluate existing social services, gaps and program development. While the study is being undertaken, the recruiting of the initial core-staff of the Human Resources shall be underway. This core-staff's purpose will be to develop the administrative structure and work program, as well as program activities for operation in the second year, when the Human Resource facility will be leased or purchased and then occupied. The core-staff shall develop a recording system (IBM data processing) of services needed and rendered identified families. Programs that are directly geared to family management, such as home management, will commence early in the program.

**Health:** The lack, or disorganization of, health data shall be corrected by developing a collecting and reporting system on health statistics. The delivery of existing health services to MNA residents shall be accomplished in the first year by training project aides. The approach for needed health facilities will be accelerated by the fact that the local hospital has developed plans for expansion and need financial assistance for carrying this out. Construction of these facilities can convene in the first year with financial assistance from the CDA, and be completed by year two. Necessary changes, site selection, etc., will be completed in the first year for construction of a nursing home to begin in the second year and be completed by the third year. Recruitment for needed professional medical personnel will be formulated and concluded the first year for results in year two.

**Education:** The program approaches under this sub-component revolve around three basic areas; pre-K, adult education and reinforcing the academic program by beefing up the guidance counseling, curriculum and remedial reading. The first year would consist of developing and conducting a head-start program. In conjunction with the employment program, a day-care center will be developed. An effective adult and basic education program, leading to a high school equivalency, will be established and closely coordinated with the comprehensive employment program. Curriculum gaps, such as remedial reading for elementary students, will be filled in the first year. Special activities, such as the development of new curriculum and a comprehensive guidance counseling program for secondary school students, will be initiated during the first year and be fully established by the second and third years.

This will complete the thread of educational program beginning with pre-K thru to adult basic education.

A study will be completed in the first year for needed educational facilities in the MNA and a program to maximize the availability and uses of existing school facilities for education, recreation and cultural purposes.

**Recreation and Culture:** To expand MNA acreage to meet national standards would be the first objective. This would be done by developing, approving and implementing new park and recreational areas to meet the needs of all MNA age groups especially focusing on specialized "social nodules" or areas of activity. On-going planning and action would take place over the five year period for the gradual requisition of land and establishment of more specialized recreational and cultural areas culminating in the Old Erie Canal Trall Parkway following the historic canal route. However, recreational activities for all age groups must be developed and conducted as physical facilities are completed.

The development and implementation of new programs and facilities would be carried out the first year with the immediate erection of the Cohoes Community Center providing social, cultural and recreational services and programs to MNA families. In addition, innovative plans have been submitted for a joint historic preservation, educational, recreational and cultural venture which would restore the Old Opera House and connect it into two greatly needed facilities; namely, a theatre and a library.

**Crime and Delinquency:** To combat adult crime, a comprehensive survey will be made the first year for the purpose of improving systems for maximizing the security of residents regarding their persons and property and developing new programs to meet these ends during the second and succeeding program years. Juvenile delinquency will immediately be attacked by supporting community youth programs and facilities while developing improved and innovative systems and programs. The Juvenile Aid Bureau will be established and the Youth Bureau expanded through supplemental funds during the first year. A police and community relations will be developed in the first year, including the conducting of police training programs.

**Relocation:** First program approach would be to initiate a Comprehensive Housing and Relocation Study to determine specific relocation needs by characteristics of households. This approach would also include the monitoring of the Economic Base Study to determine specific relocation needs of industry and business.

While this study is under way, the city should then create, through new legislation, a Central Relocation Agency; recruitment of a staff to administer an effective city-wide program and provide supplemental funds to organize the agency.

Relocation standards and policies should be adopted by the City government and the administrative machinery would go into full operation.

**Housing:** First program to be initiated would be the Comprehensive Housing and Relocation Study, cited in the Relocation Goal. Next, the development of open sites by installing needed utilities and the establishment of a Housing Development Corporation. This would be followed by development of programs for construction of new housing on open developed sites or redevelopment sites.

Vacant dilapidated units would be demolished early in the program.

Rehabilitation of sub-standard housing could take place that would not cause major dislocation. Upon completion of new housing units, families and individuals from dilapidated housing, major rehabilitation projects and those dislocated from major improvement projects could be relocated. Simultaneously the program for assistance toward homeownership could be in effect.

**Economic Development:** The immediate need under this component is to provide redevelopment land (land that is currently occupied by vacant, obsolete, and deteriorated structures) for existing industries whose facilities have become obsolete for the construction of new facilities. Therefore, the program approach to develop blighted land and install facilities would be of first priority.

While this action is being initiated under an NDP program, a Comprehensive Economic Base Study would begin which would include an employment study, an update of the 1965 economic base study, and long range industrial and commercial development plans.

A Comprehensive Employment Program would be organized and implemented. This would be followed shortly by the program to identify characteristics of MNA households below the CPIC, and the development programs, according to household needs, to boost incomes above the CPIC.

The demolition of dilapidated non-residential buildings would begin under the NDP program along with demolition under the Physical Environment Component.

Restoring of industrial and commercial buildings would begin with the reorganization of the Cohoes Industrial Development and Redevelopment Corporation as a Community Development Corporation.

A long range CBD plan and industrial development plan would begin to be implemented through a Community Development Corporation.

**Physical Environment:** The program approach to which the greatest attention should first be given is the adoption and enforcement of the necessary regulatory controls. This approach also serves as an alternate approach, in the event that sufficient financial resources are unavailable, or other problems arise, which might prevent the implementation of other program approaches under this component. The strategy behind this is that if an effective system of regulatory controls is established, individual, corporate or other organized initiative could be marshalled to correct deficiencies in the physical environment.

The execution of various planning studies under the above approach would begin early in the program. These studies are described throughout the plan and include historic preservation, thoroughfare plan, Erie Canal trail development, housing, and relocation, commercial and industrial development, etc.

During the first year of the program, engineering studies, drawings, specifications, etc., would be completed for the development of 60 acres of recreation and open public spaces.

The construction of sewer intercepts would begin in the first year to eliminate the open polluted canals, and would continue through and be completed by the end of the five year period, including sewer treatment facilities.

The selection of alternate sites for solid waste disposal would be completed by the end of the first year with sites available by the second year for the removal and disposal of various solid wastes.

**Comprehensive studies:** Several comprehensive studies will be conducted during the first year action program.

The following studies will be conducted under the "701" Program:

- Housing and Relocation.
- Open Spaces.
- Historic Preservation.
- Economic Base Study.
- Thoroughfare Plan.

These studies are necessary for the following reasons:

1. To obtain detail and sufficient data, presently not available, for program planning and implementation.
2. To obtain data in order to establish proper measures for program evaluation.

3. To determine projects and activities, their priorities, feasibility, cost estimates, cost benefits, analyses required to properly achieve the long-range goals and five-year objectives of this plan submission.

However, projects and activities will be undertaken during the first year which are related to the comprehensive studies.

These projects have been selected because sufficient information is presently available to require completion of these programs, financial resources are available and the need is apparent.

Examples of such programs are the Neighborhood Development Program as part of the Economic Development Component, Restoration of the early American Theater, as part of Culture and Recreation of the Human Resources Component. As these studies are being conducted, other projects and activities will be formulated.

Other studies coinciding with the strategy herein described will be:

- Social Services and Activities.
- Health.
- Police Services.

These studies will result in a sound program development for the entire community.

In conclusion, the overall strategy and goal of the Cohoes Model Cities Program, as visualized by the CDA, is the elimination of social and economic problems so common to our many cities, the elimination of physical blight and the sound development of the entire city. When we realize that the City of Cohoes is a small city of 20,000 people, and its problems can be defined and are controllable, this goal is not impractical or unrealistic. The attainment of this goal depends on the commitment of the community. The CDA believes that the people of the City of Cohoes will fully dedicate themselves to this goal and show the nation that the problems of the cities can be solved through total community effort.

CHIEF OTHA THOMAS CUSTALOW

HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, it is not too well known outside of the nearby Eighth Congressional District of Virginia, but in this historic area are contained the reservations of two Indian tribes: the Mattaponi and the Pamunkey.

Today on the Mattaponi Indian Reservation, near West Point, Va., burial services were held for Chief Otha Thomas Custalow of the Mattaponi Tribe.

Chief Custalow was an ordained Baptist minister. On Sundays he preached the Gospel of Christ to his small gathering of faithful servants. During the week he taught Indian history to schoolchildren and adults. He frequently visited other nearby schools to tell young people about his tribe and their ancestry.

Chief Custalow was a descendant of Powhatan and Pocahontas. Among the most treasured possessions in his small museum was a necklace worn by Pocahontas. He frequently spoke of his desire to visit the grave of Pocahontas near London, England; and at the time of his death, an effort was being made to grant the chief his lifetime wish.

Chief Custalow was a persuasive, articulate, and colorful spokesman for

the American Indian. He used such phrases as "big birds flying across the blue waters"—transatlantic flights—the "happy hunting grounds," and the "great beyond."

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a eulogy written by one of Chief Custalow's many friends:

CHIEF OTHA THOMAS CUSTALOW, 1898-1969  
(By Capt. Frank A. Manson, U.S. Navy, retired, director, National Security and Foreign Affairs, VFW)

Chief Otha Thomas Custalow was a man of God. He was a man of Peace. He believed in the Resurrection and the Life Everlasting. He loved his people, their traditions and he loved the American flag. He loved his family and he loved the soil and the dust to which his body has returned. He loved the meadows, the streams, the trees and the source of all life, the Great Spirit.

May the life of Chief Custalow be an inspiration for all Americans to remain steadfast in their courage and faithful in their ideals; to persevere in their adversity; to rejoice in their bounty—and to love their God, the source of all blessings.

May the people of America build a monument on this Mattaponi Reservation which will honor Chief Custalow's memory. May that monument be higher than the tallest tree to reflect his stature among men. May his face and his arms be lifted toward the Heavens where his spirit and love reside. And may his face wear the smile of serenity and purpose for he was a Great Chief with a great vision.

#### LETTER FROM A YOUNG CONSTITUENT

#### HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, the startling perception and eloquence of young children can often be of great value to their elders, if the latter group will only take the time to pay sufficient attention.

Last week the House narrowly rejected an amendment which would have raised the appropriation for water pollution control from \$600 million to \$1 billion. Subsequently, I received a letter from David Stanley, a third-grader at Fairfax School in Cleveland Heights, Ohio, which states in the clearest possible terms why this action was a mistake.

I include David's letter in the RECORD, and ask that my colleagues take careful note of his words:

FAIRFAX SCHOOL,  
CLEVELAND HEIGHTS, OHIO,  
October 3, 1969.

DEAR SIR: Our class went on a boat ride down the Cuyahoga River. We saw factories dumping scraps and waste in the river. We saw people throwing bottles and paper in the river. I got sick of the water. I would like to swim in the water. I would like to have a nice boat ride on a nice river.

It is sad to look at filthy water. We are doing experiments about dirty water. Alum helps clean the dirty water. Please help us to stop polluting Lake Erie and the Cuyahoga River.

Sincerely,

DAVID STANLEY,  
Grade 3, Fairfax School.

CXV—1961—Part 23

#### BIG TRUCK BILL

#### HON. FRED SCHWENDEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. SCHWENDEL. Mr. Speaker, my editorials for today are from the Louisville Times, Louisville, Ky., and station WAVE, Louisville, in the State of Kentucky. The editorials follow:

#### AID AND COMFORT FOR TRUCK LOBBY

The Nixon administration has acknowledged it has reservations about the safety of permitting bigger trucks than the goliaths now roaming the highways, as certainly it should have. However, it isn't letting this prevent it from encouraging the idea.

Instead of joining forces with the various highway safety groups opposing the trucking industry's highway-monster bill now before Congress, the administration's highway chief, Francis C. Turner, has actually given it qualified support. As he told a House subcommittee the other day, he thinks it would be good for the country. However, if it is to be enacted at this session he wants the effective date postponed three years to give the administration time to work out safety standards. This is like graduating the class dudard and then giving him a test.

Figures his own department has publicized in the past should resolve any doubts Mr. Turner may have about the safety factor. These show that the big trucks now in use figure in 19 per cent of all highway deaths even though they constitute only 7 per cent of the registered motor vehicles. Isn't that horrible enough without worsening the ratio with wider and heavier trucks?

As for the heavy damage that would be done to highways by the proposed super-goliaths—well, this the Nixon spokesman airily dismissed as something that, in his opinion, would be outweighed by the bountiful economic benefits that would come from hauling larger cargoes than present law allows, which is a generous 72,280 pounds per truck.

Economic benefits to whom besides the big truck owners? Maybe funeral directors and operators and auto graveyards would share in the boom, but who else? Certainly not the hard-pressed state governments whose taxpayers must foot the high cost of highway maintenance without help from Washington.

News accounts of Mr. Turner's testimony mention \$300 million as the estimated cost of upgrading the interstate system to accommodate the bigger tractor-trailer rigs that are proposed. That is no small sum, to be sure, but critics of the truckers' bill have put the probable cost (including maintenance) at closer to \$3 billion.

Whatever the figure, it is more than taxpayers ought to have to bear for the benefit of an industry that many believe is oversubsidized already. But even if one joins the Nixon administration in ignoring this not unimportant factor, there remains the even more important safety element about which it acknowledges misgiving. That it can give the truckers' bill even conditional support in these circumstances is, as one congressional critic has aptly expressed it, truly incredible.

[WAVE editorial, Aug. 21, 1969]

#### TRUCKS: THEY'RE PLENTY BIG ENOUGH

Trucks play a vital role in transporting the food, produce and materials that keep our complex society moving and growing. For this WAVE salutes the trucking industry. But we cannot endorse the industry's effort to win

congressional approval of legislation to permit bigger and heavier trucks on interstate highways.

The American Trucking Association, which sponsors the bill, wants to use trucks 10 feet longer, six inches wider and 35,000 pounds heavier on the interstate roads. The ATA says the bigger trucks could, by hauling more cargo, help keep truck shipping rates from going up. And Paul Young, Executive Secretary of the Kentucky Motor Transport Association, says that without wide use of bigger trucks rates are sure to go up.

While bigger trucks might let the industry operate more economically, there are major flaws in the truckers' arguments. For one thing, public safety would certainly suffer. The Federal Highway Administration says trucks of over 60,000 pounds weight are at least implicated in 19 percent of all highway fatalities. Yet trucks represent only seven percent of the vehicles on the roads.

Another factor is highway maintenance. The Bureau of Public Roads estimates that passage of the truck size increase would add nearly six billion dollars to expected cost for repair and construction on interstate roads in the first ten years. And all the talk about bigger trucks using the interstates ignores the fact that they must also use the smaller and less durable secondary roads to get onto and off of the interstates. That would result in higher state outlays for road maintenance. And the hazards of bigger trucks on secondary roads are even greater than for the interstates.

We hope Congress will reject the industry's bid for bigger and heavier trucks just as it did in 1968.

#### WOMEN'S WEEK

#### HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, the past half-century has witnessed important changes in the status of women in our society. These dramatic changes have been reflected in the labor force. This trend toward increased employment becomes evident if you consider the statistics.

For the most part, the change was gradual. It was World War II, with its sudden demands on manpower resources, which gave women the impetus needed to work outside the home under socially acceptable conditions.

Due to a prospering national economy, and a better climate of acceptance of women as part of the Nation's work force, there has been a 4-million rise in the number of women workers in recent years.

The biggest step in this direction was the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VII of that act prohibits discrimination in employment on grounds of sex. The law provides that no woman can legally be discriminated against because she is a woman.

Women have made considerable headway in the face of seemingly insurmountable barriers. The time may not be far off when the public will ask why a woman is not working rather than why she is.

## CO-OP AT DREXEL

## HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, the Drexel Institute of Technology in my city of Philadelphia, is an institution which has long commanded my admiration and respect.

Drexel has a tradition of innovation and imaginative administration. One of its programs, the work-study cooperative or co-op plan, provides a perfect example.

The program at Drexel is now in its golden anniversary year and it is as relevant today as it was back in 1919.

One of the more compelling features of this program is the opportunity it provides young people, working within the system, to see and judge the system firsthand. Having had this opportunity, very few Drexel men and women drop out, an interesting commentary in itself.

Judgments based on hearsay are inadmissible in our courts because traditionally they have been inaccurate, something our youth, eager to judge us all, should keep in mind.

Drexel's co-op program gives a young man or woman a chance to judge for themselves.

With the unanimous consent of my colleagues, I enter in the RECORD an excellent article about the Drexel program written by John J. Tully of the institute for the summer issue of Pennsylvania Business, the official magazine of the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce:

## CO-OP AT DREXEL

(By John J. Tully)

Michael von Moschzisker, whose column, "Light and Lively" runs in the Philadelphia *Bulletin*, recently asked: "How can we ease student unrest? By abolishing the draft? Improving our values? Relaxing campus rules? Clearing channels of communication between administration and students? Naming students to boards of trustees?"

He answered his questions by pointing to Drexel's Co-op system as one way of helping students feel that they are part of things. And co-op is the keystone of Drexel's educational program. Under the fifty-year old plan, for a period of five years, 98 percent of Drexel's day undergraduates spend alternating three or six month periods in Drexel's labs and classrooms and on-the-job in business, industry or government.

By the time he graduates, a Drexel student has had a full, intensive undergraduate program, plus 18 to 24 months of on-the-job education and experience with one or more of over a thousand companies or government agencies, most in Pennsylvania but also spreading from the Arctic Circle to South America.

Many people think of co-op as a work-study program that helps a student earn his tuition, and to some extent it does that. Last year, 3500 Drexel co-ops earned more than \$8,000,000, most of which was spent in Pennsylvania for tuition, clothes, rent, cars, and general expenses.

For Drexel, however, this is incidental. The primary reason for the program is to enable the student to apply his academic education to practical problems, to get firsthand experience early in his college program to help him determine whether his choice of a career is a wise one. It provides the cooperating industries with a steady source of intelligent

college manpower that is a high value, low cost training program, all the while giving the student an appreciation of the system that makes our economy tick.

Early co-op programs began at the University of Cincinnati, Drexel, Northeastern University, Antioch College, Georgia Tech and a few other institutions. Today there is a boom in cooperative education that is confirmed by every set of statistics. The latest figures from the National Commission on Cooperative Education indicate that there are more than 50,000 students in 133 colleges and universities in the United States in some kind of co-op program. In addition to getting an education, they are earning almost \$90,000,000 a year.

Drexel was one of the first to adopt a cooperative education program in 1919. Fifty years later the program is the second largest in the country and one of the most respected. The Cooperative Education Association, made up of the 133 institutions, has its headquarters at Drexel. Stewart B. Collins, head of Drexel's co-op program, is also executive director of the organization.

Although Drexel has been a leader in the Co-op program nationally from its earliest years, it is not content to coast along and is again making an effort to broaden the program at both the undergraduate and graduate levels, in an effort to clarify and deepen the educational goals. In October 1968 there were 1377 engineering students in the Co-op Plan, 540 science students, 1265 students from the College of Business Administration, 194 from Home Economics, 21 from the Humanities and Technology Program and 22 graduate students "Co-oping" in physics and mathematics.

In a talk before the Cooperative Education Conference at Houston, Texas, Drexel's President William W. Hagerty said, "Drexel has had the cooperative program as an important way of life ever since the Co-op Plan was introduced by Drexel President Hollis Godfrey in January 1919.

"The Co-op Plan was given great impetus," Dr. Hagerty continued, "when President Matheson came to Drexel from Georgia Tech in 1921. Since that time Drexel has had four presidents, all of whom have enthusiastically supported cooperative education, through war and depression alike. The Co-op Plan has continually grown and in the process has strengthened our institution."

Dr. Hagerty noted, also, that the five-year cooperative business program student "seems to enjoy an advantage of about \$80 a month in starting salary upon graduation, in comparison with the salary of the four-year business student."

It is equally significant, Dr. Hagerty pointed out, that "out of every 10 Drexel graduates, four go to work with the company for which they 'co-op'd' and four out of the ten go on to graduate school."

Drexel now has full-time day and evening master's programs in all its colleges, doctoral programs in engineering and science and is developing methods to introduce cooperative education at these advanced levels.

The accelerating interest in co-op programs across the country reflects the urgent need for supplemental education towards earlier independence and acknowledges the maturing impact of practical experience on a student who wants to pay his own way.

Harry L. Buck, B.S. in E.E., Drexel 1934, vice-chairman of ITE Imperial and vice-chairman of Drexel's Board of Trustees, said of the Co-op Plan: "I am 101 percent for cooperative education. It produces a healthy attitude towards work. It gives the student an understanding of his own capacities and the opportunities in industry. It gives him a five to eight year head start and a valuable insight into the problems of the working man."

Drexel's students have co-oped from Paoli to Peru, and while the majority work on their co-op assignments in the Delaware Valley, an

increasing number are being offered co-op positions far from home.

For example, one electrical engineering junior spent a co-op period with a South American expedition under the Lamont Geological Observatory staff. He studied radiation of meteorites in the deserts and foothills of the Andes.

A young physics student worked in conjunction with the Applied Physics Laboratory of Johns Hopkins University and spent four months in the Arctic Ocean on a satellite tracking mission.

A business administration major worked as an accountant and assistant manager of a hotel in Antigua, British West Indies. Another spent six months working in London on the complexities of the Common Market.

A fashion merchandiser in Drexel's College of Home Economics did her co-op assignment with La Rinascente, the leading department store in Milan, Italy.

While the number of co-ops in exotic places continues to grow, the majority continues to work close to home base, with such companies as Du Pont, General Electric, Philco, Ford, Pan American World Airways, for agencies of the federal government and departments of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

W. Richard Webster, a business administration major earned "Campus Man of the Year Honors" from Provident Mutual Life Insurance, making him the outstanding Provident college agent in the country. Stephen Palladinetti, an electrical engineer, was named "Co-op Student of the Year" by the Naval Air Engineering Center which employs co-op students from colleges across the country.

Another Drexel engineer, Martin McKinley, earned a special letter of commendation from Pan American World Airways for his outstanding work with their telemetry engineering group, and Barry Block, a Drexel physics major received a commendation plus a monetary award from General Electric for devising an automated data reduction system.

The Drexel Co-op plan offers many practical advantages and many educational opportunities. Perhaps one of the most important is that the student brings back to the classroom new ideas, newly learned techniques, the maturity gained from working in the "real world," the stability that is too often lacking in a "student ghetto."

Alfred North Whitehead, the British philosopher and mathematician, once said: "For successful education there must always be a certain freshness in the knowledge dealt with. It must either be new in itself or it must be invested with some novelty of application to the new world of new times. Knowledge does not keep any better than fish. You may be dealing with knowledge of the old species, with some old truth, but somehow or other it must come to the student, as it were, just drawn out of the sea and with a freshness of its immediate importance."

After fifty years of Co-op, Drexel is convinced that it has the key to a fresh, successful education.

## SALUTE TO NATIONAL BUSINESS WOMEN'S WEEK

## HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, 50 years ago this past July, an organization was formed in the city of St. Louis which has grown to be one of the largest groups of business and professional women in the

country. It is the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, with a membership of 180,000 in all of the 50 States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

During this week of October 19 through the 25th, they are observing National Business Women's Week when the members of the federation salute the achievements of all business and professional women in their communities by means of congresses of career women leaders.

During the entire span of its existence, the national federation has sought to elevate the standards of women in the business and professional fields and many of the women leaders of today were the youthful members of a few years ago who received inspiration and guidance from their association with the organization.

It is a privilege for me to salute the members of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs and its 180,000 members as they observe National Business Women's Week.

DATELINE: SAIGON

**HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN**

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to place in the RECORD a story filed from Saigon and printed in the October 14 Washington Daily News. This item spotlights the two Vietnam wars—the one being fought in Vietnam and the one being carried out in the United States. Especially important here is the American soldiers' feelings about the war they are fighting in the jungles of Vietnam.

The story follows:

As tomorrow's war "moratorium" will demonstrate, there are two Vietnam wars—the one Americans fight in Vietnam, and the one Americans fight in the U.S. Observers here say the decisive battleground is in the U.S.

They point out that short of a highly successful Communist offensive, which is extremely unlikely, or a dramatic allied strategy change, such as renewed bombing of North Vietnam, the killing war in South Vietnam is apt to rock along in its fight-lull-fight rhythm must as it has been, at least until many more U.S. troops are withdrawn.

... As the President warns Americans not to buckle and run, protesters prepare to hit the streets, many of them demanding immediate, unilateral withdrawal of all American troops. That translates here as "bugout."

It is difficult to find an American soldier here who wants to leave Vietnam that way, or as one GI put it, "with our tails dragging." It is difficult to find out—even among those most disgusted with the war—who wishes simply to abandon the South Vietnamese to a Communist bloodbath.

It is difficult to find one who thinks the value of the American word would be worth a dime anywhere in the world if they did, or that a humiliating U.S. defeat by a blustering Communist midget would do anybody but the Communists any good.

These consequences are apparent to most Americans here, and they are not acceptable. It is largely a matter of national backbone. Most express hope that President Nixon

sticks to seeking a reasonable solution to the war.

Many here feel that some of the protesters would do well to focus their moral wrath less on President Nixon and more on the Communists.

It is the Communists, they stress, who are killing Americans. It is the Communists who butchered, as a matter of policy, the civilians of Hue and so many other places, and it is the Communists who will murder methodically thousands more Vietnamese if the U.S. totally, immediately and unconditionally abandons them, as many protesters advocate.

Many here, eyewitnesses to the war, have become anti-war in the truest sense, but they have also become resolutely anti-bugout.

WHAT IS PURPOSE OF MORATORIUM?

**HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the controversy over the true meaning and purpose of the recent moratorium will undoubtedly go on for some time. The Jackson, Mich., Citizen Patriot devoted its editorial page on Wednesday, October 15, to this question in a particularly well stated argument and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

WHAT IS PURPOSE OF MORATORIUM?

Today is "Vietnam Moratorium Day" in America, which has been billed as massive protest by Americans against this country's involvement in a land war in Southeast Asia.

If it lives up to advance notices, the day will see literally millions of Americans staying away from school or work in a demonstration for peace. Although peaceful methods are embraced by the sponsors of the protest, radicals who are out to destroy the American way of life may find it difficult to refrain from the practical application of mob psychology they have used on many regrettable occasions in the past. If they can bring about the spilling of blood, they will be happy.

The over-riding question as this country goes through a shattering emotional experience is: What is the purpose of the moratorium?

If it is to put the American people on record as favoring peace in Asia—and everywhere else in the world—well and good.

No one can quarrel with that objective. Every American desperately wants an end to the killing in Vietnam (and Laos, Thailand and the Middle East).

But is that the prime objective? Do the sponsors have other purposes, such as the political destruction of President Richard M. Nixon?

Do the architects of the moratorium want to force this government to cut and run immediately, leaving American forces to go through a Dunkirk-type evacuation and leave the hundreds of thousands of South Vietnamese who truly oppose communism exposed to the type of genocide of which the North Vietnamese Communists, under their late leader, Ho Chi Minh, have proved themselves so capable?

Are they determined to refuse President Nixon his chance to implement what is emerging as a plan for phased withdrawal from the war, or are they determined to force Americans out of Vietnam immediately and thus assure a total victory for communism in Southeast Asia; without giving the South Vietnamese a chance to save themselves?

There are of course no pat answers to the above questions. The prominent participants in, and the sponsors and supporters of, the Vietnam moratorium are a mixed bag. They range from high-ranking politicians who long have taken a dim view of the war and see a chance for a free ride on a popular issue, to hard-core revolutionaries who want nothing more than a humiliating defeat of America in Vietnam. They would rejoice on the day the red flag replaces the Stars and Stripes over the nation's Capitol.

Sorting the revolutionaries from the truly concerned Americans is not easy, especially since they seem to be making common cause today.

Certainly the Vietnam War is a mess. As the pages of contemporary history unfold America's involvement looms as a tragedy of errors, largely due to dominance of political reaction over reality in the decisions made in the White House.

Lyndon B. Johnson and the Congress which generally has become so critical of the war and Mr. Nixon, shared in the mistakes.

When he became President, Richard M. Nixon was faced with an accomplished fact in the nature of the war and the commitment to end it—somehow.

He has moved cautiously, trying to find the formula for withdrawal without disaster. The solution escaped Mr. Johnson and he ran out of time before he could find it.

President Nixon has made some progress toward ending the war. His phased withdrawal of troops and passing of the burden to the South Vietnamese with the understanding that this is their war to win or lose, represent steps in the right direction. The results of his program have not been totally satisfactory, but at least substantial movement toward ending America's participation in the war has taken place.

The Vietnam moratorium unquestionably is an embarrassment for the man who has to make the decisions; who cannot engage in popular rhetoric without considering the actual consequences on the battlefield and in international diplomacy. The buck, as Harry S. Truman was fond of saying, stops at the President's desk.

In the final analysis, a massive expression of American public opinion on behalf of peace is not inherently bad. This would be especially true if its sponsors also would call on the enemy to move toward peace and would attempt to impeach him in the court of world opinion if he did not.

However, a demonstration aimed solely at forcing the President of the United States to take precipitous action in disengaging from an unpopular war can only do incalculable harm.

That may not be the true purpose of the moratorium, but the evidence is disturbing. We can only hope that the events of this historic day prove that good sense and judgment are behind it and that it does not turn out to be an invitation to disaster.

HUNGER HURTS

**HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, hunger hurts. It hurts the child cramped by an empty stomach, the child without energy or interest enough to run and play. Hunger sets him up as the prime target of disease and illness. Chronic hunger cripples him physically and mentally. And chronic hunger cripples our Nation. It cheats the child out of the responsible,

contributing life he could lead. It cheats America out of the contributions he could have made.

President Nixon has asked Congress to help assure that every American family will have a nutritionally complete diet—that the poorest members of our national community be provided with food stamps free of cost. The commitment to end hunger in our Nation is one in which we can all join the President without regard to party. Hunger is beyond politics; it calls for action now, on a nonpartisan level. I urge that the Congress join with the President in moving to end the curse of hunger in our Nation.

#### NATIONAL BUSINESS WOMEN'S WEEK

### HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, the week of October 19 through 25 is National Business Women's Week. In connection with this week of national observance, the Business and Professional Women's Clubs has made available to Members of Congress its national legislative platform for 1969-70. The club has 180,000 members in every State of the Union, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and the District of Columbia.

I support the idea of a fuller and more significant role for America's business and professional women. Recently in Chicago, I released a statement which embodies that thought:

As the father of three women and the husband of one, I have been made very conscious of the fact that women are the only group in this country which manages to remain a minority while comprising a majority of the population.

I am in favor of constitutional guarantees as well as legislation on all levels to deal with discrimination faced by women as a class in education, employment, childbearing and other areas where arbitrary distinctions are made between the sexes. Our laws as well as many of our underlying attitudes and assumptions must be scrutinized closely with an eye towards erasing the unequal and sometimes even insulting treatment women receive in this society.

Women's rights need to be asserted, protected, and guaranteed.

Mr. Speaker, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs adopted at its July 20-24 convention in St. Louis, Mo., its national legislative platform for 1969-70. I insert that platform at this point in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues. It is a formidable program for action.

The document referred to follows:

NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE PLATFORM ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL CONVENTION JULY 20-24, 1969, ST. LOUIS, MO.

#### ACTION ITEMS

*Item 1. Constitutional Amendment.* Support legislation to amend the Constitution of the United States to provide that equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex.

*Item 2. Actively work for pending legislation providing for:* (a) a broadened head-of-household benefit under the Internal Revenue

Code; (b) increased personal exemption and credit for dependents under the Internal Revenue Code; and (c) a more equitable distribution of the tax burden.

*Item 3. Propose and support legislation to provide:* (a) uniform laws and regulations for men and women as to working hours, working conditions, rates of pay, equal employment opportunity, including retirement for age; (b) equal treatment for working men and women in the area of survivor and retirement benefits; and (c) increased child care deduction under the Internal Revenue Code.

*Item 4. Propose and support state legislation to provide for uniform jury service and uniform qualifications in the selection of men and women to serve on grand or petit juries in any court.*

*Item 5. Propose and support legislation to bring about more effective crime control and law enforcement.*

#### POLICY ITEM

Support measures within the framework of the Constitution of the United States that promote peace and strengthen national security and make more effective the United Nations and such other international organizations of which the United States is a participant, without relinquishment of our basic freedoms.

Special note is called to the United Nations Convention pending before the United States Senate on the political rights of women and to the long-standing support for ratification of this convention by the Federation.

#### PROCEDURE

State federations and clubs are urged to review the National Legislative Platform as published in *National Business Woman*.

Who May Submit Proposed Changes: National Legislation Committee, Executive Committee, National Board of Directors, State Federations. Clubs may also submit suggestions for changes in the National Legislative Platform, but such proposals must be submitted through their state federations for review and possible recommendation.

Procedure For Submitting Proposed Changes:

State federations shall submit proposed changes to the National Executive Offices within ten days after adjournment of their state conventions. Such proposals shall be signed by the state president and forwarded by certified mail with return receipt requested.

The Executive Committee, National Board of Directors and the National Legislation Committee shall submit proposed changes, properly signed, to the National Executive Offices at least 30 days prior to the date the National Legislation Committee convenes, except in cases of emergency. If such proposals are mailed, they shall be forwarded by certified mail with return receipt requested.

### THE LATE HONORABLE ANTONI NICHOLAS SADDLAK

SPEECH OF

### HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 20, 1969

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I was saddened to learn of the passing of the Honorable Antoni Nicholas Sادلak who for 12 years represented the people of the State of Connecticut here in the House of Representatives. I had the pleasure of knowing Toni quite well during those years and always found him a friendly, diligent, hardworking,

and constructive Member. He had many friends here and we shall all miss him. To his dear wife and children and family I express my deepest sympathy in this time of sorrow.

#### MOBILIZATION FOR REVOLUTION

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the National Education Program of 900 East Center Avenue, Searcy, Ark., has issued a special letter having to do with highlights, shocking statements, and activities in the revolutionary conference held in Oakland, Calif. on July 18, 19, 20. The National Education people reduced their report from more than 20 hours of taped speeches and instructions on how to gain control of and replace the present police forces in all of the cities of America.

I include the national program letter, "Mobilization for Revolution":

#### MOBILIZATION FOR REVOLUTION

With the backing of (and undoubtedly under the direction of) the Communist Party USA, a revolutionary army is being formed within the United States to seize control of American institutions, and, finally, the government itself. This is not a bad dream; it is a shocking reality. It is not fiction; it is fact. The National Education Program finally has the evidence in its hands—the actual voices (and in some cases, the motion pictures) of well-known Communist Party leaders and their comrades, the Black Panthers, Students for a Democratic Society and other elements of the revolutionary force being mobilized.

We had a representative in the auditorium at Oakland, California on July 18, 19, 20, when a unification of revolutionary forces was achieved and a step-by-step program was launched toward the achievement of the violent overthrow of the United States government. We obtained from the central microphone, mounted on the Conference dais, a recording of every word spoken. We have more than 20 hours of taped speeches and instructions on how to gain control of and replace the present police forces in all the cities of America; instructions on "killing pigs" (policemen) from a nationally-prominent "revolutionary" lawyer, and pledges of support from Communist forces in nations around the world.

The highlights and the most shocking statements and activities at the Revolutionary Conference called by the Black Panther Party for the formation of "A United Front to Combat Fascism" in the U.S.A. have been condensed into a 60-minute tape (one 7-inch reel at 3¾ speed) and we are offering this tape for sale at production cost (\$10) as a public service. Particularly because the American press virtually ignored the conference, which was attended by an estimated 4,000 delegates representing approximately 300 revolutionary movements within the nation, it is vitally important that every American of high school age and up hear this tape. We have reason to believe that its entire contents is not available anywhere else in America.

Government officials in Washington who have heard it have asked for copies of the tape condensation and of the entire 20 hours of recordings. Acts of treason as revealed in the condensed tape may move the Justice Department toward some penalizing and protective actions.

With the public dissemination of this tape, newspaper editorialists and headline writers (and many "reporters") can no longer say: "Oh, this rioting on the campuses is merely 'student unrest,' the revolutionaries are merely 'dissidents' who want only to reform university and college policies; and the continuing ambushing of metropolitan policemen has no national significance." The tape proves such statements to be false. The two inside pages of this Letter contains excerpts. We are planning for an expected distribution of thousands of copies of the tape.

FROM THE NEP TAPE "MOBILIZATION FOR REVOLUTION"

Herbert Aptheker, Communist

Keynote of the Revolutionary unification conference was Dr. Herbert Aptheker, the theoretician of the Communist Party USA and considered by top Congressional investigators as the "brains" of the revolutionary forces within the United States. His appearance as keynote dramatized the power wielded over the assembled 300 revolutionary groups by World Communism, and especially over the Black Panthers, who arranged the conference. Here is an excerpt of Aptheker— from the tape:

"I deeply appreciate the honor of speaking here this evening. For me the honor is multiplied since J. Edgar Hoover has denounced this meeting's main initiator, the Black Panther Party, as, quoting: '... without question the greatest threat to the internal security of the country.' If J. Edgar Hoover condemns something, it must be good. And if J. Edgar Hoover condemns something in terms of great severity, then it must be very good indeed. To be attacked by the chief cop of America is a magnificent tribute. May the Black Panther Party in the future continue to merit the diatribes issuing from his foul mouth. In a way, in a distorted way, J. Edgar is right: that is, black militant men and women certainly do represent a decisive challenge to the internal security of the United States—if such security is identified with the interests of its present ruling class." (applause)

Archie Brown, Communist

Archie Brown, one of the most notorious Communists in America, a leader of the Communist attack upon the House Un-American Affairs Committee in San Francisco 10 years ago, commanded celebrity attention at the conference. From the tape, Brown says:

"Thank you, Roscoe. I do want to say, number one, that I'm most grateful to the organizers of this conference for being able to be here—because it's about time somebody realized the need for a United Front against reaction and fascism and it's wonderful that the organizers—the Black Panthers—organized this conference. The point I want to make is that when people see their needs and want to fight they are going to fight—injunctions or no injunctions, police or no police, and this working class is going to organize and fight in its majority, and it's going to win. And it's going to lead the way to take over the government and make it a government for the workers and for the people. I think we can help win the working class and their unions to a program to defeat fascism—and for progress and socialism in this country." (When a Communist calls for progress and socialism, he is calling for Communism as it is practiced in the Communist world today.)

SDS: "TAKEOVER!"

Jeff Jones is the newly elected national Inter-organizational Secretary of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), which Mr. Hoover has branded "Communist-Anarchist," and which too many newspapers mother and protect with such nonsense as "student unrest." He tells explicitly how SDS works for campus violence as a part of World Revolu-

tion in the following statement at the conference:

"We feel that what's happening on the campuses is intricately tied with what's happening to the people who are oppressed within the United States and throughout the world by the system of imperialism and its fascists-terroristic oppression. The fight that's being waged on the campuses, when it's waged solely on the campuses, is a fight that can end up only on the campuses. That's not where we're at (SDS) at all. That's not where we as an organization of young revolutionaries are trying to move the student movement. We are trying to link it up to working class movements with support for the right of self-determination of black and brown people in this country and of all people oppressed and colonized by U.S. imperialism throughout the world as the primary key upon which we're trying to build our movement.

"We don't care that he (Senator McClellan) is activating or proposing new laws. Our response to those new laws is going to be to come back this fall on the campuses after a summer building, organizing projects with revolutionary working class youth throughout this country—our program is going to be to come back on the campuses this fall and hit them harder than they've ever been hit before. We say that people who have been oppressed and colonized by imperialists and fascism have the right to get into those institutions and by doing that are going to change the class nature of those institutions until we've destroyed capitalism."

"THE FINAL STRUGGLE"

Now hear this—the SDS spokesman calling for armed attack upon the United States:

"The struggle that is going to ultimately defeat United States imperialism, the imperialism that is affecting the people of the entire world, is going to be an international struggle, it's going to be an armed struggle, it's going to be a struggle that's going to have to take place in the Third World against U.S. imperialism and in the mother country (the U.S.) against U.S. imperialism. But we must be clear on how the final struggle will be waged. Students must be opening up the campuses to the working class—must be going into the working class communities, becoming part of the proletariat and must be getting ready for armed struggle." (This is a war cry—from a Campus agitator whom much of the American press describes as "a dissident.")

Pick Up The Gun

Don Cox, Field Marshall of the Black Panther Party (whose hundreds of well-armed cadres wear the trappings of Storm Troopers) exposed the true nature of his powerful forces: "All power to the people! All Power to the people! Huey P. Newton (Black Panther official in prison for 'killing a policeman) says: 'Any unarmed people are slaves or subject to slavery at any given moment—the racist dog police must withdraw from the black community or face the wrath of the armed people.' The Black Panther Party has a motto—it is a quote by Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Chinese Communist Party: 'We are the advocates of the abolition of war. We do not want war. War can only be abolished through war. In order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to pick up the gun!' Power to the people!" (great applause)

Sovietizing U.S. Army

Trouble has erupted within the U.S. Armed Services wherever American servicemen are stationed—as never before in history. One of the most chilling statements made at the Oakland Revolutionary conference was that of Andy Stapp, national chairman of the American Servicemen's Union. He expects, with revolutionary cadres, to foment disorder and finally overthrow the officer corp in the

services, thus taking over the final U.S. defense against revolutionary overthrow. From the tape:

"In the United States itself and around the world the troops of the U.S. Imperialist army are also learning about how to fight against fascism. The ASU is playing a leading role in this fight, this organizing drive. We have chapters on 60 large military installations in the U.S. and 40 overseas. Just as the Bolshevik Party organized through the Soviets in 1917 against the Czar and the repressions in Russia, the American Servicemen's Union is organizing Soviets within the U.S. Imperialist army. Right now the ASU is building an army within an army, a workers militia inside the U.S. Army, and along with the Panthers and others we're going to make that revolution. Power to the People!" (In the tape, he gives details of successful revolts by GIs, agitated by his revolutionary cadres.)

Comrade Women

Carol Henry, one of the leaders in Black Panther women activities:

"The lines of demarcation have been clearly drawn between the pig oppressor and the people. And as Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: 'Fear no sacrifice. Surmount every difficulty—and win, win, win to victory.' I must remind you that there cannot be a successful struggle against fascism unless the broad masses of women are drawn into it."

Marlene Dixon, Doctor of Sociology, UCLA:

"The radical women's liberation movement was created by an international revolutionary movement and is part of it. As a very great woman, assassinated by the German government as a dangerous revolutionary, Rosa Luxemburg, once said: 'The history of revolutionary struggle is the history of failure, but you only need to win once.' And we shall win. All power to the people!"

Ora Williams, Colorado women's leader:

"Chairman Mao says that: 'A revolutionary must have largeness of mind. He should be staunch and active, looking upon the interest of the revolution as his very life, as subordinating his personal interest to those of the revolution, always and everywhere ...' We have a five weeks old daughter, who has been instilled with revolutionary principles—this was inborn in her from revolutionary parents ... She was born a revolutionary and will die one. The Red Book (of Mao Tse-tung) is my bible, the gun is my staff. All power to the people!"

Lawyer Says "Shoot"

William Kuntzler, lawyer defender of Black Panther gangsters and other law breakers of the "New Left" incites the Negro community in America to aggressive armed action against the police:

"If you have the power to defend yourself by weapons that are legal, then you have the power to start to rid the ghetto of the overriding fear of invasion that paralyzes so much action. You have the power to put an end to one of the chief drawbacks of all black communities—the control of the black community by white policemen ... It is almost worse to be ready and able to defend yourselves, and to freeze on the trigger when the time comes, because then you will have told the power structure that they need not fear you."

Hewitt comments: "You know, we always say, it's a very old saying of all people, that 'the best defense is a good offense.' That's why we dropped that 'self defense' (in the Black Panther Party name) a long time ago. And there's no need for it in the name of the Black Panther Party."

International Mobilization

Communist Parties and Communist organizations throughout the world sent "greetings" to the revolutionary conference. Here is the communication from the Tokyo Communist League, Tokyo, Japan, as read

by Raymond "Masai" Hewitt, "United Front" conference chairman:

"Communist League sends strong solidarity on behalf of Japanese militants, revolutionary workers and students. Today, modern imperialism is rapidly revealing its fascistic nature all over the world. We must together establish our proletarian dictatorship to combat and destroy fascism-imperialism . . . our struggle should be a violent one to resist and destroy the violence of establishment power. We proletariat of the Brown nations must form a practical link with the struggle for liberation in the Third World and eventually to win in the struggle for world revolution . . ."

Hewitt remarks: "We have reliable information that these revolutionary young brothers and sisters in Japan control almost all the major campuses within Japan. They have invited the Black Panther Party to send representatives. Well, we'll be looking forward to that."

#### SUMMARY

The National Education Program has never before had in its possession a document as important as "Mobilization for Revolution"—the 60-minute tape of the highlights of the Revolutionary "United Front" conference at Oakland July 18, 19, 20. It is my strong belief that if enough Americans hear this tape (and then see our documentary motion picture which features the conference as well as other revolutionary gatherings and activities—scheduled for release late this fall), there will come about a change in the attitude of our government leadership toward World Communism, subversive forces working within our nation, and particularly toward "campus strife"—which is largely traceable to SDS and other revolutionary forces tied in with the world revolution directed from Moscow and Peking. Every reader of this Special edition of the NEP Letter should obtain a copy of this tape and dedicate himself to reaching every person in his community with it. A nation thoroughly informed on the nature of its Enemy, the plans of the Enemy, and the tactics of the Enemy surely can defend itself from the Enemy. The United States is not yet adequately informed or adequately defending itself as the Enemy's strength grows. We are continuing to lose the great battle for man's freedom—a battle we can and should be winning.—Dr. George S. Benson

#### VIETNAM COMMUNISM'S WAR

### HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is important that Americans understand that Vietnam is a part of communism's continuing war against the West. It is not President Nixon's war.

President Nixon did not send the troops that are in Vietnam to Vietnam. His predecessor did that and much of today's criticism that President Nixon is not getting out of Vietnam fast enough is encouraged by politicians who were gung ho for L. B. J. sending a half million Americans over there.

This war is not a war at all in the sense of offensive action on the part of the West or its allies. When Vietnam was partitioned, the United States committed itself to support South Vietnam if it was attacked by North Vietnam. South Vietnam was attacked. It has been the subject of continuing Communist aggression and subversive infiltration from

the North and neighboring states. We honored our commitment.

Now President Nixon is acting to transfer the defense of South Vietnam to the South Vietnamese and to withdraw Americans honorably. He is seeking commitments from the enemy, presumably not only to let the Americans withdraw without attack but to protect South Vietnam from attack after we have gone.

Whether such a commitment will be honored more in the breach than in the observance is a good question, but this is communism's war, not Nixon's war as has been well pointed out in a recent statement by Mr. Wilson C. Lucom, president of the U.S. Anti-Communist Congress, and corroborated by the distinguished columnist David Lawrence in today's Washington Star.

Mr. Lucom's statement and Mr. Lawrence's column follow:

#### STATEMENT OF MR. WILSON C. LUCOM

Vietnam is communism's war not Nixon's war. Hanoi, Moscow and their faithful allies in the United States are now attempting to pin the label "Nixon's war" on the Vietnam conflict.

Whose war is it and who started it? It was started by Ho Chi Minh, a man who dedicated his entire adult life to the cause of totalitarian communism. It has been perpetuated by the Communist States, U.S.S.R. and Red China, who have supplied the Communist aggressors in Vietnam with all the war materiel needed for the subjugation of the people of South Vietnam.

Peace would have come to Vietnam fifteen years ago if the Communists had not been determined to impose their oppressive system of dictatorship on all the Vietnamese people including those who did not want to live under Communist dictatorship.

Anatoly Kuznetsov, recognized by the rulers of the U.S.S.R. as their leading writer until his escape to freedom has said: "I consider that the war continues in Vietnam only because of the Soviet Union." (CBS interview broadcast 9/2/69.)

The widely-read negro columnist, Carl Rowan has written: "Any fair-minded observer must admit that it is Nixon who has made the concession to peace and it is the Communists who are obdurate." (Washington Star, 10/12/69.)

The true label is Vietnam communism's war not Nixon's war.

The Communists expect to win their war by deluding and confusing the American people. They are doing this through those prominent people in our midst who tell us we are doomed to defeat, that our defense of freedom for the people of South Vietnam who do not want to live under Communism is dirty and unjust.

This is no secret. The Communist Central Committee of North Vietnam on September 2, 1969, sent a telegram, published in the Communist Daily World (9/3/69), in which it thanked the organizations and prominent Americans who had made a "positive contribution" to the defeat of the United States which strongly encourages their people in their struggle.

We urge these organizations and prominent Americans to stop making positive contributions to the Communist cause and to stop giving encouragement to the Communists.

True peace can only be achieved by showing the Communist that they cannot win by their propaganda activities in the United States what they have not been able to win on the battlefield. We further urge all thinking Americans not to be misled by Communist propaganda but to tell it like it is, this is communism's war not Nixon's war.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, Oct. 21, 1969]

#### RED ROLE IN VIETNAM NEEDS AIRING

(By David Lawrence)

How many Americans know who are the real enemies of the United States in the Vietnam war? Two governments have helped the North Vietnamese to kill or wound tens of thousands of Americans in the last five years. So, when an enemy boastfully and officially acknowledges the military assistance it is giving the Hanoi government, the item might at least be expected to make news to our front pages.

This correspondent read many newspapers last Sunday morning and nowhere found printed a dispatch distributed by the United Press International wire on Saturday night which read as follows:

"Moscow.—A North Vietnamese delegation led by Premier Pham Van Dong left Moscow Saturday to return to Hanoi.

"Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin and other officials saw off the North Vietnamese at the railway station. The North Vietnamese will visit Volgograd, the former Stalingrad, en route to Hanoi.

"The delegation arrived last Monday and during its stay signed a new agreement for Soviet military and economic aid to North Vietnam for the coming year."

Reuters News Service sent over its wires in this country yesterday afternoon the following dispatch:

"HONG KONG.—Russia declared its readiness to give all necessary assistance to the Vietnamese Communists until they achieve complete victory in South Vietnam, a joint Soviet North Vietnamese communique released today said.

"The communique issued at the end of a one-week visit to Russia by a North Vietnamese delegation led by Premier Pham Van Dong said . . . Russia fully supported conditions put forward by the Vietnamese communists for a settlement and demanded the U.S. put an end to its aggression and withdraw its troops from South Vietnam 'completely and unconditionally.'"

Developments of this kind have, of course, been reported in the press hitherto when similar action was taken. But somehow the information has never been given attention inside the United States, especially by dissenters who have been engaging in antiwar "demonstrations" and are supposed to be readers of the news in the press.

Yesterday morning, some papers did print on the front page an Associated Press dispatch on the subject which said that, according to U.S. government sources, the level of Soviet arms aid to Hanoi has dropped considerably in recent months but that this does not mean "any abandonment of Moscow's policy of large-scale material support for Hanoi's war effort."

The North Vietnamese, of course, need less and less anti-aircraft equipment now because the United States has halted the bombing of the North. Also, the ground war in the South has been slowed down. The Associated Press said further:

"According to estimates from U.S. sources, total Soviet aid to North Vietnam reached a peak of about \$700 million in 1967, of which about \$500 million was military and \$200 million economic. In 1968, the year in which U.S. bombing of the North was cut back in April and halted entirely in November, Soviet arms aid is estimated to have dropped to around \$300 million."

But while military aid is being cut somewhat, economic aid is climbing. Red China is estimated to be continuing its assistance at the rate of approximately \$200 million a year, more than half of which is in military items, primarily small arms and ammunition. Communist East Europe has been providing about \$145 million of aid annually to North Vietnam.

Why hasn't this information been emphasized throughout the country? Why aren't the American people told how much the Soviets and the Red Chinese have done to bring about casualties in South Vietnam year after year? Do the critics in Congress approve of a continuance of diplomatic relations with any government that is actively helping the enemy?

What has the Senate Foreign Relations Committee done about this problem? Committee members snipe at their own government for trying to protect American troops in Vietnam by employing certain forces in Laos, but criticism of Russian and Red Chinese intrigue in Asia is being omitted. An open debate on Communist participation in the Vietnam war would be more constructive than the so-called "Moratorium" speeches that have been made in recent days inside and outside of Congress.

**BLUEJACKETS GUARD OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA— JUVENILE DECENCY IN ACTION**

**HON. JOHN M. MURPHY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, since its inception in 1936, the Corps of Naval Cadets of the Bluejackets Guard of the United States of America has provided patriotic, recreational, and educational youth activities for thousands of youngsters through its "juvenile decency in action" program. New York's leading naval youth organization, headquartered at 5206 Seventh Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y., is to be saluted for its untiring efforts to alleviate juvenile delinquency, curtail teenage drug addiction, and encourage youngsters to complete their education. Last year the week of November 1-7 was proclaimed "Bluejacket Guard Week" in tribute to this remarkable nonprofit, nonsectarian organization serving boys and girls aged 8 to 18, and June 3 of this year was proclaimed "Bluejackets Guard Day" in the Borough of Brooklyn. I hope similar honors will be forthcoming in the days ahead. In further tribute to these young men and women, I include, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, the following citations from Bluejacket Day:

**WELCOME ABOARD**

In sharp contrast to the student sit-ins and youthful rebellion in general against all authority, which seems to be sweeping many of our Nation's youths underscored by their total disregard for personal appearance and good grooming; the parents of our cadets will have the personal gratification of observing their children wearing their uniforms with pride and deep respect for their God and Country.

Over the years our dedicated staff of officers have given their time freely and devoted their energies to inculcate our cadets with the knowledge that they will receive greater satisfaction in life through personal initiative than standing by waiting for a helping hand.

With over three decades of service to American youth, we sincerely believe our program of "Juvenile Decency in Action," exemplifies the immortal words of the late President John F. Kennedy, "Ask not what your coun-

try can do for you, but what you can do for your country."

Today, we see the members of the U.S. Armed Forces scattered over the face of the globe, in whose ranks are a number of our former bluejackets. Many of them are in Viet Nam, standing watch on the frontiers of democracy. To these gallant protectors of freedom—"Godspeed."

FRANK W. RICE,  
Captain, Bluejackets Guard, U.S.A.,  
Commandant.

**BLUEJACKETS GUARD DETACHMENT**

The Bluejackets Guard of the United States of America, was founded in 1936, chartered in the State of New York, and is a completely independent, non-profit nonsectarian naval cadet youth organization. Through our much publicized program of "Juvenile Decency in Action," we have devoted over a quarter of a century of leadership and service exclusively to the youth of America—exemplifying the finest principles of good citizenship and character building.

Almost daily, headlines about juvenile delinquency point to the need for a fine and active youth organization that can fill the leisure hours of energetic youngsters. The Bluejackets Guard has accepted this challenge by channeling their interests into wholesome activities and community service. Thus reducing the possibility of them falling into delinquent habits.

During the summer months when both the thermometer and youth crime rate soars, the Bluejackets Guard gives youngsters the opportunity to go to our naval youth center, known as Camp Alert Summer Naval Camp and located in Ulster County in the State of New York.

The Bluejackets Guard, U.S.A. has been commended by many prominent citizens, officials of Federal, State and local government, veterans' organizations, principals and teachers of schools, social and welfare workers.

**CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS.**

MESSAGE TO BLUEJACKETS GUARD, USA, ON THE OCCASION OF THEIR 33D ANNUAL REVIEW

The response of our young people to the challenges of patriotism and productive citizenship has never been more important to our country's future than it is today. Courage, loyalty and adherence to principle must be the trademarks of those who will inherit the leadership of our nation in years to come. I know that the young men and women of the Bluejackets Guard accept the challenge of service to their country and community with dedication and enthusiasm.

I extend to you on the occasion of your 33rd annual review my best wishes for success in this most worthy and important endeavor.

T. H. MOORER,  
Admiral, U.S. Navy.

The COMMANDANT OF THE U.S. COAST GUARD,

Washington.

DEAR CAPTAIN RICE: On behalf of the United States Coast Guard, I extend my warmest greetings on the occasion of the thirty-third Annual Military Review of the Bluejackets Guard of the United States of America.

In these troubled times, your organization is to be commended for instilling the ideals of patriotism, discipline and service in the minds of the young people who will one day be our future leaders. I congratulate the Bluejackets Guard upon its splendid contribution to citizenship training and wish it many additional years of successful endeavor.

Sincerely yours,  
W. J. SMITH,  
Admiral, U.S. Coast Guard.

**HUE MASSACRE FORESHADOWED RESULTS OF "BUG-OUT" BY THE UNITED STATES**

**HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post carried an excellent editorial recently by Mr. Joseph Alsop, which I highly recommend to my colleagues and those engaged in the Vietnam moratorium.

Mr. Alsop quite correctly points out the massacre of a couple of million South Vietnamese that would ensue if the United States would "bug-out" and leave the South Vietnamese to their fate. On many occasions before this House I have pointed out the similarity between the bloody and brutal Hue massacre with the Katyn massacre in showing that the Communist tiger has not changed its stripes.

Of greater significance would be our eclipse as a great Pacific power which began more than a century ago and became firmly established after the Two World Wars. If we were to listen to those quislings and iconoclasts amongst us and accept a defeat in Vietnam—instead of backing our President to seek an honorable conclusion to this war—we would invite "wars of liberation" all over the world which would have cataclysmic effects.

For those who would endanger our institutions and civilization, I would like to quote Lord Macaulay when he commented on American institutions in a letter dated May 23, 1857, to an American friend, Henry S. Randall, who was preparing a biography of Thomas Jefferson:

Either some Caesar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand; or your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the Twentieth century as the Roman Empire was in the Fifth—with this difference . . . that your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own country by your own institutions.

Mr. Alsop's timely and excellent article follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Oct. 15, 1969]

**HUE MASSACRE FORESHADOWED RESULTS OF "BUG-OUT" BY UNITED STATES**

(By Joseph Alsop)

Suppose the vociferous supports of the Vietnam moratorium get what they want. Suppose they are finally able to force what the President succinctly calls a "bug-out." Then what?

For the students who advocate a violent revolution in this country, the foregoing question has no importance, of course. They may be, indeed they are, irresponsible, self-intoxicated young fools. But they are at least more forthright than the senators and college professors and other bug-out advocates who pretend to be responsible persons, yet will not face the predictable consequences of the bug-out they are calling for so loudly.

The first consequence, as anyone can foresee, will be the cold-blooded massacre of a couple of million South Vietnamese who

have put their faith and trust in the United States. If anyone doubts this, he had better study the hideous massacre of about 3,500 old men, women and children that was perpetrated by the Communists when they occupied the city of Hue for a couple of weeks.

The Hue massacre was largely irrational. The people who were killed were not government officials, or soldiers in the South Vietnamese army, or even, in the main, blood relations of such wicked "imperialist lackeys." These people were instead buried alive, or mowed down with automatic weapons, or chained together and brained with mattocks in reprisal for Hue's infuriating failure to produce the "popular uprising" the Communists leaders expected.

A few were Catholics to be sure, and the Catholics in Hue were reportedly treated with particular brutality. There are about a million Catholics in South Vietnam today; and either they or their parents were brought down from the North by the United States in 1954, because it was correctly considered they need a safe haven in the South.

So what of them? And what of the million South Vietnamese who are now under arms for the Saigon government? And what of the hundreds of thousands of members of the People's Self-Defense Force in the villages who are regularly chosen as targets by the Communist assassination squads?

American intelligence has officially predicted that most of these people will be killed out of hand—the conservative predicted figure is about 1,500,000—after an American bug-out leading to a victory for Hanoi. Is that what Sen. Fulbright and Sen. Goodell really want; and if not, how do they propose to avoid it?

As to the wider political consequences of a bug-out they are clearly and very grimly set forth in the responses to the President from his ambassadors, to whom he long ago posed the question. These consequences, too, hardly bear thinking about.

They range from the rapid collapse of the position as a Pacific great power that the United States fought two previous big wars to establish and defend, all the way to a very serious increase in the risk that the Soviets will back the Arabs, whole-hog, in perpetrating genocide against Israel. Is that what Professor Hans Morgenthau wants? Or does he approve of genocide in South Vietnam, while opposing genocide in Israel?

Yet the worst consequences of a bug-out, as President Nixon has kept emphasizing to many people he has talked to recently, will be right here, at home in America. This is his most special, most personal reason for not wanting to be "the first American President to lose a war."

Any fool ought to be able to foresee that the first American defeat in war, followed by the grisly consequences overseas that have been described above, will be enough to poison our political life for a quarter of a century. The inquest after the alleged "loss of China" was poisonous enough. But it will come to seem temporary child's play if we quite needlessly lose the war in Vietnam. There will be a certain substance, alas, to the angry charge that all America's great efforts and sacrifices of these last years have been rendered fruitless by a "stab in the back."

Again, there has been more than a little colloguing with the enemy. So there will be raw material, alas, for those who will howl about a great conspiracy. Then, too, Hanoi's most obviously untruthful propaganda has been faithfully parroted by many Americans in the academic community, in the media and elsewhere, and this will become another topic for dire clamor.

The truth is that a great many seemingly intelligent Americans are now behaving like mindless lemmings. The danger to themselves is of course their own business. But they might at least consider the danger to all the values they pretend to cherish.

## A TRIBUTE TO SENATOR PROXMIRE

### HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, my home State of Wisconsin is extremely fortunate in being represented in the Senate by two exceptionally talented and vigorous men. Increasingly, their strong positions on the vital issues facing our Nation are being appreciated by people throughout the country and, no less, by their own constituents.

Senator BILL PROXMIRE has been at the forefront of congressional attempts to curb needless and wasteful military expenditures. His efforts should be applauded by all Americans who realize that our Nation's real security does not lie in the acquisition of ever-increasing numbers and varieties of weapons, but in working for world peace and by building a more just society at home.

The constructive criticism of our bloated military expenditures expressed during the recent debate in this House and in the other body on the military procurement bill was to a great extent nurtured by disclosures uncovered by Senator PROXMIRE.

What small successes that have been accomplished in exerting greater congressional control over the military can be attributed to the courageous and untiring efforts of a growing number of dedicated Members and Senators who are shedding needed light on what has, until now, been a largely and intentionally obscured area. BILL PROXMIRE stands tall in their midst.

Mr. Speaker, among the many tributes and expressions of gratitude for Senator PROXMIRE's efforts that have come to my attention is one which appeared in the editorial page of my own hometown paper in Watertown, Wis. The Watertown Times of October 11 carried an editorial from the Racine Journal-Times entitled "PROXMIRE VERSUS PENTAGON" which I am pleased to have printed below:

#### PROXMIRE VERSUS PENTAGON

It may be like a flea attacking an elephant, but William Proxmire is undaunted in his fight against excessive spending of the U.S. military-industrial complex.

The Wisconsin Democrat authored an amendment which cut \$117 million in research funds from the \$20 billion authorization for an Anti-Ballistic Missile system.

In his continuing efforts to cut down on arms spending and eliminate military waste, Proxmire points out he is not trying to reduce the security of the United States, pull us back into a shell of isolationism or do a disservice to the men and women of the armed forces.

He is convinced that \$10 billion can be trimmed from the annual \$80 billion defense budget without harming national security and that another \$10 billion can be cut after the end of the Vietnam war.

"The Defense Department accounts for almost 80 per cent of the controllable expenditures in the federal budget. Here is where cuts must be made if we ever are to get enough money for our many domestic problems," Proxmire reasons.

Proxmire has been up against fearful odds in his struggle with the military-industrial complex. This enormous bureaucracy in-

cludes the armed services, Central Intelligence Agency, National Security Agency, Atomic Energy Commission, aerospace and armaments industry, segments of the labor movement and universities with defense research contracts.

Until the fierce debate over the ABM system, the military budget and weapons policies largely were determined by the Pentagon and armed service committees without critical evaluation by Congress or the public. Last year the House Armed Services Committee held months of hearings on the military budget, but of hundreds of witnesses only two were not employees of the Pentagon.

The size and complexity of the military budget make effective review almost impossible once the appropriations measures reach the floor of either house.

In the decade from 1959 to 1968, direct defense outlays of the United States came to more than \$551 billion. This is twice the amount spent for new private and public housing and nearly twice as much as federal, state and local governments allotted to education in the same period.

We need more senators and representatives who will question, scrutinize and criticize these huge expenditures for arms.

## THE NEW MORALITY—SODOM AND GOMORRAH

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the great deterioration of morality across the Nation is not something which just happened. It is the result of an extensively promoted attack on American values for the purpose of weakening the moral fabric of the Nation.

The rules of decency by which we live did not arise overnight, nor were they devised by some theorist in an ivory tower. Our human experience for centuries, supplemented by our religious teachings, have combined to give us guidelines for living by proven standards of individual conduct.

It is not just a coincidence that serious recommendations are being made by quasi-respectable bodies for permissive abortion, for legitimated homosexuality, for sexual perversion and promiscuity, for legalized marijuana and hallucinogens.

The pushers of so-called new morality find nothing unusual about their bizarre attempts to abolish capital punishment for the foulest murderer while freely encouraging the taking of the life of the unborn. And in both extremes rationalizing their position as being in the interests of an improved society and a progressive morality.

Mr. Frank Capell, editor-publisher of the Herald of Freedom, Box 3, Zarephath, N.J., to whom decent Americans are indebted for the original exposé of the infamous SIECUS, has performed another public service in the publication of his October 17 issue entitled "The New Morality," plus the June 14 issue which follow my remarks, together with several related clippings from this morning's paper:

[From the Herald of Freedom, Oct. 17, 1969]

#### THE NEW MORALITY

Moral decadence, euphemistically called the "New Morality," has reached the point in the United States where it is legally permissible to depict sex and nudity in a manner that would have brought about immediate prosecution only a few years ago. Even material used in "sex education" would have been subject to prosecution as pornographic only a short time ago. Today movies brought in from Europe, and even those made in Hollywood, contain nude detailed sex scenes, including acts of perversion. Magazines by the hundreds publish nude photographs with unretouched front views and with accompanying copy promoting permissiveness, illicit sex, adultery, homosexuality and various other sex perversions.

It is an established fact that the Communist Conspiracy consistently seeks to weaken the will to resist through the promotion of moral decay. The information in this issue will show the Communist influence in the promotion of what has now become a serious national problem affecting a substantial number of the youth of our country. In the March 1968 FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, J. Edgar Hoover stated: "The publication and sale of obscene material is big business in America today. . . . It is impossible to estimate the amount of harm to impressionable teenagers and to assess the volume of sex crimes attributable to pornography, but its influence is extensive. Sexual violence is increasing at an alarming pace. Many parents are deeply concerned about conditions which involve young boys and girls in sex parties and illicit relations. . . . Pornography in all its forms is one major cause of sex crimes, sexual aberrations and perversions." (Congressional Record, March 27, 1969, p. 7957.)

Prior to 1958, postal inspectors and other law enforcement agencies were able to make arrests on charges involving the publication or distribution of photographs showing public hair or genitals. As a result of a suit originated by the Sunshine Book Company, affiliated with the nudist movement, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1958 that such photographs were permissible. This case resulted in a complete change in standards of what constitutes pornography in so far as nude photographs are concerned. What Barney Rosset and Grove Press did for the printed word, the Sunshine Book Company did for nudity. The barriers on mail pornography have been lifted and the end result has been plays like "Hair," "Che," and "O! Calcutta!" in which sexual intercourse and/or perverted acts are performed on stage by completely nude actors.

Since it was a nudist organization which went into court to break the decency barrier, it is interesting to note that the first nudist camp in America was established through the Communist Party at Camp Midvale, N.J., located just off Snake Dew Rd., Wanaque, N.J. Camp Midvale was operated in the early 1930's by an organization called Nature Friends of America. The Guide to Subversive Organizations of the U.S. Congress cites Nature Friends of America as a subversive and Communist organization since 1935. In the Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, 75th Congress, Volume 1, p. 362, we read:

"Nature Friends" is an international and is a Communist-affiliated movement which has within the past few years swept over our Nation through its appeal to lovers of outdoor life. According to an authoritative source, "Nature Friends" was in 1932 organized in 21 countries, including the United States. It claimed a membership then of 170,000, and maintained over 400 camps. It was founded in Vienna in 1895 as a "hiking club," but, as all left-wing movements, it soon widened its scope of activity to include

workers' education, agitation and propaganda, and fund raising along left-wing lines, and to support left-wing political efforts in all countries in which it is organized.

In 1931 Nature Friends maintained branches and camps in New York City, Rochester, Syracuse, Newark, Paterson, Jersey City, Philadelphia, Allentown, Chicago, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Detroit, San Francisco, Oakland, and Los Angeles. Today it has branches in these and many other large cities throughout our Nation. In 1932 the national offices in the East were located at 43 East Eighty-fourth Street New York City; in the West, 143 Albion Street, San Francisco, Calif. The offices in New York City are now located at 11 West Eighteenth Street, while in San Francisco they are located at 121 Albion Street. Headquarters have also been set up in Stamford, Gary, Oakland, Passaic, Midvale, N.J.; Platte Grove, Elka, Park, N.Y.; Boyerton, Pa.; Manilus, N.Y.; Lima, N.Y.; Salt Lake City; Crisman, Ind.; Sierra Madre, Mill Valley, Calif.; and Brooklyn, N.Y.

Nature Friends now refer to themselves as the Workers' International Hiking and Outdoor Organization. All Communist movements claim to be workers' international movements. The New Sport and Play (official organ of the Labor Sports Union of America, section of the Red Sports International, a Communist sports movement) reports that Nature Friends is also affiliated with it. The fact that the Labor Sports Union of America is a full-fledged Communist movement cannot be denied.

Nature Friends, as we have said, maintains many camps in the United States for summer activity—hiking, swimming, tennis, baseball, soccer, fishing, etc. In the winter they also engage in outdoor sports, such as hiking, skiing, skating, and sledding. In addition, they maintain indoor centers where dances are held, plays, concerts, and lectures are given. Nature Friends, like all Communist movements, discourage parents from sending their children to semimilitarist organization camps, and urges them to send the children to Nature Friends for safekeeping under the supervision of trained leaders. The rates at these camps are from \$12.50 up a week. Whether or not Nature Friends are in any way connected with the nudist fashion which has been adopted by certain elements is not yet known, but it is common knowledge that nude bathing among mixed sexes is practiced at Communist summer resorts. (Emphasis added-Ed.)

Since the time of this report it has been verified that Nature Friends of America did promote nudity and did operate the first nudist camp in America at Midvale, N.J. Other Nature Friends camps were used for Communist activities as we read in the Hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 84th Congress, entitled "Communist Political Subversion," in the testimony of Herman Thomas, an undercover agent for the FBI: "I had attended several closed meetings of the Communist Party with Frances (Gabow), but one of the latest occasions I had was after the party went underground in September of 1950 when I met her and another member of the Communist Party at an affair at Nature Friends Camp near Valley, Pa., where I made arrangements with the other person to pick up Communist Party literature in Philadelphia, inasmuch as they weren't using the mails."

In the Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 75th Congress, Volume 1, p. 556, it states: "Nature Friends seem to receive more attention in the official publications for the Communist sport field than any other unit. This organization is also widely organized throughout the country. It not only maintains outdoor activities, but it also operates an 'agit-prop' (agitation and propaganda) section, music groups, film and photo section, chess groups, gymnastic

and dance groups, scouts, lecture groups, and summer camps."

Camp Midvale, site of the first nudist camp, continues to attract persons interested in nudity as well as persons interested in Communism, according to an article in the N.Y. Daily News of Thursday, July 14, 1966, by Maggie Bartel:

A summer camp about 40 miles from New York City in a remote area of the Ramapo Mountains has been tabbed by the FBI as a Communist Party training area for W.E.B. DuBois Club recruiters, Rep. Charles S. Joelson (D-N.J.) reported yesterday.

According to the Congressman, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover told him that Camp Midvale in the West Milford-Ringwood area trained 80 college students last year as recruiters for the club, which the Justice Department has called a Communist-front organization.

Joelson said he was informed that the camp is a permanent establishment maintained by the Communist Party and that top party officials act as the faculty for youths in attendance.

Gus Hall, the Party's top leader in the U.S., is extremely pleased with the accomplishments of Midvale, Hoover also told Joelson.

A News reporter yesterday visited the 76-acre Camp Midvale, off Snakeden Road in Ringwood Borough, N.J., which is described in an entrance sign as a "cooperative interracial camp owned and operated by the Metropolitan Recreation Association." . . . According to Schmidt, the original group was Die Naturfreunde, or Friends of Nature, an outfit founded in 1928.

Three years ago, a group of campers was raided by South Carolina mountaineers who had heard rumors of nudity, free love and integration in their summer camp in the Blue Ridge mountains. A number of the campers then came north to Camp Midvale.

The lawyer who handled the nudist case for the Sunshine Book Company had won dubious fame as the prosecutor in the infamous "sedition" trials of thirty-four American anti-Communists during the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Oetje John Rogge was a left-winger who had been affiliated with the Communist-front Michigan Civil Rights Federation and worked closely with Communists and Communist-fronters. When, in Detroit, a number of citizens were arrested for recruiting Americans to fight in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade on behalf of the Communists in Spain, the organization with which Rogge was connected went to their defense. He put his heart and soul into the "sedition" trials which took place after faulty indictments and two years of jockeying. The original judge, E. C. Eicher, was so biased and prejudiced and dedicated to the conviction of the defendants that it became scandalous. An act of God removed him from the case as he died unexpectedly and he was replaced by a second federal judge who dismissed the indictments and called the entire case a travesty of justice.

Rogge was eventually fired from the U.S. Dept. of Justice by the President of the United States for disclosing confidential information to unauthorized sources. According to the 1969-70 Who's Who in America, Rogge is now a partner in the law firm of Weisman, Celler, Allan, Spett & Sheinberg, 1501 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

An earlier friend of nudism, who died recently, was also an example of the affinity of pro-Communism and nudism. In announcing the death of Dr. Maurice Parmelee in March, 1969, the N.Y. TIMES stated that he had been ousted from his job as a Government economist in 1942 "for his defense of nudity." His book, "Nudism in Modern Life," reportedly advocated "nudism in office and factory" and contained thirty-five photographs which were "all obscene" and the book was described by Rep. Martin Dies, chairman of the Un-American Activities committee, as "an attack upon the moral structure of our society

and upon the church and religion." Parmelee spent several years in the Soviet Union and wrote a pro-Communist book entitled "Bolshevism, Fascism and the Liberal Democratic State."

A study of nudist publications today shows that they are leftwing-oriented; many ridicule patriotism and advocate illicit sex, adultery, wife-swapping and homosexuality. The fact that they are able to operate is the result of the U.S. Supreme Court decision of 1958. One of the largest publishers of pornography masquerading as nudism is Elysium, Inc., 5436 Fernwood Ave., Los Angeles, Calif., which is associated with Elysium Institute of the same address. Among these publications is Nudism Today, official journal of the American Sunbathing Association. This organization has its headquarters at 217 West Main St., Mays Landing, N.J., and has chartered groups in thirty-five states with regional offices in Florida, Indiana, Washington and California. Editor and publisher of this journal is Ed Lange who is also editor and publisher of many other nudist-type publications such as Sunrise, Nude Lark, Sundisk, Nude Living, Nudist Idea, etc., as well as ANKH, publication of Elysium Institute.

Elysium Institute describes itself as follows: "a non-profit organization whose purpose is research and dissemination of information in the behavioral sciences relating to nudity and the 'body taboo' neuroses so prevalent in our culture. The Elysium Institute promotes self-acceptance and acceptance of others through a wholesome attitude towards the human body and its functions, both physical and emotional, and including man's sexuality." The "Elysium Credo" states:

"1. There is an essential wholesomeness in the human body and all of its functions.

"2. Exposure to sun, water, air and to nature is helpful and basic factor in building and maintaining healthy attitudes of mind and in the development of a strong body.

"3. Man and his sexuality are part and parcel of our living, and no separation or division is possible without denying what man is and what he was created for.

"4. The depiction of man in his entirety and completeness in photographs and text requires no apology or defense, and only with such an attitude of mind can we find true modesty—for modesty comes from within."

If one can find anything "wholesome" in the lewd pornographic publications of Elysium, Inc., his idea of "modesty" would have to be warped indeed. The average person would find them shocking. However, Elysium Institute is doing something about this and it promotes nude sensitivity training, the ultimate objective of which is to "overcome sexual myths." A release of Elysium Institute stated that Dr. Gerard Haigh and a prominent associate were to conduct a seminar at Elysium Field, Saturday, January 11, 1969. An Elysium Institute confrontation to understand and cope with changing moral values in our culture, the seminar was entitled, "Exploring the Intimacy Barrier in Sexual Liberal Groups." Dr. Haigh is a practicing psychotherapist who is President of the American Association for Humanistic Psychology. He is a graduate of City College of New York and the University of Chicago. He has taught at Arizona State University, the University of California at Los Angeles and has done human relations training for the Peace Corps and VISTA.

On February 1, 1969 "members, guests and friends" of the Elysium Institute were invited to Elysium Institute's Winter Rites Festival (1969 Whoopie Wallow Dance) at Elysium Field—"Costume optional-Dress or Undress." Arrests of nude revelers had previously been made on complaints of nearby residents who said the unclad visitors were visible from their properties but no convictions resulted and so the fun and "education" could continue undeterred.

"The Elysium Institute Directory" was advertised in its pornographic publication, stating:

"The Elysium Research & Development Institute is in communication with a large and growing number of organizations in this country and abroad which are concerned, as is the Institute, with seeking means to enhance man's physical, emotional and intellectual development in an environment of openness, understanding and tolerance. Some of those with which we maintain an exchange of information and courtesies are: University of Humanism, Institute for Rational Living, Kairos, Human Betterment Association, American Sunbathing Association, Castalia Foundation, Institute for Sex Research, School of Living, SIECUS, Underground Press Syndicate, Pacifica Foundation, Institute for Bioenergetic Analysis, Human Potentialities Research Project, Institute for the Study of Nonviolence, American Psychological Association, Institute for Social Research, Sexual Freedom Leagues, Social Science Institute, Bridge Mountain Foundation, Esalem Institute, Planned Parenthood-World Population. If you have been wanting to learn more about the work being done by any of the above organizations, or others in related spheres of endeavor, we may be able to assist you. The Elysium Institute will attempt to provide the most current information on, or referral to, projects and activities on which inquiries and interest are displayed."

The tie-in between these organizations is not too difficult to ascertain since many of the individuals connected with one are affiliated with others. In addition to promoting illicit sex, homosexuality, adultery, sex orgies, etc., the Elysium publication includes sacrilegious contents, as for example an article which appears in ANKH, Volume One, No. 3, p. 16, 17, 18. Referring to the cross depicted above the article, they state that it is "redolent of the monosexual emptiness of the Christian love concept." It states that sexual intercourse (expressed by a four-letter word) and God are identical.

Prepared after an official investigation, a report to the California Legislature by the Attorney General, Thomas C. Lynch, dated April 6, 1967, shows the various types of pornographic publications available in the State of California and how the impact of nudist publications has not been lost on the publishers of the traditional "girlie" magazines. It states: "The old-style 'girlie' magazine is a drug on today's sex-oriented market, leading its promoters to copy from both the nudist and fetish publications in an attempt to enliven his own material. . . . Any raiment is more likely to be more fetish than feminine in concept and the photo layouts sometimes are slap-stick nudism." Concerning the extension of "girlie" magazines to pander to the interests of homosexuals, it states:

"Taking their cue from the developments in the nudist and 'girlie' magazines, a handful of eastern and midwestern publisher-distributors created still another type of sex publication—this aimed at the male homosexual market. Sometimes referred to as a 'muscle' magazine, it is a cross between nudist and physical culture publications. . . . 'The Advanced Guide to Cruising' is what the title implies, an instructional book in how a homosexual can, or should, go about enticing another male into acts of sodomy and fellatio. . . . It is published in Washington, D.C. by an individual who was successful in having his guilty plea in an obscenity trial set aside in 1962 on the grounds that he was insane."

Having its roots in a Communist-established nudist camp, the sex craze has spread until it is enveloping the country. Nudist publications which originally were oriented toward "health" are now obsessed with sex and have spawned an unknown number of

pornographic, girlie, homosexual and perversion-promoting publications. Pornographic material is also presented to students as "sex education" which excites their interest in the subject. The youth of today must be pulled out of the mud of sex and drugs in which they are wallowing if they are to be brought back to reality. Their lack of self-discipline is encouraged by "educators" and "experts" but it will destroy them. The "New Morality" is really no morality at all.

[From the Herald of Freedom, June 14, 1968]

#### A LOOK AT SEX EDUCATION

Sex and Communism are involved in the personnel of a fairly new organization with an impressive board of directors and high-sounding purposes. One of the main targets of its "educating" process is the youth of America which is always a fertile field for such organizations which operate under a cloak of respectability, mixing innocent do-gooders with not-so-innocent plotters. "A voluntary health organization," the Sex Information and Education Council of the U.S. (SIECUS), present address 1855 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10023, was established during 1964 and in full bloom beginning in 1965 to "create something new in the world: knowledge in depth, and attitudes in breadth, about that part of the human individual that is so central to his total well-being, his sexuality."

An article in The Tustin News (Tustin, Calif.) sounded a warning concerning this organization which is invading the schools and homes of America. It states:

"An organization which purports to 'dignify' man's sexuality has been charged with in fact exploiting it through members of its own board of directors.

"Tustin Elementary District Coordinating Council composed of the presidents of the district's parent-teacher organizations, was presented information linking some members of the Sex Information Education Council of the United States (SIECUS) to a 50-cent magazine which has been labeled 'pure trash' by at least one nationally known college administrator.

"In referring to 'Sexology,' a paperback magazine which contains 'frank and authoritative sex guidance,' Mrs. Arthur Vandenberg, last year's council president, declared, 'It would seem to me that despite one of SIECUS' expressed purposes being to keep 'sexuality' from being exploited, this is exactly what its board members are doing.' . . .

"Mrs. Vandenberg pointed to the fact that two editors of the 'Sexology' magazine as well as two members of the 'board of consultants' are also members of the SIECUS board of directors. . . ."

Mrs. Vandenberg listed such prurient titles of articles in Sexology as: "Alcohol Can Solve Sex Problems," "Group Sex Orgies," "My Wife Knows I'm a Homosexual," and "Gangs That Hunt Down Queers," and asks the question: "These are 'educational acts'?" In the latest issue of Sexology (June 1968) are such titles as: "My Most Unusual Sex Case" by Wardell B. Pomeroy (of both Sexology and SIECUS), "Wife Objects to Foreplay," "What Couples Don't Know About Lovemaking" and "The Many Ways to Ask for Sex."

The "respectable" half of the Sexology-Siecus partnership was announced to the public January 8, 1965 although the organization received its charter in May of 1964 and began its "functions" on July 1, 1964. Writing about "Siecus: Its Present and Its Future" in Vol. I, No. 2, of the Siecus Newsletter, Mary S. Calderone, M.D., M.P.H. Executive Director, states:

"The Siecus Board and Executive Committee have met often and actively, and have assumed full responsibility for programs and policies. The work of the organization is still carried on by a single professional, the Executive Director, with 4½ secretarial employees and two volunteers. . . ."

"Members of the Board and the Executive Director have been participating in many meetings, symposia, and teaching sessions. . . .

"The Executive Director has been providing consultant services in the production of films, film strips, the preparation of programs, etc., in the field.

"On June 1, 1965 Siecus was given a grant of \$25,000 by The Commonwealth Fund, which will be doubled if the organization can raise its year's basic budget by May 31, 1968. A grant of \$10,000 from another foundation is already in hand towards this goal. . . ."

As of that time the officers of the organization were as follows: Wallace C. Fulton, M.P.H., President; George Packer Berry, M.D., Vice-President; Rev. William H. Genne; B.D., M.A., Secretary; Isadore Rubin, Ph.D., Treasurer; and Mary S. Calderone, M.D., M.P.H., Executive Director. David R. Mace, Ph.D. replaced Fulton as President with the other officers remaining the same. As of February 1968 the letterhead of Siecus lists the officers as: Lester L. Doniger, President; Immediate Past President, David R. Mace, Ph.D.; Vice Presidents, Jesse Bernard, Ph.D., Harold I. Lief, M.D., J. Noel Macy; Secretary, Fr. George Hagmaier, C.S.P., Ed. D.; Treasurer, Isadore Rubin, Ph.D.; Executive Director, Mary S. Calderone, M.D., M.P.H. So we see that, as others have come and gone in the higher echelons of Siecus, Isadore Rubin and Mary Calderone remain in their top positions.

Dr. Mary Calderone as Executive Director would appear to be the person who is running the organization. She is described in an article by Alton Blakeslee, Associated Press Science Writer, as a "gray-haired, vivacious grandmother." She was born in New York, N.Y., July 1, 1904, the daughter of Edward J. Steichen and the former Clara Smith. Her father is the well-known photographer and her uncle was the famous poet, Carl Sandburg, both darlings of the left.

Mary Steichen graduated from Vassar with a B.A. degree in 1925, from the University of Rochester Medical School with a M.D. degree in 1939, and in 1942 was awarded an M.S. degree in Public Health by the Columbia University School of Public Health. On March 27, 1941 Mary married Dr. Frank A. Calderone and they have three daughters, Linda Martin (now Mrs. Stuart Hodes), Francesca, and Maria.

Dr. Mary S. Calderone was first an intern at Bellevue Hospital, New York City, from 1939 to 1940, and then became a health officer in training from 1940 to 1942. She was next employed by the American Public Health Association from 1942 to 1943 in their Testing Service Division. Her next employment listed in her biography is as a school physician for Great Neck, N.Y. public schools from 1950 to 1953, after which she became Medical Director of the Planned Parenthood Association in which position she remained until she became involved in the creation of SIECUS.

Mary's husband, Dr. Frank A. Calderone, was formerly Deputy Commissioner of Health of the City of New York and for four years was Chief Administrator of the World Health Organization (under the auspices of the United Nations) the head of which has been Dr. Brock Chisholm whose radical ideas and beliefs have been well publicized.

Dr. Mary Calderone attracted national attention through her work as Medical Director of the Planned Parenthood Association and made many contacts as a result. Informants in the Great Neck area, familiar with the activities of both Doctors Calderone, describe them as "ultra-liberal one-worlders." Stronger words can be used to describe Mary's close associate in the growth and operation of SIECUS, Dr. Isadore Rubin, the treasurer.

Dr. Isadore Rubin was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Mrs. Mildred Blauvelt in public testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on May 3, 1955. Mrs. Mildred Blauvelt was a detective of the New York City Police Department who was an undercover operative for the New York Police Department from April 1943 until November 1951, during which time she was assigned to several different Communist Party groups within the New York area. From her sworn testimony we take the following excerpts:

"Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Blauvelt, at the time of the recess we were discussing the Flatbush Club of the Communist Party. Will you name those persons whom you can, of your own knowledge, identify as members of the Communist Party within that group? . . ."

"Mrs. BLAUVELT. Yes, if I am able to do so, I certainly will. I have prepared this list alphabetically so that in the course of it we will come across some of the comrades who were the functionaries of the club and those that were more active. . . ."

"Mr. TAVENNER. When you speak of clubs, are you referring to clubs of the Communist Party?"

"Mrs. BLAUVELT. That is right; yes, sir. "Mr. TAVENNER. And when you are referring to persons having attended meetings with you, are you referring to Communist Party meetings?"

"Mrs. BLAUVELT. Yes, in this instance it would be meetings of the Flatbush Club of the Communist Party. . . ."

Mrs. Blauvelt then continued reading her list.

"Isadore Rubin, R-u-b-i-n. In March of 1945 while he was in the Army in Italy, he sent \$10 to the party's fund drive. Upon his return from service, he did attend some of the meetings of the Flatbush Club. Now, there was a club bulletin issued under date of November 28, 1944, which gave his name and listed his address as 1030 Ocean Avenue, with the notation that he was the winner of an essay contest which had been conducted while he was in the Army. Isadore Rubin was a teacher in the New York City school system who was dismissed in 1951, after trial.

"I did read some testimony which he had presented to the Senate Committee on Internal Security in September of 1952. At that time he gave his address as 20 Rugby Road, and it was in connection with the teachers union, I believe, that these hearings were being held; and I was particularly interested in reading the testimony because he invoked the privilege of the fifth amendment concerning his Communist affiliations.

"Mr. TAVENNER. I have before me the April 23, 1955 issue of New York Teacher News, and apparently published by the Teachers Union of New York.

"Mrs. BLAUVELT. That is correct.

"Mr. TAVENNER. I notice the name of the editor appears on the editorial board and staff of this issue. Will you examine this issue and state what you see to be the name of the editor?"

"Mrs. BLAUVELT. The name of the editor is Isadore Rubin.

"Mr. TAVENNER. Is that the same person to whom you have referred?"

"Mrs. BLAUVELT. Yes, sir.

"Mr. TAVENNER. As having been known to you as a member of the Communist Party?"

"Mrs. BLAUVELT. Yes, sir, it is the same person. . . ."

The Teachers Union referred to by Mr. Tavenner and Mrs. Blauvelt was expelled from the AFL-CIO because it was found to be Communist-controlled. Isadore Rubin worked for this union after he was dismissed from the New York City public school system by the board of education. He testified concerning this before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on September 8, 1952, the testimony being contained in the report entitled, "Subversive Influence in the Educa-

tional Process." Starting on Page 146 we read: "Testimony of Isadore Rubin, Brooklyn, N.Y., accompanied by his attorneys, Harold I. Cammer and Royal W. France. . . ."

"Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your full name and address to the reporter.

"Mr. RUBIN. Isadore Rubin, 20 Rugby Road, Brooklyn.

"Mr. MORRIS. Are you a school teacher?"

"Mr. RUBIN. I was trained as a school teacher. At the present time I am not teaching.

"Mr. MORRIS. What are you doing at the present time?"

"Mr. RUBIN. At the present time I am employed by the teachers union.

"Mr. MORRIS. What do you do for the teachers union?"

"Mr. RUBIN. I handle publications, the newspaper and some forms of publicity.

"Mr. MORRIS. Now, when did you terminate your teaching career?"

"Mr. RUBIN. Well, I didn't terminate it. The board of education terminated it in February 1951, I believe.

"Mr. MORRIS. On what grounds was it terminated by the board of education?"

"Mr. RUBIN. On the grounds that I had refused to permit them to inquire into my political beliefs and associations by declining to answer any questions about such affiliations. . . ."

"Mr. MORRIS. Are you a member of the executive committee of the Teachers Union?"

"Mr. RUBIN. I am

"Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?"

"Mr. RUBIN. I understand that I was summoned here to testify as the editor of Teachers' News. I am perfectly willing to answer any questions concerning the newspaper, but I am not willing to answer such questions, because I believe that they are not proper, despite the fact that this is a Senate committee, or perhaps, because it is a Senate committee, and I have a very high regard for the Congress of the United States, and also for its Constitution.

"It is my feeling especially that as an editor of a paper, I should not permit any kind of inquiry, because it would interfere with freedom of the press, and also with other freedoms which are associated with it. . . ."

"Senator FERGUSON. Do you refuse to answer and, if so, what is the reason?"

"Mr. RUBIN. My basic reason is that it violates my rights under the first amendment. . . ."

"Senator FERGUSON. . . . we do not recognize it as reason for not answering questions.

"Mr. RUBIN. Not being a lawyer, it would seem to me that the express provisions of the first amendment would forbid such inquiry. But, since apparently the first amendment in some respects has been nullified, I will have to make use of the fifth amendment, which I understand was put there to prevent such inquiry and protect the innocent from such legislation and such inquiry."

An article in the N.Y. Herald Tribune of Oct. 20, 1948 stated:

"Abraham Lederman, president of a New York City teachers' union, refused today to tell a House committee if he is or ever has been a member of the Communist party. . . ."

"Three other witnesses who, like Mr. Lederman, had been subpoenaed by the committee, testified that they are not and never had been members of the party.

"They were Max Diamond. . . , Homer Sloane. . . and Isadore Rubin, a member of Local 555's executive board

"Messrs. Lederman, Diamond and Rubin are teachers in the New York City school system."

Isadore Rubin now resides at 641 Vanderbilt St. Brooklyn, N.Y., Apartment 5C where he has lived since 1965. He is the editor of the magazine Sexology which is published monthly by Sexology Corp. at 200 Park Ave.

S. New York, N.Y. M. Harvey Gernsback is president of this corporation, Mary Gernsback, 1st Vice president, and Dr. I. Rubin, 2nd vice president. The magazine was founded in 1933 by Hugo Gernsback and devoted to "frank and authoritative sex guidance."

Dr. Rubin, who obtained his Ph.D. late in life, is treasurer and a member of the executive board of SIECUS. Another editor of Sexology who has been on the Board of Directors of SIECUS from the beginning is Lester A. Kirkendall, Ph.D., Professor Family Life, Oregon State University and former consultant, U.S. Office of Education. He is the author of "Sex Education as Human Relations" and "Premarital Intercourse and Interpersonal Relationships," and is the "Parent Guidance" editor of Sexology.

Among those listed as the Board of Consultants of Sexology are the Rev. William H. Genne, Dr. John Money and Dr. Wardell B. Pomeroy, all of whom are on the Board of Directors of SIECUS.

Rev. William H. Genne, B.D., M.A. is a co-founder of SIECUS and in 1966 was their national secretary. He is Coordinator, Commission on Marriage and Family of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and the author of "Husbands and Pregnancy." A report dated May 22, 1968 of "Information from the Files of the Committee on Un-American Activities-U.S. House of Representatives" on the subject of Rev. William H. Genne shows the following Communist-fronts with which he has been involved:

1949 Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact (C-1951; I-1956): Signer of its Statement Calling for International Agreement to Ban Use of Atomic Weapons (Statement attached to press release of December 14, 1949, p. 15)

1950 World Peace Appeal (C-1951; S-1957): Endorser (Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, August 21, 1950, p. 8; undated leaflet, "Prominent Americans Call for Outlawing Atomic Warfare," received September 11, 1950)

1951 National Committee to repeal the McCarran act (I. 1956): Signer of its Open Letter to Congress calling for the repeal of the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950 (Letterhead, January 19, 1951)

Dr. John Money (Ph.D.) is Associate Professor of Medical Psychology & Pediatrics at Johns Hopkins University and full-time research scientist in medical psychology, as well as editor of "Sex Research-New Developments," according to his listing in SEXOLOGY.

Dr. Wardell B. Pomeroy (Ph.D.) is a psychotherapist and marriage counselor in New York City and former associate of the late Dr. Kinsey. From 1943 to 1963 Pomeroy was director of field research of the Institute for Sex Research, financed by the Rockefeller Foundation. He was co-author with Kinsey and others of "Sexual Behavior in the Human Male," "Sexual Behavior in the Human Female," (Kinsey Reports) and other books. In the June 1968 issue of Sexology he describes "My Most Unusual Sex Case" with the subtitle: "Introduced to intercourse by his grandmother and to homosexuality by his father, this man literally tried everything."

The current president of SIECUS is Lester L. Doniger, a publisher. He is listed in Who's Who in Commerce and Industry (1968) as born in Raczk, Poland, 10/15/09, son of Morris Doniger and Celia Jalkut. He came to the United States in 1920 graduated from N.Y.U. in 1931 and married Rita Roth in 1939. He was publisher-editor of The Pulpit Digest, director of the Pulpit Book Club and president of the Pulpit Press. He is listed as having been involved in Protestant Church Administration, president of the Great Neck Board of Education, president of the Religious Book Club, Inc. and with the Book Club Guild, Inc.

In the 1965 edition of Who's Who in World Jewry, Lester Doniger, publisher, appears as the son of Moses Doniger, (rather than Morris) and no reference is made to his publishing Protestant publications. In earlier editions of Who's Who in the East Mr. Doniger gave his place of birth as Vienna, Austria, as compared with Raczk, Poland, which appears in Who's Who in World Jewry and Who's Who in Commerce and Industry.

The Great Neck Record of March 3, 1968 showed Lester Doniger of Wildwood Drive, Great Neck, as chairman of the North Shore Community Arts Center Building Fund Drive. The Great Neck Tribune of February 20, 1960 stated that Great Neck Arts Center had presented as entertainers Pete Seeger (identified as a Communist according to published reports) and Carl Sandburg (uncle of Mary Calderone) who had a long history of affiliations with communist-fronts. The Great Neck News of February 14, 1947 carried an article entitled "US-USSR Committee Announces Meeting" which stated that a forum would be held under the auspices of the Great Neck Committee of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc. Among those scheduled to appear was Jessica Smith, wife of Communist John Abt and widow of Communist Hal Ware, and editor of Soviet Russia Today. The article stated that tickets for the affair were available from Mrs. Rita Doniger, telephone Great Neck 1222.

SIECUS publishes a list of "Selected Reading in Education for Sexuality" for adults, children and young people. Listed on Page 7 of this listing is Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 366 entitled "Sex and Our Society" written by Lester A. Kirkendall with Elizabeth Ogg, and on page 16 is Public Affairs pamphlet No. 397, "Sexual Adjustment in Marriage" by Richard H. Klemer and Margaret G. Klemer.

Public Affairs Pamphlets are published by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc. of New York City, the editor of which for many years has been Maxwell S. Stewart, who was identified as a Communist in sworn testimony before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee by Louis Budenz.

Also listed as recommended reading are reprints of articles from Sexology, the book "Teenagers and Sex" by (retired) Episcopal Bishop James A. Pike, books that can be read by children age 4 and up, slides for children age 3-8, as well as Study Guides, written and edited by SIECUS Board members. These Study Guides are: 1) Sex Education by Lester A. Kirkendall; 2) Homosexuality by Isadore Rubin; 3) Masturbation by Warren H. Johnson; 4) Characteristics of Male and Female Sexual Responses by Wardell B. Pomeroy and Cornelia V. Christenson; 5) Premarital Sexual Standards by Ira L. Reiss; and 6) Sexual Relations During Pregnancy and the Post-Delivery Period by S. Leon Israel and Isadore Rubin.

There is need for proper "sex education" but we question whether the kind of "education" one can get from the programs and publications of SIECUS is the proper kind. Local groups—school boards and personnel, PTA's, YWCA's and YMCA's, youth agencies, churches, health personnel, health and welfare agencies, family life consultants, all are being urged to get involved in sex education with a ready-made program available from the "experts" of SIECUS.

SIECUS uses material from Dr. Albert Ellis, Director of the Institute for Rational Living, Inc., who condones perversion, adultery and teen-age sex, premarital sex, author of "Sex Without Guilt" and "The Case for Sexual Liberty." Its director Dr. Calderone is quoted as stating, "We are for the first time in history, at a point where man can separate his sexual life from his reproductive life."

Through the promotion of pornography, drug use and the "New Morality," the will to resist the International Communist Con-

spiracy is being weakened... "situation ethics" and the idea that there is no longer any "right" or "wrong" way to act, along with the downgrading of the influence of the family and religion play right into the hands of the Communists.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Oct. 21, 1969]

#### PANEL URGES REPEAL OF HOMOSEXUAL LAWS (By Stuart Auerbach)

A federal task force recommended yesterday the repeal of laws against homosexual activities between consenting adults.

The group of 14 experts, appointed by the National Institute of Mental Health, also recommended changes in government regulations and the policies of private industry that bar homosexuals from jobs.

The task force concluded that these changes would "reduce the emotional stress and improve the mental health" of the nation's 3 million to 4 million adult homosexuals.

"The extreme opprobrium that our society has attached to homosexual behavior, by way of criminal statutes and restrictive employment practices, has done more social harm than good and goes beyond what is necessary for the maintenance of public order and human decency," the task force said.

The group emphasized that its recommendations would not affect sexual behavior that violates public decency or involves the seduction of minors.

The task force recommendations, one of the few government statements on the problems of homosexuality, follows the guidelines set forth by such panels as the British Wolfenden Commission, the Ninth International Congress on Criminal Law and the American Law Institute.

Two years ago, Great Britain legalized homosexual acts between consenting adults after a 10-year campaign and an acrimonious all-night debate in the House of Commons.

NIMH officials said yesterday they are studying the task force report before deciding which recommendations they will endorse and pass on through the federal government.

The new task force went beyond the previous reports and urged the NIMH to support studies on the legal and social implications of changing laws involving heterosexual behavior, such as adultery and fornication, between consenting adults.

The task force commented that public attitudes toward homosexuality as well as other sexual practices are changing.

"Discreet homosexuality is being recognized as the private business of the individual rather than a subject for public regulation," it said.

Changing laws against homosexual activities, the report stated, would reduce the possibility of blackmail—"a constant hazard to the homosexual under present conditions."

The task force recognized that a change in the laws is not enough to give the homosexual full employment opportunity, security and acceptance in society.

It also acknowledged that the employment of homosexuals may not be desirable in all cases—especially "in highly sensitive" jobs.

The 21-page report calls homosexuality "a major problem for our society" for both homosexuals and their families.

"Homosexual individuals can be found in all walks of life, at all socio-economic levels among all cultural groups within American society, and in rural as well as urban areas," it said.

The task force also recommended studies in the biological and genetic causes of homosexuality, personality factors that characterize homosexuals, and ways to treat them in order to decrease their discomfort and increase their "productive functioning."

Training programs should also be geared to mental health workers and law enforcement personnel who often look upon homosexuals "with either disgust or anxiety," the report said. Information on homosexuality should be included in school sex education courses.

The task force also recommended the formation within the NIMH of a Center for the Study of Sexual Behavior that would conduct a broad study of sexual practices, both normal and deviant.

This center would support research across the country and provide information to policy makers that could dispel "taboos and myths" about sex.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Oct. 21, 1969]

**NIXON PROPOSES LIGHT PENALTY FOR FIRST POSSESSION OF DRUGS**  
(By Rudy Abramson)

The Nixon administration proposed yesterday that first-time possession of all narcotic and dangerous drugs be made a misdemeanor rather than a felony and that marijuana be removed from the legal category covering narcotics.

But it emphasized it wants a clear distinction made between the people who possess illicit drugs for their own use and those who have them for sale.

The position is a much softer one than the administration advocated as recently as last July, although Justice Department officials have been emphasizing they want courts to have the flexibility to tailor the penalty to the individual in drug cases.

New alternate penalty schedules submitted to a Senate Judiciary subcommittee yesterday are much more in line with the recommendations of U.S. health officials, who have been particularly critical of penalties for marijuana violations.

Under the new administration plan, first-time possession of any narcotic or dangerous drug would be punishable by a \$5,000 fine and a sentence of no more than a year.

Present federal law sets the sentence at two to 10 years with a fine of \$20,000 for narcotics and marijuana. LSD possession is treated as a misdemeanor, a \$1,000 fine and a sentence up to one year.

The new penalty schedule, much of which had already been reported in the press, also would lift the mandatory minimum sentence for simple marijuana possession.

While emphasizing that severe penalties and mandatory sentences are not necessary in the case of first-time offenders possessing drugs for their own use, John E. Ingersoll, director of the Justice Department's Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, called for a tough attitude toward the professional trafficker.

"Releasing him back to society, giving him the opportunity to return to commercial crime, clearly is hazardous," Ingersoll said. "The best interest of our citizens is served by locking him up for as long as rationally possible."

Accordingly, the penalties proposed yesterday called for prison terms of up to five years and fines of as much as \$15,000 for first-time possession of marijuana if there is an intent to distribute it.

Possession of narcotics, such as heroin, with intent to sell would call for a 20-year sentence and a \$25,000 fine in the toughest penalty schedule.

Three different alternative schedules were given to the subcommittee by Ingersoll.

Throughout the alternative plans, marijuana was treated in a category with hallucinogenic substances, sleeping pills, and pep pills rather than with hard narcotics like heroin.

"We believe," Ingersoll said, "that by having such a flexible range of penalties for the illicit possessor, prosecutors will be more willing to initiate cases and the courts less

reluctant to sentence these violators of the laws."

The new penalties were proposed as an amendment to the administration's pending bill on drug abuse control after discussions between top officials of the Justice Department and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Dr. Roger O. Egeberg, assistant HEW secretary for health and scientific affairs, helped bring the issue to a head by outspoken opposition to stiff marijuana penalties.

Even after the administration's new drug abuse bill was introduced—without changing the present marijuana penalties—Egeberg called present penalties punitive and vindictive.

Egeberg appeared with Ingersoll yesterday to endorse the new proposal.

"I neither recommend nor condone the use of marijuana by anyone, young or old," Egeberg said. "This drug has no recognized medical value and, as a hallucinogen and intoxicant, it constitutes a clear and demonstrated risk to the user and thus to those with whom he comes in contact. It is scientifically invalid, however, to associate marijuana with more dangerous substances such as heroin and other addicting drugs."

Nevertheless, he said, "I am deeply troubled by our present ill-founded and inappropriate system of classifying dangerous drugs and punishing those who abuse them."

COMMUNICATIONS

**HON. JOHN D. DINGELL**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, for over 3 years, the Subcommittee on Regulatory Agencies of the Select Committee on Small Business which operates under the chairmanship and with the leadership of the fine gentleman from Tennessee, has been conducting an inquiry into the question of whether the Federal Communications Commission has taken the necessary action to provide an adequate allocation of frequency spectrum for land mobile communications upon which the police, fire departments, and other public safety organizations and local government agencies rely for the protection of the small businessman and upon which the small businessman relies in the conduct of his own business operations.

Two very fine articles dealing with this subject have appeared in EDN, a magazine for designers of electronic products, equipment, and systems, for May 1, 1969. The first of these articles is by James E. Kluge, senior editor of the publication, and is entitled "Frequency-Spectrum Dilemma; Crisis or Opportunity?" In this article Mr. Kluge reviews the problem and suggests steps which may be taken to meet the urgent need for additional spectrum for this form of communications. I might say with some pride that the work and report of the Select Committee on Small Business serves as the basis for much of this article, and it indicates the contribution which congressional committees make in accumulating the information necessary to deal with problems facing the country.

The second article, by William L. Detwiler, is entitled "Something's Got To Give." Mr. Detwiler is a very knowledgeable person in the field of land mobile communications and he describes in compelling language the need for additional spectrum for land mobile communications.

In view of their importance, I include both of these articles in the RECORD at this point:

**FREQUENCY-SPECTRUM DILEMMA—CRISIS OR OPPORTUNITY—WE CANNOT TOLERATE A COMMUNICATIONS BREAKDOWN**

(By James E. Kluge)

"When man first discovered the resource of the electromagnetic spectrum less than a century ago one—not even Jules Verne—could have predicted that within 50 years of the first applications, man would be wrestling with apparent shortages of the means to accommodate an ever expanding demand. But such is the pace of the information revolution."—*JTAC Report, 1968, "Spectrum Engineering—The Key to Progress."*

"It is recommended that the Federal Communications Commission press forward with all possible vigor to completion of the proceedings under docket No. 18261 . . . that should the Commission fail to provide adequate relief for land-mobile users, that the Small Business Committee as constituted in the 91st Congress hold hearings at the earliest practicable date to ascertain the cause of such failure . . . that its hearings also address themselves to the recommendation made by The President's Task Force that the spectrum-management function be shifted to another entity within the federal government." *Subcommittee No. 5 of the Select Committee on Small Business, House of Representatives.*

Spectrum Saturation—Spectrum Utilization—Spectrum Conservation—Spectrum Management—Spectrum Engineering—Spectrum Crowding—Spectrum Congestion—Spectrum Pollution—Spectrum Strangulation—Spectrum Planning—Spectrum Sharing—Spectrum War—Spectrum Reallocation—Spectrum Priorities—Spectrum Clogging—Spectrum Coordination—Spectrum Resources—Spectrum Relief—National Defense—Public Safety—Public Services—Private Interests—Commercial Interests—Industrial Interests.

In one way or another these phrases point up the growing concern and serious need to solve the impending difficulties and acknowledge the seriousness of the matter. While frequencies apparently are becoming scarce, studies, reports, findings and recommendations are accumulating by "heaps and pounds". A solution goes begging while the problem becomes more critical.

The electromagnetic spectrum, as it is used for telecommunications, is an extremely valuable, in fact an essential, but also limited resource. It must be shared nationally and internationally among commercial, private, and public interests. It must be utilized as effectively and efficiently as is practicable.

For nearly 100 years the radio spectrum was considered an unlimited resource. It is unlimited in that it cannot be depleted by use, but its utility can be drastically reduced by misuses and abuses.

In the past 20 years it has suffered from limitations caused by saturation in certain bands. Much of this problem stems from those whose efforts were devoted to spectrum conservation rather than utilization. Unused spectrum is wasted spectrum. Our goal should be to use this spectrum, not just conserve it.

**LAND-MOBILE PROBLEM**

Although the congestion problem rears its head here and there throughout the frequency spectrum it presently is concentrated

primarily in that segment of the spectrum that includes frequencies between 25 and 890 MHz. In the most critical area of all are those frequencies allocated to the land-mobile services, namely 25-50, 150-174 and 450-470 MHz. Land-mobile services include taxicabs, buses, railroads, mobile telephones, many types of consumer services like plumbing, heating, refrigeration and the delivery of essential materials like fuel oil and emergency oxygen. The public utilities (telephone, gas and electric companies) depend on mobile radio to dispatch their repair crews to emergency situations. Other essential services include state and county highway departments, municipal street and water departments.

#### PUBLIC SAFETY ENDANGERED

The effectiveness of our police and fire departments definitely suffers during periods of civil disorder and natural catastrophe. During the Watts riots in Los Angeles, for example, police-radio transmissions continued without a break for 5 full days. During this time there was no break in the carrier and no break in the voice transmissions, according to Captain Kirby of the Los Angeles police department. Darwin Nielsen, chief communications officer of the Los Angeles fire department, described similar experiences relative to its use of two-way radios during the Watts riots. He said that at that time the department was controlling 110 companies by radio. "The air," he said, "was completely saturated and a large percentage of the messages were unintelligible or never did get through."

#### THE SPECTRUM SQUEEZE

The lack of sufficient frequencies in some portions of the spectrum is not in question. The question being debated is "do we simply need more frequencies or a better understanding of how to use those we have?" The Joint Technical Advisory Committee of the IEEE and EIA feels the answer is through more effective spectrum management implemented by a program of spectrum engineering. The President's Task Force on U.S. Communications Policy arrived at essentially the same conclusion and recommended an overhauling of our communication policies.

The plight of the land-mobile users, however, is well documented. Licensed transmitters have increased from 86,000 in 1949 to more than 3 million in 1969 with a conservative projection of more than 7 million in 1980. In 1949, 4.7 percent of the frequency spectrum was allocated to the land-mobile services. Today this same 4.7 percent must somehow serve this mushrooming demand. Certainly, adequate consideration has not been given to their needs.

#### WHAT ABOUT UHF-TV FREQUENCIES?

After years of being ignored, the land-mobile users finally have gained the ear of a congressional subcommittee. The subcommittee in turn is putting pressure on the FCC.

In its docket No. 18261, the FCC proposed to reallocate UHF-TV channels 14 through 20 to be shared with the land-mobile services in 25 major urban areas of the U.S. The Electronic Industries Assn. objects on the grounds that such sharing will generate interference between TV and land-mobile users to the detriment of both. Such a situation, they claim, would help no one and would be unsatisfactory to nearly all concerned. The solution, they feel, is to allocate channels 14 to 20 exclusively to land-mobile services. In many U.S. cities such as Denver, the UHF-TV spectrum is totally unused and therefore wasted.

Another FCC proposal, docket No. 18262, concerns the future use of the frequency band containing 806 to 960 MHz and the amendment of the rules that govern operation in this proposed band. This group of frequencies would include UHF-TV channels

70 through 83. The land-mobile communication section of the Industrial Electronics Division of the EIA has recommended that the frequencies between 806 and 947 MHz should be allocated immediately to the land-mobile radio services. In addition, it feels that this band of frequencies should be developed extensively by the FCC to encourage investment in developing equipment and systems that will meet future land-mobile needs. The EIA went on to say that suballocating some of this band is premature until the results of a developmental program can be appraised.

#### WAR WITH THE BROADCASTERS

Something of a war is shaping up between the entrenched TV broadcasters and the land-mobile people. At this point, they are grouping their forces and readying for a battle over the UHF-TV frequencies.

The National Assn. of Broadcasters is making every effort to protect its coveted 82 TV channels. The broadcasters argue that the spectacular growth of radio and television broadcasting has been made possible because the broadcast industry had the time and the spectrum space in which to develop. Lack of spectrum space, according to land-mobile people, is hindering the growth of two-way radio. Broadcasters, on the other hand, feel that if it becomes necessary to reallocate the spectrum, some sort of priority of spectrum-user needs, based on both private and public interest, has to be established.

The executive director of the Assn. of Maximum Service Telecasters, a group whose purpose it is to maintain and encourage the growth of an 82-channel VHF- and UHF-TV system, states that in the top 10 markets, namely New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Detroit, San Francisco, Cleveland, Pittsburgh and Washington, D.C., there were three UHF-TV stations under construction and six stations on the air in the lower seven UHF channels. This means reassigning new frequency channels if those seven channels were reallocated to land-mobile users. The cost of shifting a station to another channel has been estimated to be in the order of \$100-125 thousand per station. His association also feels that until the FCC limits the free access to land-mobile frequencies by small businesses and other land-mobile users, land-mobile services should not be permitted access to TV frequencies.

Unfortunately, some spokesmen for the broadcasters have belittled the business use of land-mobile, implying that their motives are convenience and profit only. It would be difficult to image that the TV industry is not engaged in profit making.

#### BROADCASTERS OFFERED A WAY OUT

William L. Detwiler, president of Radio Specialists Co., Denver, Colo., and an engineer, offers a suggestion designed to free space in the UHF-TV band. He believes that the taboos established by the FCC in 1949 are ultra-, ultraconservative and need updating and revising. This, he feels, would free a lot of UHF spectrum space for other uses.

These taboos are rules establishing mileage spacings between UHF-TV stations operating on the same channel, adjacent channels, and channels separated by sound, picture and IF image frequencies.

Initial taboos were based on data available from the operation of VHF-TV (channels 2-6). They do not account for the shielding effects of varying terrain, they assume omnidirectional transmitting and receiving antennas, and maximum permissible effective radiated power and antenna height.

Taboos on IF beat, intermodulation, adjacent channel interference, oscillator radiation, sound image and picture image all are based on anticipated characteristics of UHF-TV receiver design as envisioned in 1948.

Detwiler points out that mobile-receiver design has produced equipment that is

highly immune to this type of interference, even without taboos as provided for the TV industry. He claims that for a few cents per set, TV-set manufacturers could provide the necessary protection for interference and could relax, if not make unnecessary, some taboos. This, together with more realistic taboos based on today's information from NBS and other research groups, would free many megahertz of UHF spectrum without reducing the total number of UHF-TV channels.

#### CONGRESS LISTENS TO BOTH SIDES

As might be expected, Congress finally is getting into the act. It is putting pressure to bear on the FCC in the interest of small business. One such congressional committee is the so-called Dingell Subcommittee on Small Business. Last year it conducted hearings in four major cities and in December published a report entitled "The Allocation of Radio Frequency and Its Effect on Small Business". Rep. John D. Dingell of Michigan, chairman of the subcommittee, set forth the purpose and scope of the hearings at the opening session. It can be summarized as follows:

"The frequency spectrum is a valuable economic resource of our nation. It is limited and is subject to competing claims. The apportionment for that part of the spectrum the subcommittee is to consider is the 25- to 890-MHz band allocated by the FCC in 1949. Approximately 60 percent of this band is allocated to FM and TV broadcasting, 34 percent to government, something less than 1 percent for point-to-point radio use and less than 5 percent for land-mobile radio services. Radio-frequency congestion, although only one of the problems facing business today, is a serious road block to business radio users who want to continue to serve the public with the services the public wants and the public needs. Until necessary action is taken to allocate additional frequencies to small businesses, the problem will continue to be one of primary interest to the committee who is interested in the problems of the small businessman."

#### CONGRESSIONAL REPORT SUBMITTED

The Dingell Committee submitted its report in December 1968. By holding hearings in Washington, Los Angeles, Detroit and Chicago, it heard the testimony of many two-way radio users, both business and public safety, as well as representatives of the commercial broadcasters. The Dingell Committee's conclusions define the problem quite well, and are summarized herewith:

There is no method of communication as effective as land-mobile radio in meeting the needs of a wide variety of small businesses, as well as those of fire, police, national, state and local government services. Despite television's popular attraction, the development of land-mobile radio has had an equal, if not greater, public impact. It affects not only the means by which people communicate with each other, but also the means by which they travel, earn their livelihood, conduct their business, insure their safety and happiness, and obtain efficiently, and at a lower cost than would otherwise be possible, the goods and services they use.

#### LAND MOBILE SERVES TOTAL PUBLIC

Unlike other spectrum users in the 25- to 890-MHz band, land-mobile radio serves the total public. For example, it is used to dispatch electric, gas, water and telephone repair crews at the time of emergencies and natural disasters. A fuel-oil dealer radios one of his trucks about an urgent fuel-oil delivery; a plumber can be routed from one job to another without having to return to the shop. Police headquarters can deploy the nearest policeman to the scene of the accident or crime that has just been reported, and firemen inside a burning building can communicate with the fire chief outside. Even

the taxi is dispatched from call to call by land-mobile radio. It is thus the means of most efficient use of personnel and vehicles that serve the public directly.

It is clearly apparent that congestion in the small land-mobile radio-frequency-spectrum allocation denies the public many of the benefits that land-mobile radio could provide. Indeed, the committee finds that it is essential, in the public convenience, interest and necessity, for ample, additional, usable frequency spectrum to be allocated without delay for this means of communication.

#### EMERGENCY NEEDS MUST BE MET

Ample frequency spectrum, in this context, means ample spectrum to meet both the regular and emergency needs of the users of this form of communications. During times of major disturbances such as riots, the need for police communications not only increases in volume, but also is of the greatest importance in reducing and containing areas where trouble is about to erupt or has erupted. At these times, the number of calls the fire departments must meet also increases greatly, and the demands on the gas, water, telephone and electricity repair crews to shut off services to prevent fires and explosions or to reroute service to bypass damaged areas are much greater. A wide variety of businessmen also finds the calls for their services increase not only in number, but also in seriousness at such times. The ambulance company and the plumber who must deal with broken gas and water pipes are but two examples.

The needs of the public not only continue during such emergencies but actually increase. Delivery of milk, food and fuel must be continued, to avoid areas of possible violence. The testimony of the fuel-oil dealer who pointed out the danger of a truck loaded with fuel being attacked by rioters emphasizes the need for adequate communications at such times. Ambulance services, funeral directors and even diaper-delivery services also must be able to carry on their normal work.

#### HOME DELIVERIES BECOME URGENT

During major disturbances, people may be restricted to their homes. It then becomes increasingly important that goods and services be brought to their homes, not only because they cannot go out to obtain them, but also to reduce the amount of travel in the streets at such times. As the committee learned, taxi and livery companies receive an overwhelming number of calls for transportation at such times, and many users of this type operate in close cooperation with the public-safety officials to utilize their vehicles only for the most urgent calls. The committee wishes to emphasize the fact that the need of the public to be served by the wide variety of uses of land-mobile radio may well be greater during times of civil disturbances and natural disasters than at other times and require an expanded rather than contracted use of communications by land-mobile-radio users if the public interest is to be served properly.

#### INNOVATION TO BE ENCOURAGED

Ample frequency spectrum also means ample spectrum to allow for innovation, so that the public may have the benefit of such new uses, new equipment and new techniques as may be developed for land-mobile radio. There seems to be little doubt that the public presently is being denied the full extent of the benefits that land-mobile radio could provide today because of a lack of frequency spectrum to encourage such development. If adequate frequency spectrum is made available, these new uses, equipment and techniques will provide better law enforcement for our cities and rural areas, better state and local government services, and better service to the public from

businesses at a lower cost than otherwise could be achieved.

Testimony presented to the committee repeatedly has emphasized two points concerning the amount of frequency spectrum that must be allocated to the land-mobile-radio services to serve adequately the public interest. First, witness after witness has said that when he first began using land-mobile radio he had little or no congestion resulting from an overloading of his frequency channel, but that congestion had increased steadily because "not only has my organization grown and my use of radio grown along with it, but also more users are using radio than before." Second, witness after witness said that he could not take advantage of all of the ways he could use radio to serve the public better because the congestion in the portion of the spectrum allocated to land-mobile radio prevented a larger, effective use of his land-mobile-radio system.

In the committee's view, it is essential that newly allocated frequencies be suitable for equipment being used today or that can be made available quickly. As the committee uses the term "without delay", it means that the FCC should take every possible step to insure that its action is not delayed further.

#### UHF-TV LARGELY UNUSED

It is evident that there is a substantial amount of UHF frequency spectrum allocated to television, which presently is unused for television and would remain unused even if the lowest seven UHF channels were allocated completely to land-mobile-radio use. Indeed, it is clear from the report of Land Assoc., commissioned by the National Assn. of Broadcasters, that any gain in program diversity decreases so rapidly with more than three television stations serving an area that there may be questionable justification for the large number of TV assignments in and around major urban areas. Many of these are in the UHF band and do not contain operating stations. That report also commented:

"What should be noted, in addition, is that the proliferation of similar program types that occurs when stations are added beyond three consists largely of material already seen earlier on the network affiliates, that is, the so-called off-network, rerun programs of the situation comedy, quiz and game, adventure-drama types, along with feature films. The great bulk of the ETV allocations is going begging."

The committee also is aware of the fact that there have been suggestions by reputable radio engineers that it may be possible to narrow the present 6-MHz TV channel to 3 MHz, and thus make a substantial amount of VHF and UHF spectrum available for other uses if it should prove too difficult to provide for the reallocation of the lowest seven UHF channels to land-mobile radio.

#### FCC COMMENDED FOR ACTING

The FCC is commended for its action in commencing the two proceedings to determine whether that portion of the electromagnetic radio spectrum currently allocated to UHF-TV should be reallocated in part to land-mobile radio (FCC docket No. 18261 and docket No. 18262). While these two proceedings are less than definitive, they do signal at least a commencement of awareness by the Commission of the very serious problems confronting land-mobile users and the public, which is dependent upon their services. It is to be noted that in docket No. 18262, the Commission states in paragraph 9, "The Commission is persuaded that the burgeoning needs of the land-mobile service can be met on a long-term basis only through the allocation of additional spectrum space to that service. . . ." This is undeniably true. It is likewise hard to fault the Commission's statement that ". . . at this point in time it is generally agreed that

frequencies below about 1 GHz are most useful for general land-mobile applications. In looking to frequencies above 806 MHz to accommodate land-mobile service, the Commission recognizes that it will not meet immediate requirements and that several years of development may be required to establish a viable service. . . ." Conversely, the relief contemplated as the central strand of docket No. 18261, i.e., the awarding of the lowest seven UHF channels to land mobile, could, if properly delineated, afford immediate relief.

#### LAND-MOBILE RELIEF LONG OVERDUE

It is the conclusion of this committee, after studying all available pertinent facts, that relief is long overdue for land-mobile users, and that the public interest urgently requires prompt alleviation of this rapidly deteriorating situation. Further, it is clear that the radio spectrum, being as it is a public resource, should be available in an amount ample for their needs, as a matter of right, to the many divergent small-business interests and the members of the public whom they serve, no less than commercial broadcasters. It is recognized that such uses as law enforcement, fire protection and similar public protection must be afforded sufficient spectrum to protect the public. Subject to this qualification, however, it is clear that small business and other land-mobile users are fully entitled to equitable participation in the allocation of this vital resource.

It appears improbable that most spokesmen for the commercial broadcasting interests care to engage in a debate wherein they would argue that even the typical prime-time fare offered over television today better serves the public interest than the more efficient dispatching of an ambulance, a fuel-oil truck, a powerline maintenance wagon or similar unit. Indeed, one would be hard pressed to imagine a more disadvantageous comparison that might be undertaken by commercial broadcasting spokesmen than that comparing the social utility of the second rerun of "I Love Lucy" to the typical land-mobile operation.

#### COMMITTEE DEMANDS ACTION

In issuing this report at the beginning of this year (1969) the subcommittee notified the FCC that either "it press forward with all possible vigor to completion of the proceedings under docket 18261" or be prepared to answer why the spectrum-management function should not be shifted to another entity within the federal government. The committee said that after studying all available pertinent facts it must conclude that "relief is long overdue for land-mobile users and that the public interest urgently requires prompt alleviation of this rapidly deteriorating situation". It also asked that frequency allocations be made by the FCC without delay, explaining that without delay means that the commission should take every possible step to insure that its action is not further delayed.

#### A MICROWAVE SQUEEZE NOT FAR OFF

Although not concerned with the land-mobile problem, a saturation problem is shaping up in the microwave spectrum similar to what the land-mobile users experienced several years ago.

In the words of Richard P. Gifford, chairman of the JTAC, ". . . It appears that we have not yet learned the lesson. Recent regulatory action often has resulted in worse, not better spectrum engineering. . . It is time we made spectrum allocation subject to better engineering and management practices rather than a tool for administrative conveniences."

"User" or "block" allocations as an approach to spectrum administration have not produced the desired results in the HF or

VHF bands. There is now little reason to believe that it can succeed in the microwave region.

It is interesting to note that in the HF band, block allocations were completely abandoned many years ago because of spectrum crowding that occurred even before WW II. Today, no government/commercial differentiation exists in the HF band.

With a saturation problem taking shape in microwave relay, and with data and video communications expanding at a rapid pace, a solution must be found, and soon.

#### MILLIMETER WAVES EMERGE AS NEW HOPE

Millimeter waves hold forth new hope in providing more usable spectrum. Millimeter waves refer to those frequencies between 30 and 300 GHz. A whole new technology recently has emerged that has opened up these frequencies to potential users. Going higher in frequency, however, poses new operational difficulties, but hopefully they will be surmounted.

Millimeter-wave technology is a whole new ball game. Components are available, but they're expensive. Atmospheric absorption poses an operational problem, but there are frequency windows where absorption is minimal.

Bell Labs. has been doing extensive research on helix and circular waveguide for transmitting hundreds of thousands of voice channels securely and reliably. Experimental millimeter-wave radio links also are being studied as a possible system for relieving crowding in the microwave spectrum. However, such systems may suffer from rain, fog, and other atmospheric effects.

#### OPTICAL SYSTEMS

Laser communications is another technology being studied. There is much interest in the laser as a medium of transmission. However, in the earth's atmosphere it suffers from the same perturbing effects as millimeter waves. Space and planetary communications offer more promise since atmospheric effects are minimal. But then it wasn't too many years ago that the same skepticism was raised concerning the future of microwaves as a communication medium.

#### SPECTRUM ENGINEERING—A PARTIAL ANSWER

Spectrum engineering is the technical component of spectrum management. It deals with the maximum effectiveness in using the frequency spectrum.

Three major functions of spectrum engineering are frequency selection, engineering planning and interference reduction.

The JTAC (Joint Technical Advisory Committee) of the IEEE and EIA, working for 5 years and producing a 1200-page report, formulated the development of a spectrum-engineering system founded on two basic principles. First, the system must be evolutionary. Changes in the system must be well thought out and announced beforehand to insure continued support from those concerned. Also, any future planning must consider the capital investment in existing equipment. Second, controlling the spectrum must not be accomplished through the application of simple but rather restrictive and rigid administrative rules. Instead, there should be increased technical assessment given to individual users and user applications in a given geographical location. If the block-allocation concept is to continue, then its application should be minimal and flexible. Objective measures should be employed to determine an applicant's need and his ultimate utilization of the spectrum.

#### SPECTRUM-ENGINEERING FUNCTIONS

The frequency-selection function would be a day-to-day process to determine the applicant's technical requirements. Selection may be done by the applicant himself or a frequency-selection team.

Engineering planning concerns itself with

long-term influences on spectrum utilization. These include preparation for international conferences on allocations, setting operating standards, prescribing procedures and criteria for frequency selection, prescribing analytical procedures for estimating potential interference and guidance for interference activities.

The interference-reduction function includes measurement of equipment characteristics for data base, measurement of equipment for performance to standards, monitoring unauthorized or improper spectrum use and fostering the development of new monitoring equipment.

Such a system of spectrum engineering would provide valuable planning data, permit sharing among spectrum users, reduce interference, eliminate many sources of EMI, and offer the objectivity, competence and manpower to evaluate technical proposals.

#### CONCLUSION

It appears, then, that a fight is shaping up between the commercial interests of the TV broadcasters and the private and public interests of the small businessmen. The small businessmen feel that the radio spectrum is a natural resource that should be available for public use. They see 60 percent of the spectrum tied up by the FM and TV broadcasters, the majority of this space unused and virtually wasted. Another 34 percent is tied up by the government. Their share—4.7 percent—is bursting at the seams. In general they feel that they've been given the "short end of the stick", and they're determined to correct the situation.

JTAC, the President's Task Force and others say that we need a complete overhaul of communication policy and administration—perhaps, even a new administrator. The FCC is under attack. There are seven commissioners—three Republicans and four Democrats. One has been a commissioner for 23 years, one is a former FBI agent, another a former UN ambassador, another a former employee of the National Assn. of Broadcasters and the other three are lawyers. Although the Commission has a staff of technically competent people, the decisions are made by the commissioners. This is where the battles between the broadcasters and land-mobile people will be fought. But regardless of who comes out the victor, the real battle will be won or lost within the FCC itself.

What about the future? Will we see more patchwork and delay or some fundamental policy and administrative changes as recommended by The President's Task Force and the JTAC?

The following article presents the land-mobile users' point of view that there now exists a serious shortage of available spectrum for use by land-mobile users, a shortage that is approaching crisis proportions. The answer, they feel, is to reallocate frequencies that presently are unused, such as UHF-TV.

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#### SOMETHING'S GOT TO GIVE

(In 1949 land-mobile was allocated a mere 40 MHz out of 865 MHz. Since then, licensed land-mobile units have increased from 86,000 to over 3 million—Faced with growing demands and new services.)

(William L. Detwiler)

If the average citizen was asked to name some of the most pressing issues of today in the field of communications, he would most likely reply: CATV, violence on television and the proposed ban on over-the-air cigarette advertising. Few persons would mention the frequency congestion on two-way, land-mobile radio channels, which threatens to choke the communications used by police, fire, forestry conservation, highway maintenance and virtually all public-safety agencies, state and local governments, large and small businesses, utilities, manufacturers and transportation companies.

#### CONGESTION IS NOT NEW

Congestion really isn't anything new: it's simply unnoticed by the casual observer. With a television receiver in the living room of almost every American family, it's only natural that news coverage, violence and programming are the prime broadcast concerns of the public. But the average citizen does not see the benefits he reaps from the advantages offered by a radio-dispatched service, whether it be public safety, industrial or transportation.

Graphically, frequency congestion has been depicted by the Federal Communications Commission in its 1966 *Annual Report* as a "condition . . . not unlike that of a main highway on a summer weekend, so overcrowded with vehicles that traffic has come to a standstill. Getting it moving again . . . becomes a problem of gigantic proportions." But if each vehicle stuck on that highway were a service vehicle—police, fire, electrical, plumber, power, taxi, truck—the impact on the public would be far greater than just the inconvenience of a crowded thoroughfare. It would be devastating.

Never before has a society or an economy relied so heavily on services to protect life and property, and to serve the public interest, convenience and necessity. A recent report of a House of Representatives Small Business Subcommittee underlined the impact of radio-equipped services on the public. The report described the uses of radio as unending.

#### ROOM NEEDED FOR GROWTH

In addition to the vast number of services that require immediate frequency relief, innovations in land-mobile-communications technology are on the doorstep of fruition. In the next few years the public will be served by newer and more sophisticated forms of communications, particularly in the area of data-transmission and remote-control functions. For example, police and fire vehicles will receive messages via mobile teleprinter and will be capable of retrieving information over the air regarding missing persons, vehicle and gun registration from a central computerized information system. Special sensors will be employed by ambulances en route to transmit to hospitals a patient's electrocardiogram, pulse and respiratory beat; power services will employ sensors to transmit reservoir water levels to a central reporting station; firefighting equipment will be controlled remotely to operate in areas too hazardous for humans. Truly, land-mobile technology is entering an era of tremendous growth and of applications no one even visualized a few short years ago.

Yet, in spite of the unique and important role that land-mobile radio plays and will continue to play in the future, the lack of frequency space could hinder this new growth. With present land-mobile channels already crowded in the major metropolitan

areas, the technological boom will place an even greater strain on these frequencies as newer applications for radio use come into being. Therefore, the need for spectrum relief for the land-mobile services is twofold: (1) to alleviate the severe congestion on the present land mobile bands and (2) to accommodate the new land-mobile technology that will be upon us in the very near future.

#### EFFECTS OF CONGESTION FAR REACHING

The necessity for relieving the frequency congestion that exists today cannot be overstressed. It is a vital issue, the effects of which are far reaching. To illustrate, the Associated Public-Safety Communications Officers—a national organization representing the country's police and public-safety radio communicators—recommends a maximum 33-percent channel-loading factor for police radio. This means, in effect, that optimum usage time for a police-radio channel should be approximately 20 min out of the hour to provide for an adequate reserve factor in the event of emergencies. Testimony of witnesses before a Congressional Subcommittee has revealed that in Los Angeles, for example, the loading factor is closer to 60 percent and often more than 80 percent on a normal weekday. During the Watts riots in 1964, the channels were completely loaded for 5 straight days.

The situation in the business-radio service in Los Angeles, while not measured in the same way as the public-safety-radio services, is similar. Public-safety frequencies are assigned by the FCC to police departments on an exclusive basis, as compared to business frequencies, which are shared by varying numbers of licensed business users. A telecommunications advisory panel of the U.S. Department of Commerce reported that in Los Angeles there may be up to 70 or 60 businesses on one radio channel with anywhere from 500 to 600 radio-equipped vehicles using that channel. While the statistics may vary from city to city, the top metropolitan areas—New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and Detroit—suffer from acute congestion of this type to the point where communications are being stifled.

#### LAND-MOBILE CONTINUES GROWING

The original frequency allocations were made by the FCC in 1949 when there were a mere 86,000 licensed land-mobile transmitters on the air. Of the usable radio spectrum from 25 to 890 MHz, land-mobile services were allocated a total of 40 MHz.

Today the situation is drastically different. Few persons in 1949 envisioned the multiplicity of uses that would develop for land-mobile radio in the ensuing 20 years, and during that time the number of licensed transmitters burgeoned to more than 3 million. In addition, several new land-mobile subservices that did not exist in 1949 were added to the FCC rules. The increasing strain on the 40 MHz allocated to the land-mobile services caused by the growing number of transmitters can be traced in the FCC Annual Reports for the past 10 years:

1958: "... the Commission's objective (is) . . . to relieve, to the greatest extent possible, the frequency congestion that prevails in most of these services."

1962: "The various industrial services grow within the confines of a very small portion of the usable radio spectrum. This situation has led to extremely congested operating conditions in many areas."

1964: "One of the most pressing problems faced by the Commission is to find frequency relief for the public-safety, industrial and land-transportation radio services. These land-mobile-radio operations have grown rapidly in the past few years and frequency shortage has become acute in many geographic areas."

1966: "The major problem facing the Land-Mobile-Radio Services, as well as one of the thorniest confronting the Commis-

sion, is the congestion in the limited spectrum space available to these intensively populated services."

Existing land-mobile-radio channels already have been split by the FCC several times. The most recent was last June when channels in the 450- to 470-MHz band were reduced to 25 kHz. The FCC admittedly recognizes the splits as short-term measures until a more adequate and comprehensive solution is found. But the industry, in effect, has reached the technological point where channel splitting no longer can be accomplished effectively and economically. What now is required is additional spectrum.

#### PROPOSED SOLUTION FOR RELIEF

However, while the existence of frequency congestion is obvious, the solution to the problem is not. Numerous and varying proposals are being advocated as the answer. Many of them do not take into account the nature of the land-mobile user, his needs, the area he covers and the importance of his ability to communicate efficiently, rapidly and with timeliness. Engineering solutions have technological limits and, with only a total of 40 MHz to work with, the limits of what can be done in the development of the state-of-the-art have been reached as far as channel bandwidth reduction is concerned.

Some experts in the communications field agree that realistic and immediate relief for the land-mobile services will have to come from the UHF-TV allocation, 470 to 890 MHz. Within this allocation, the FCC has provided for a total of 1098 station assignments across the country. To date, there are only 268 stations on the air, representing an actual operating assignment factor of 25 percent. There is no denying the need for other types of competitive broadcasting systems; however, there is a serious question with regard to the hundreds of idle UHF-TV assignments for which spectrum space is being held indefinitely, but which never may be filled. It is possible and feasible to employ UHF spectrum for land-mobile frequency relief while also permitting the full growth of a UHF-TV system and accommodating all UHF-TV assignments.

The next step, then, is to analyze several of the most current proposals for frequency relief that have been advanced by various agencies and groups concerned with the Land-Mobile-Radio Services.

1. Geographic Sharing—In one of its recent land-mobile Notices of Proposed Rulemaking, docket 18261, the FCC has proposed to reallocate to the land-mobile services in the top 25 urban areas unused channels from the block of UHF-TV channels 14 through 20. This proposal has become popularly known as "geographic sharing". The rule-making would impose on the land-mobile systems employing these channels geographic, power and antenna-height limitations to protect the UHF-TV table of assignments—whether or not the stations are actually on the air.

Although the concept has a degree of merit, it does not face the realities of the typical land-mobile operation. Geographically, land-mobile users employing these new channels would be confined to the top 25 urban areas as defined by the 1960 census. Services, however, have no geographic boundaries. Furthermore, the physical limits of the urban area will be changed following the 1970 census and, in fact, will continue to expand as the population densities of suburban areas increase. The 1960 urban limits already are obsolete, and even then have never served to mark the boundaries of commercial zones, service areas or areas of public-safety responsibility.

A second major drawback to the sharing plan is that in a number of urban areas, the power and antenna-height restrictions are so stringent that few, if any, radio users would

be afforded relief. In Chicago, for example, the maximum allowable power would be 50W effective-radiated power with an antenna height of 50 ft above average terrain. Under ideal conditions, the range of such a system would be approximately 5 miles. Not taken into account are the high-rise office and residential buildings that will reduce tremendously the range of an already restricted land-mobile system. A 50-ft antenna will be the same height approximately as a 5-story building—a miniature structure in a city where buildings are often more than 40 stories high.

2. 900 MHz—In a companion Notice of Proposed Rulemaking to docket 18261, the Commission has proposed to reallocate 806 to 947 MHz to the land-mobile-radio services. The possibility of offering this region of the spectrum for land-mobile relief has been increased by the returning of 26 MHz of space in this band to the FCC's purview by the Office of Telecommunications Management.

At frequencies above 600 MHz, propagation characteristics become vastly more complex and unpredictable than at, say, 450 MHz. Land-mobile-radio equipment, comparable to that operating now in the present land-mobile bands, does not now exist that will operate at the higher UHF frequencies. If and when the 900-MHz band opens up, it will be best suited for short-range or multiple-base-station-type operations. It will not, however, be a reasonable substitute for 450 MHz because of its inherent short-range-only characteristics.

The 900-MHz region would be suitable for some new uses of land-mobile systems. But because of the long-term nature of 900-MHz band development and the complex engineering processes, additional lower-band frequencies still will be necessary to alleviate the immediate congestion.

#### TRUNKING OFFERS LITTLE HOPE

Trunking methods often have been proposed as one of the panaceas for mobile-radio congestion. Taking the example of trunking methods used by telephone companies, many outside the mobile-radio industry claim that application of these principles to mobile radio can result in substantial improvement in the utilization of the few channels we have available. Although the economies of trunking are well known, and equations for the advantage gained by trunking are indisputable for telephone-type uses, they cannot be converted directly into mobile radio. Those who believe they can are assuming that the typical mobile-radio exchange of communications is similar in nature to a telephone call, and this simply is not so—the typical mobile-radio communication consists of a rapid-fire, short communication between two vehicles, or between a vehicle and its base station. The trunking arrangements used by the telephone companies in their mobile-telephone systems simply are not applicable to such rapid-fire communications. The time to switch to an unused channel, and meet the other party there, is longer than the typical mobile-radio exchange.

To apply the use of trunking to typical mobile-radio use, therefore, would require entirely new and automatic trunk-switching concepts. These are not impossible, but they certainly would be expensive—adding further and unnecessarily to the cost borne by the mobile-radio licensee. Once such an automatic system were put into operation, the courtesy between users—which now provides for rapid and efficient message dispatch—would be lost because attention no longer would focus on the occasional hogging of the channel by an individual user. The length of messages would tend to increase, and the end result might be even worse congestion.

In the case of public-safety services—such as police and fire—the trunking arrangement would provide absolutely no advantage. How could trunking have helped the Los Angeles

people during their riots when all of their channels already were loaded in excess of 100-percent capacity? Anybody who has attempted to call the police department during a time of major emergency has had a demonstration of how trunking breaks down during such overloads. They just get a busy signal each time they call in.

A logical approach to solving congestion has been offered to the FCC by the Land-Mobile-Communications Council (LMCC), a comprehensive group of land-mobile user associations. In view of the present imbalance in spectrum allocations, the LMCC has urged that the Commission reallocate to the land-mobile services UHF-TV channels 14 through 20 on a nationwide basis.

The advantages of such a reallocation do not at first meet the eye. Television long has been an integral part of the household, the community and, in fact, the nation, and depriving the UHF-broadcast system of seven channels would appear to strike into every man's living room.

But this is not the case. Reallocation does not entail any effort on the part of land-mobile users to curtail the full development of a UHF-TV broadcasting system, but merely acknowledges that there is ample spectrum space for all types of communications services without imposing hardships on one or the other.

Any reallocation plan would be designed to have minimal impact on television service. No television station now operating on channels 14 to 20 would go off the air. These stations would simply move to a channel higher than channel 20. Studies carried out by the FCC's Land-Mobile Frequency Relief Committee and by an outside engineering firm—Earl Cullum & Assoc., Dallas, Tex.—retained by the Land-Mobile Communications Council, show that any stations from channels 14 to 20 displaced by a reallocation can be found operating frequencies above channel 20.

Furthermore, a reallocation could take place over a specified time frame so that all television broadcasting from channels 14 to 20 would not have to be relocated all at one time. The relocation of many of the stations involved could be timed to coincide with their licensing or equipment amortization periods, which would further reduce any inconvenience they would face in changing frequencies.

#### ADVANTAGES OF REALLOCATION

The advantages of reallocation as a means of frequency relief are numerous. First, the potential for interference inherent in a sharing plan would be eliminated completely. Just as today's land-mobile systems operating on 470-MHz interface with channel 14 (470-476-MHz) in several cities, so under reallocation there still would be only one point of interface, but this time at 512 MHz, i.e., channel 21.

Second, there would be no necessity to impose geographic or power and antenna-height restrictions on land-mobile systems, as in a sharing scheme. At the same time, television stations in large cities, protected in a sharing plan by distance separation, could raise their transmitting power or change antenna sites to adapt to changing market conditions. Once a sharing plan is implemented, their present power output would represent a ceiling because nearby channels would be used by land-mobile units.

Finally, the UHF-TV spectrum shows little promise of being fully activated and could be employed usefully by a needy service. Wasting this public resource is not in the public interest as long as such important services as land-mobile have critical needs.

#### NEW SPECTRUM NEEDED

Communications of all types are on the threshold of revolutionizing industry, transportation, public safety and literally the entire way in which the American citizen lives.

There is no glamour attached to the operations of two-way radio, or the services rendered by a typical user, but they are the unseen underpinning of a vital part of our economy and society. There is ample room in the frequency spectrum for all services to flourish, and there is sufficient space to accommodate present and future broadcast applications. To assure the equitable distribution of frequencies to those services that make our way of life safe, convenient and comfortable, new spectrum is needed for the traditional uses and the newer ones just on the horizon. We need to make sure that they both get the chance to survive.

#### DATABANK

One of the best indicators of the urgency for solving the spectrum-congestion problem is the number of groups actively concerned with fact-finding and data-gathering. Countless studies have been made in the past 5 years, and thousands of pages of reports have been published. A few of the more significant are summarized below.

1. JTAC 1968, "Spectrum Engineering—The Key to Progress"—The Joint Technical Advisory Committee, comprised of technical and engineering people working under the auspices of the IEEE and EIA, has studied spectrum usage and conservation almost continuously since its formation in 1948. This 1200-page report represents more than 5 years of work involving more than a hundred radio experts. The committee envisages a continuous postponement of a crisis in spectrum saturation through sophisticated engineering techniques in spectrum usage. (JTAC, 345 E. 47th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017.)

2. The Advisory Committee for the Land-Mobile-Radio Services, 1967. An ad hoc committee established by the FCC in March 1964 studied serious frequency-congestion problems affecting land-mobile services. It explores measures to resolve those problems without allocating additional radio frequencies. Composed of more than 200 members representing specialized land-mobile expertise, the committee examined in detail for 3 years the technical, operational, administrative and spectrum-utilization facets of these services. The report made only two major recommendations for relief: (1) that channel spacing in 450-MHz band be reduced and new channels made available be allocated immediately; (2) that expanded interservice sharing of land-mobile channels be permitted to achieve maximum utilization.

3. The IRAC Spectrum-Planning Subcommittee, 1968. IRAC stands for Interdepartment Radio Advisory Committee working jointly with the FCC. Working Group 3 under its Spectrum Planning Subcommittee SPS-3 examined radio-frequency congestion in the first 10 standard metropolitan statistical areas of the U.S. Study was confined to bands of 138 to 174, 406 to 420 and 450 to 470 MHz. It appears that about 787 25-kHz channels in the above mentioned bands are unassigned in the Los Angeles area at this time. The report cautions that for various technical and operational reasons many of these apparently assignable channels are not usable in the area. SPS-3 indicated that the existing frequencies in the Los Angeles area are adequate to accommodate government land-mobile requirements through 1973. But it was unable to predict how long the presently allocated nongovernment land-mobile bands can accommodate expanding requirements in Los Angeles. SPS-3 concluded that the 380 newly derived channels at 450 to 470 MHz plus improved interservice sharing through the frequency-pool concept would suffice for the next 3 or 4 years.

4. "The Frequency-Card Study of the Land-Mobile Services", 1963. The land-mobile section of the Electronic Industries Assn. made a duplicate set of the FCC's 350,000 electronic computer cards relating to authorizations issued to the Public-Safety Industrial Land Transportation Citizens and

Common Carrier Services in the 25- to 890-MHz band. The study was to confirm and support the knowledge of the number of land-mobile radio systems and units in specific geographical areas on each frequency assigned to each service and thereby enable all concerned to gain additional information pertinent to the loading of frequencies in any service in any area. Study showed a close correlation between numbers of transmitters and total population, e.g., more than 50 percent of licensed transmitters are concentrated in less than 8 percent of the U.S. land area. The report concluded that FCC should foster expanded use of mobile radio in the public interest rather than containing it. (EIA, 2001 Eye St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.)

5. "Electromagnetic Spectrum Utilization—The Silent Crisis"—U.S. Department of Commerce, 1966. The Telecommunication Science Panel (TSP) was established ad hoc by the Commerce Technical Advisory Board with the cooperation of the director of Telecommunications Management, the Federal Communications Commission, the Department of Commerce and the Department of Defense, TSP, composed of recognized leaders in their field selected from outside government, studied the status of research in the U.S. designed to support and improve the utilization of the electromagnetic spectrum. The most significant of the conclusions are as follows:

(1) There exists a variety of natural incentives and consequently adequate research programs to support continuous progress to seek extensions of the usable portion of the spectrum.

(2) On the other hand, there is a clear lack of natural incentives and consequently almost no research to provide an evolutionary optimization of the use of the spectrum among the various functions on the basis of overall value to the nation.

The TSP recommended that the federal government establish or develop a research organization to support, but be independent of, the FCC and the director of telecommunications management in a clearly established responsibility for the allocation of the electromagnetic spectrum in the U.S.

6. "Frequency Management in the Executive Branch of the Government"—Office of Telecommunications Management, 1966. This report contains an appeal for immediate implementation of a major long-range planning program for the future allocation and use of the radio spectrum and to find ways other than radio to accomplish as many communication tasks as practicable.

7. FCC Planned Mobile-Frequency-Relief Committee—FCC, 1967. Report issued a public notice stating that it was undertaking an intensified in-house study of: (1) the feasibility of meeting the needs of the land-mobile-radio services within spectrum space now allocated to UHF television channels; (2) the feasibility of land-mobile use of a large number of TV channels on a geographic basis to minimize the impact on television displacement and growth potential; (3) re-allocating the top 14 UHF television channels to the land-mobile-radio services.

The committee examined these three possibilities with two objectives in mind: (1) to afford immediate relief in those areas where the problem presently is acute, and (2) to make long-range plans commensurate with the projected requirements of the land-mobile services to the year 1980.

8. "National Association of Business and Education Radio" study, 1968. A study to discover what avenues might be pursued in providing a measure of relief for the land-mobile-radio services and what impact a possible course of action might have on present and future uses of this spectrum. The study was conducted in conjunction with the radio engineering firm of Moloney & Assocs. It was presented to the FCC staff in January 1968. The report concluded that part of the

solution to the land-mobile-radio problem could be developed through the reallocation of channels 14 to 20 to those services, particularly in major urban areas, with minimal impact on UHF TV. (NABER, 1330 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.)

9. "Chicago Land-Mobile-Usage Survey." This is a comprehensive survey of every licensed transmitter in the Chicago area. The survey was conducted by the Motorola Co. of Chicago to evaluate channel loading, interference, service growth rates, etc. The primary objective was to provide quantitative evidence of the land-mobile-service needs as a contribution to encourage better frequency management. Data were obtained from nearly 4000 land-mobile users.

The report points out: (1) The percentage of licensed base stations in operation varied from 60 to 80 percent, with the highest ratio in the 150-MHz band. Corresponding ratios for the mobile equipment could be as low as 50 percent. (2) Although the number of equipments in operation appeared significantly less than equipment authorized, it is difficult to attach any particular significance to this fact other than that the land-mobile services are concerned with their communication problems even though the equipments in operation may be fewer than indicated by the number of licenses issued. (Motorola Communications & Electronics, Inc., 4501 W. Augusta Blvd., Chicago, Ill. 60651.)

10. "A Survey of Public-Safety Telecommunication Requirements and Capabilities", conducted under contract by Kelly Scientific Co. for The President's Task Force on Communications Policy. Its objective was to "identify major U.S. metropolitan areas where lack of adequate radio communications hindered police and fire protection, rescue services or other aspects of public safety." Inadequate frequency resources for public safety were alleged to have contributed to crisis conditions such as recent riots and demonstrations.

11. "Managing the Spectrum Economically—Alternatives and Experiments". The TEMPO study was undertaken by the General Electric Co. for The President's Task Force on Communications Policy to investigate the feasibility of establishing an improved basis for assigning relative values in spectrum allocation. The study compares a number of alternative procedures whereby the federal government might license use of the radio-frequency spectrum. In the course of the study an analysis is made of what should constitute good spectrum management.

The study analyzes three major alternative spectrum-management systems. Namely: (1) the present FCC/OTM system, (2) spectrum engineering as "evolved for the armed forces and by ECAC", and (3) assignment of licenses to use spectrum through the "market" place—in other words, by auctioning.

12. Metropolitan Spectrum Congestion Task Group of The President's Task Force on U.S. Communications Policy. The members of this task group were made available by government agencies having a direct interest in telecommunications. The task group examined spectrum congestion in the Los Angeles metropolitan area.

The task group found that, although complete and accurate data on spectrum usage were not available, there was sufficient evidence to indicate that most present users generally were satisfied and that all current claimants can be satisfied. Application of current state-of-the-art technology and better operation practices, development and use of higher portions of the spectrum, and expanded use of systems engineering would resolve not only the much discussed land-mobile problem but also would satisfy all claimants for the foreseeable future.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE AMERICAN SOLDIER IN VIETNAM

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, there have been a lot of wild, sensational, and completely false charges about the conduct of American troops in Vietnam that sound as if our fighting men in that country were indiscriminate killers.

First Sgt. Robert L. Pruden, of Indianapolis, speaking from 18 years' Army service, including Vietnam duty, has refuted this charge in a straightforward manner. Following is his letter to the editor of the Indianapolis, Ind., *Star*, which appeared in that paper on July 18, 1969:

AMERICANS DO NOT KILL WOMEN AND CHILDREN, VETERAN SAYS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE STAR: Gene Gardner, in his letter of July 15, gives no reasons why he thinks the war in Vietnam is "politically, diplomatically, militarily, economically and morally wrong."

His second paragraph cannot remain unanswered because it parrots a charge I first heard in 1951.

I have spent 18 years in the army, and I have served in two wars. Both my tours have involved ground combat against an armed enemy; I have never killed, nor have I known anyone else who killed a woman or child. We didn't do it even when we knew they were enemies. I can recall a 12-year-old boy in Binh Phuoc district of Long An province who was captured and told us he had been a member of the Binh Phuoc mortar platoon for a year and a half. The men who captured that boy went out of their way, they risked their lives to take him alive. Because in spite of what you may have been told or read, American troops are not killers of women and children.

Gardner should not be so quick to say that we "measure manliness" by "willingness and ability to murder Vietnamese." I have visited hamlets after the Viet Cong Special Action squads have paid a night call. The results are not pretty. I have seen a man shot 14 times with a pistol, and that required the assassin to reload with the man lying in the road at his feet. His crime? He happened to be bicycling along Highway 4 when a VC squad crossed, and he saw them.

There were some doubts in my mind when I went to Vietnam. There are none there now. The cause of freedom in South Vietnam is just; and if we refuse to help these people who have asked for our aid, then we deserve whatever judgment history has for us.

There are no better judges of Vietnam than those who have been there. I came back as the 1st Sgt. on D Company, 3d Battalion, 60th Infantry. When we paraded in Seattle, the peace at any price demonstrators attempted to disrupt the ceremony. Since we were in ranks, we could not even acknowledge their presence. But it was a different story when we left the Seattle Civic Center and found them on the sidewalk with their signs reading "Bring them all back." A young SP4 right in front of me shouted, "If you want 'em back, why don't you go get 'em?" As we pulled away in our buses, there were some dimes and quarters tossed to them with the admonition to "get a haircut." This from some men I had sent to the barber shop 3 times in Dong Tam to prepare for the parades.

Until you have been there and seen, it's difficult to make an accurate assessment of the actual issues surrounding the Vietnam

question. But please remember, the men who have been there, the ones who have seen their comrades die, overwhelmingly support our commitment there. They have sacrificed the most, and they believe they are right.

ROBERT L. PRUDEN.

DEMOCRATS MUST OCCUPY THE MIDDLE

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the editorial director of the Dallas Morning News, Mr. Dick West, has written a thought-provoking column which appeared in the October 19 edition of that paper. It has to do with the outlook of the Democratic Party and I think of great interest to all of us.

The editorial follows:

DEMOCRATS MUST OCCUPY THE MIDDLE (By Dick West)

The basic lesson of American politics, since the late Franklin D. Roosevelt led a hesitant and isolated nation to war in 1941, is that a national political party—to be effective and victorious—must capture and appeal to the "middle" and not float too far to the left or right.

There are local and regional exceptions, of course—in Dallas County, for instance, it is hard to be a middle-of-the-roader—but nationally the party which can be moderate but progressive, reasonable but firm, has a better chance than one which shifts back and forth from the left and right extremes.

The late Dwight Eisenhower became the only Republican president in a period of 36 years (1933-1969) because (1) he was an attractive personality with a hero image and (2) he somehow brought the Taft (conservative) and Dewey (liberal) wings of the party together in a successful coalition of the middle.

Barry Goldwater had the same chance in 1964—but at the Cow Palace convention in San Francisco he was arrogant, uncompromising and defiant in ordering the moderate and liberal Republicans to go along with him in right field or get out. They got out, and he went down to the worst defeat in history.

Dick Nixon learned the value of the middle in his eight years as Eisenhower's vice-president. He is disliked by most liberals of his own party, but last year he managed to corral enough of them, along with the right wing, to win his party's nomination and a narrow victory in November because he tossed his pitches to the political middle as well as to the "forgotten Americans" of the middle class.

The Democratic Party is in sad shape today nationally because its top leadership is ignoring the middle and the right. Its front line is balanced too far to the left, just as Goldwater wanted his interference forming on the right before he carried the ball.

This was the basic message delivered by Bob Strauss in a significant speech recently to Democratic women at the State Fair.

It was significant, because Mr. Strauss, local attorney, is national committeeman from Texas.

Strauss reminded these ladies that the Democratic party has been strong since the days of F. D. Roosevelt because it followed Sam Rayburn's advice: "There is room under the umbrella for all of us—whites, blacks, liberals, conservatives and middle-of-the-roads."

Extremism breeds extremism, Strauss warned, adding: "We must remain a party of moderation which encompasses a great collection of religious, economic, cultural, ethnic, occupational and social minorities who have been the backbone of this nation's progress."

The people of America, he continued, "are yearning for the politics of moderation, of progress with responsibility and of strength with sensitivity for every point of view."

Just why, you may be asking, are remarks like these so significant?

Because a few weeks before, Strauss was in Washington for a closed-door meeting of the Democratic National Committee and he warned the committee's top dogs that they were ignoring the party's conservative and moderate wings—and if they continued, the party's immediate future would be bleak.

His remarks were directed primarily to the party's national chairman, Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma, who has set up a policy council for the national party and loaded it with liberals. The two representatives from Texas on the council are liberals, and Strauss warned Sen. Harris he is inviting disaster unless he "broadens the base" and invites conservatives and moderates to the dinner table.

Strauss was rough in that secret session, but when he finished there was loud applause. Harris got the message, because the council will be broadened in the future.

It so happens that Strauss, though few people know it, is the best money-raiser the Democratic party has. He is given a big share of the credit for Humphrey carrying Texas last year.

He is part of the brain trust behind the Connally faction in Texas. He remains on cordial terms with Preston Smith, and he long ago became a confidante to Ben Barnes. Some of the liberals like him, too, so Strauss can't be ignored by party leaders because he represents a broad base in Texas and the South and this is the region which the Democrats must regain if they hope to defeat Nixon.

In setting up the "policy council" of liberals which will shape the party's image between now and 1972, Sen. Harris did not even consult Strauss on the Texas appointments.

Strauss mentioned this fact in the important Washington meeting, adding acidly that the party leaders had no trouble finding him four times in seven days toward the end of the 1968 campaign with respect to raising a million dollars for a final push.

In January of 1963, John Connally became governor of Texas and immediately began strengthening the "middle" of the state's majority party. Liberals were gaining on the left, Republicans on the right, and the future of the party was not too good.

But Connally gradually isolated the left and right extremes; he himself became unbeatable and he developed a moderate-conservative image which put the party in every county on a firmer foundation.

That is exactly what Sen. Harris should be doing nationally.

Incidentally, Connally's name is being mentioned by some in the South, the Midwest and Border states as a vice-presidential nominee in 1972.

Connally is showing no interest in politics right now and certainly has not spawned such talks. But candidates and leaders of his type and ideology will have to be given more prominence and stature in the party if it hopes to break Nixon's hold on that vast area west of the Alleghenies.

If the country goes to pot, economically, just about any kind of Democratic ticket can win in 1972. But if times are anywhere near normal, the Democratic party must have balance to win. Its base cannot be out in left field with "doves," Walter Reuther, a scattering of intellectuals and Father Groppi.

## RARICK REPORTS ON MORATORIUM

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, on October 19 I made a radio and television report to the people of my district on the moratorium.

I include the text of my report in the RECORD:

#### RARICK REPORTS ON MORATORIUM

I'm John Rarick, your representative in Washington.

Last week, the American people were subjected to a skillfully promoted and well-publicized display of organized contempt for our system of Government and our men in Vietnam.

The small minority that participated, for various personal reasons, never amounted to more than one million—less than one-half of one percent of the two hundred million American people.

The national news media continues to overreact in attempting to glorify this tiny minority of dissidents, dupes, and misguided participants. No publicity or fanfare was given or expected by you, the great silent overwhelming majority. Loyal Americans did not lay out the money for full page ads in big city dailies—or for hours of prime time network T.V. Someone else did. I compliment all of you fine people who still have faith in our country, our constitutional system for your support of decency, morality and patriotism—for backing our fighting men in Vietnam.

I am proud to represent you in Washington, where your Americanism was noticed last Wednesday. The South stood loyal.

Certainly all of us want peace—no one wants peace more than men who have known war. But we also know that slavery is worse than war—that the cost of freedom is high—that we must be willing to pay that cost.

The great decent majority of Americans realize that is why we are in Vietnam. Where diplomacy has failed we must fight to support our allies to protect their homes, their families, their children today—lest we be forced, without friends, to defend our homes here tomorrow.

We, who did not disgrace our heritage, can compliment each other. But as the leftist-oriented national news media and wire services continue to dignify and extol every maneuver of the so-called moratorium, we can expect them to continue to magnify an incident that most Americans would not even have noticed had it not been blown up in the news—before, during and now after. Even in Washington, more people were interested in the world series game.

Compare the real concern of more than fifty million Americans—more than fifty times the number of the poor exploited peaceniks—concern over the safety and welfare of their children. The deprival of our freedom of choice—the rise of the totally unconstitutional, totally unlawful, doctrine of racial proportions—is being ignored—does not seem to matter to the propaganda machines that cry about democracy. Our petitions—our lawful, orderly protests, receive no extensive publicity in the national media.

Few Americans will be given the full story or even any responsible explanation as to who was running the moratorium circus, its purpose and its real objective.

The truth of the matter is that the whole operation had nothing to do with either Viet Nam or with free speech. It did not even have anything to do with peace.

Americans who have followed communist programs and slogans understand that peace

does not mean to the communist what it means to Americans. To the communist there can be no peace in the world until all freedom is destroyed, all constitutional government overthrown and all independent thinkers liquidated. Peace, in other words, to the communists means complete domination under communist tyranny without any opposition—which includes no free speech and no dissent. Have we forgotten Castro's firing squads and the wall in Havana? . . . Or the Katyn forest massacre?—the wall that divides Berlin?—or more recently Czechoslovakia?

The national news analysts have become passionate advocates of disloyalty against the United States Government. It is quite obvious that these so-called reporters fail to understand what the whole moratorium was about . . . unless they understand all too well and are a part of the plot.

Personally, I agree with most of the letters I am receiving from our servicemen in Viet Nam who say that our national news people and T.V. news stars are the voice of Hanoi, and therefore, the "enemy" at home. Hanoi has always boasted it would win this war in the United States.

If you feel bitter about these national disgraces being overlaid by the news media just remember that our men in Viet Nam not only are bitter but they feel betrayed . . . and they look to you and to me here at home to combat the fifth column in our land, while they are fighting the shooting war overseas.

Insofar as leaving Viet Nam is concerned, that decision has already been made. Our allies have already been sold out by the announcement that we do not intend to win—but to make a deal with the enemy . . . if only the enemy will deal.

This means another no-win war, like Korea. This means that our captive fighting men held by the enemy have been abandoned. You do not regain your prisoners if you do not achieve victory. Our men held by the Germans, the Italians, the Japanese, were released. Over four hundred Americans are still held by the North Koreans . . . more than fifteen years after our phony negotiated end to that war.

The only disagreement between the peaceniks and the administration is whether our retreat is to be a rout . . . as demanded by the peaceniks—to further disgrace Americans, or to be disguised as a negotiated withdrawal . . . as peddled by the administration.

Both views ignore the fate of our many anti-communist Asian friends upon our departure from Viet Nam. It is flagrantly dishonest to suggest the further evacuation of these people, many of whom are Christian and who were already evacuated by us from North Viet Nam in 1954 to prevent their wholesale slaughter by the communists.

The plain truth is that if we leave Vietnam before our allies are strong enough to protect their homes from communist aggression, these millions can expect the same carnage which befell the Christians slaughtered at Hue during last year's Tet offensive.

What was the moratorium all about? It was merely a sensitivity training exercise, designed to condition mindless people in large numbers to blindly follow demagogues in defiance of constituted authority . . . the same sort of operation which recently resulted in tearing down the doors of the assembly chamber in Madison, Wisconsin. It had the further purpose of conditioning decent Americans, with the aid of massive publicity, that there was nothing to prevent such disloyal disorders.

It was a dress rehearsal for next month—November 15.

More ambitious plans for giving aid and comfort to the enemy have already been announced for that date—a further operation in the fall offensive waged in Washington by the enemy.

Let no one be misled—our fighting men in Vietnam are not.

I have on my desk a Washington paper which carried a story from inside of the moratorium operation.

Just listen while I read a few of these shocking comments. "We may get something out of it. Hershey's already been tossed to us. Maybe Hoover'll be given to us next."

I assume they mean J. Edgar Hoover. I didn't know he had anything to do with the war in Vietnam. But I do know he has a lot to do with fighting communism.

Continuing with the news story, "The Government should not be permitted to keep a single soldier in these parts, but to get them out we must do more than today."

"In fact, today is a preparation for more. November the fifteenth is already being planned as a march on Washington. Today is a day of accustoming great numbers of people to the anxiety of standing up to their government.

"We were all brought up trusting the Government; it's hard to shake off the feeling that resistance to it, especially about a war, is a form of . . . treason. The moratorium will make people comfortable in their new roles of resistance. It will make opposition socially acceptable, perhaps even stylish."

" . . . An action like the moratorium isn't an event in itself but the preparation and threat of more and wider action. Even now what started out to be a sedate moratorium is inching in the direction of a general strike. It hasn't reached that point yet, but it will unless the Government capitulates . . ."

"By spring, the country may be ungovernable. He says he won't be the first American President to lose a war. What he risks is being the first President to lose America."

Three days before the exercise, Radio Hanoi broadcast its congratulations and instructions. Here are a few of the delighted phrases of the enemy.

"Radio Hanoi—October 6th . . . The heroic struggle of the friends in New York, Washington, Oakland, and Berkeley has been much appreciated. . . . We greatly admire the active and massive participation of the American youths and students in this fall struggle movement . . . we want to take this sincere opportunity to express our sincere thanks to all of you . . ."

On the day the moratorium started, the new dictator of North Vietnam sent a long telegram to those he called his "dear American friends."

His message closed with these exact words—"May your fall offensive succeed splendidly."

Here is one of the handbills passed out to high school students. It calls for them to join . . . "The fall anti-war offensive." . . . The same offensive the enemy is praising.

Your conduct last week was wonderful. I'm sure that you will not be misled or taken in by the next disgraceful exercise . . . let's all of us—especially veterans and veterans' groups—show our men in Vietnam that their enemy can not win here at home. Let's all stand together.

Let's all stand for America.

#### POLLUTION CONTROL: WHY HAS IT FAILED?

**HON. JOHN D. DINGELL**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the October 1969 issue of the American Bar As-

sociation Journal carries an article entitled, "Pollution Control: Why Has It Failed," by Arnold W. Reitze, Jr. So that my colleagues may have an opportunity to read this cogent discussion of a problem whose dimensions are only now beginning to be generally recognized, I include the text of the article at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

#### POLLUTION CONTROL: WHY HAS IT FAILED

(By Arnold W. Reitze, Jr.)

In recent years nearly every literate person has become cognizant of the "quality" deterioration of our environment.<sup>1</sup> However, this knowledge has not been translated into the meaningful societal actions necessary to halt the fouling of our habitat. At one time the destruction of our environment was merely an aesthetic problem. Now it threatens the survival of mankind as a species.<sup>2</sup>

When compared to the age of the earth, the period of man's occupation of our planet has been very short. While man has been destroying his environment throughout his recorded history,<sup>3</sup> his ability extensively to alter his surroundings to the point of complete destruction has developed during the last century. It is therefore imperative that man's myopic view should not obscure the insignificance of this span of time.<sup>4</sup> Assuming he survives his radiological, biological and chemical war toys,<sup>5</sup> he still must face the long-term effects of pesticides,<sup>6</sup> air pollution,<sup>7</sup> destruction of the soil,<sup>8</sup> and the many other effects of abusing his habitat. War is a danger, but peace too may be deadly. Man should not be sanguine. Why then is he acting against his long-term interests?

The most obvious reasons are the ubiquitous nature of the problem, its complexity and the concomitant cost of combating it. Professor Kenneth Galbraith put it this way: "Pollution may well be the nation's most broadly based and democratic effort."<sup>9</sup>

Today, virtually every identifiable social or economic interest group is actively engaged in the destruction of our environment. The average citizen functioning as the operator of an automobile and as a waste-producing machine is the most significant source of air and water pollution. Industry is a large user of water and a contributor of vast quantities of pollutants. Whether it is the air and thermal pollution of the power industry, the acid pollution of the steel industry or the organic wastes that the food processors discharge, nearly every industry is a significant contributor to the pollution problem.<sup>10</sup> So too is agriculture, with its pesticide residuals, chemical fertilizers, organic wastes and silt.<sup>11</sup> The mining industry is responsible for much of the destruction of Appalachia,<sup>12</sup> while the construction and road-building industries follow practices inimical to soil conservation, adding to our silt pollution problem.<sup>13</sup> The Federal Government is a major polluter from its military installations,<sup>14</sup> ships,<sup>15</sup> and through the activities of agencies charged with other aspects of resource development.<sup>16</sup> With everyone contributing to the pollution problem, it is difficult to assign responsibility.

While the universality of polluters complicates abatement procedures, it would be simplistic to attribute the failure of control efforts solely to the size and diversity of the body to be regulated. Restraints on "aggressive activities" that result in limitation of individual freedom for the benefit of society are common. Traffic laws are an example. As population density increases, these limits on individual freedom continue to become more totally encompassing. The furor over firearm control legislation is an excellent example of the conflict between the necessity for group control in areas of dense population and the individual freedom that could

more readily be maintained in a bucolic society.<sup>17</sup>

#### SPENDING A FORTUNE TO DEFEND WHAT WE WON'T PAY TO CONSERVE

The argument that the high cost of pollution abatement precludes adoption of controls is also unconvincing when one realizes that what is at stake is the livability of our environment. The expenditures from the public sector of our economy for defense and agricultural price supports are examples of the high fiscal commitment to policy goals for needs deemed sufficiently great. But if we consider the vast fiscal resources of the private sector of the economy, the handling of our environmental problem is certainly within our capabilities. The problem is getting the money allocated to the task.

In our society, the traditional controls have been unable to cope with the continued deterioration of our environment basically because of our failure to recognize pollution for what it is: a form of aggression against society as a whole and our neighbors in particular. Existing or possible control methods are of three types: informal (our mores), formal or legal and economic. The informal controls are those most capable of producing a high general level of conformity to the demands of society, while legal controls operate primarily to establish a minimum standard of acceptable conduct. Economic controls hardly exist. The informal controls are the most effective, as the regulated individual conforms as a result of his ingrained socialization. Ultimately, in a democratic society, all control should be based upon this societal consensus of what is permissible conduct. The strength of such mores is aptly expressed in the ditty about

The young lady named Wilde  
Who kept herself quite undefiled  
Through thinking of Jesus  
And social diseases  
And the dangers of having a child.<sup>18</sup>

#### IF WE WOULD VIEW POLLUTION AS VICTORIANS VIEWED SEX

If pollution could be regarded as "dirty" in the Victorian sense, then our environmental problems would soon be solved. But this is not likely to happen. In general, polluting is socially acceptable conduct. Many of the wealthiest suburban communities inflict their inadequately treated wastes on their downstream neighbors. Eleemosynary institutions such as hospitals and universities are often major air polluters. The names of the major industrial polluters read like a who's who of industry.<sup>19</sup> Yet the corporate directors and officers who are responsible for these chemical and biological attacks on the rest of us are often considered the leading citizens of their communities.

This acceptance of pollution is deeply embedded in our societal psyche. The Judeo-Christian tradition is a most anthropocentric influence. The man and nature unity of ancient paganism and primitive animism has had no part in our historical tradition. As a society we still believe that man can exploit nature interminably. Our technology and our predominant social institutions have evolved in this tradition, and it is this outlook that is held today by nearly all Americans. Despite Copernicus, our relationship to the environment is still based on a man-centered universe. We reject the Darwinian notion that we are part of nature.<sup>20</sup>

This rejection may have been useful in creating the mental framework necessary for settling the wilderness and developing a nation from a relatively unpopulated frontier.<sup>21</sup> But today, in our densely populated, interdependent, twentieth-century nation, this attitude can lead to our destruction. Man cannot persist in creating an environment hostile to his continued existence.

Economic controls to protect our environment do not exist. The reason is simple: Pol-

Footnotes at end of article.

lution increases profits to individuals and corporations. Conversely, pollution control is expensive. When the environment is defiled by a business, the cost of production includes a harm inflicted on society for which no payment need be made. Air and water are treated as elements of production that are essentially free and are, therefore, abused or wasted with impunity. Pollution controls, when avoided, do not become a cost of production. Although the cost of society of pollution, even in economic terms, may exceed the costs of abatement, the individual polluter making the decision of how to operate his business must decide whether he will abate pollution with his own financial resources or pass the costs and harm on to the public as negative externalities of his business operation. Even if the businessman possesses a highly developed social conscience, his competition is unlikely to be similarly constrained. In a competitive world the lowest level of morality, if consistent with the desire for maximizing profits, tends to become the norm.<sup>22</sup>

#### IF PRODUCTION DOESN'T POLLUTE, THE PRODUCT DOES

Even if the production of the goods does not cause pollution, the product itself can be designed so as to become a pollution problem. Polaroid film, aluminum beverage cans, detergents and chemical pesticides are some of these. The responsibility of a manufacturer for the environmental problems caused by the use of his product is a subject that must become of increasing concern if we are to protect our water and air. The requirements for controls on automobile emissions are but a beginning.<sup>23</sup>

Pollution abatement is hampered, of course, by the often astronomical costs of control. The capital investment necessary to control industrial wastes can represent a substantial portion of total capital investment. Many businesses, particularly those that are small or inefficient, just do not have access to such capital. It is usually difficult to make pollution abatement financially attractive. Even if a profitable by-product can be obtained through pollution control, the economic return is rarely equal to the return which could be obtained from investing the necessary capital in more traditional investments or else in other polluting industries.<sup>24</sup>

Not only are capital requirements substantial, but operating costs for pollution control are significant. For most communities, proper waste treatment would engender a substantial increase in operating costs as well as a vast increase in capital expenditures. For the Lake Erie Basin, proper phosphate removal alone would double present waste treatment expenses.<sup>25</sup> The costs to industry for abatement programs would have to be passed on to the consumers in the form of increased costs for nearly every item purchased. The cost to municipal government would be reflected in higher water and sewerage rates.

The economic cost of environmental protection is so high that a commitment of the citizenry similar to that created by war is necessary if this problem is to be successfully resolved. Environmental protection is an expense that only wealthy nations can afford, but today it is an expense we cannot afford to avoid. The capital accumulation necessary for a modern economy is obtained by exploiting natural resources. But the limits of exploitation for developed economies have been reached.<sup>26</sup> We no longer can afford to allow this exploitation process to continue. Rather, the process must be reversed. Continued expansion of the gross national product, if achieved at the expense of our environment, is irrational. For example, producing gas masks and distilled water for city dwellers will increase the gross na-

tional product, but it is difficult to understand how the required use of these products improves our well-being. As the production of goods of dubious value and planned obsolescence continues, it is often at the expense of our environment.

#### ERODE ENVIRONMENT OR PERSONAL FREEDOM?

Since economic considerations provide an incentive to pollute our air and water, only strong formal constraints have any chance of success, and these can only be considered temporary expedients. If the mental attitude necessary for developing the informal constraints is not developed, the formal regulation in the long run will not be successful. While the continued expansion of governmental powers and the erosion of personal freedom that this implies cannot be welcomed, the penalty for increased population density must be paid. The choice is either *laissez faire* treatment of the environment, followed by its destruction, or governmental regulation sufficient to prevent such destruction. The polluted condition of our air and water makes it clear that efficacious regulatory powers do not exist.<sup>27</sup>

The concept of governmental regulation of our waters is nothing new. From the beginning of our nation, the Federal Government has been concerned with our water resources. Most of its activity, however, was to encourage development and exploitation of these resources. Not until the end of the nineteenth century did the concept of governmental protection of resources enter our political philosophy.<sup>28</sup> Yet this long history of involvement in the various aspects of resource management is significant, for it helps explain the lack of a unified, coherent government policy toward our water resources or toward the larger problem of the management of all our natural resources.

#### DOZENS OF FEDERAL AGENCIES MOSTLY AT CROSS PURPOSES

Today water resource regulation and development is carried on by dozens of federal agencies. Many of these agencies work at cross purposes: The Department of Agriculture has paid North Dakota farmers to drain land, while the Department of the Interior spends money to create and protect such wet lands for wild fowl breeding; the Department of Agriculture pays to remove lands from agricultural production, while the Bureau of Reclamation spends large sums to create agricultural lands; the Army Corps of Engineers dredges harbors in such a manner as to increase the pollution problem the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration is attempting to abate. Examples of these inconsistent government activities are legion, and they are largely the result of numerous agencies that represent specialized economic interests.<sup>29</sup>

Today, most progress toward pollution control is carried out by the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration (FWPCA) of the Department of the Interior. This is one agency dealing with water resources that does not represent an economic bloc. It has been active for but four years. Its power is limited, and it has a small budget. But considering the limitations imposed on it, it has done an excellent job. Some progress finally is being made, but this progress is inadequate. As the Queen said to Alice: "[I]t takes all the running you can do, to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that."<sup>30</sup> Our growing population and increasing rate of urbanization require an estimated expenditure of \$22 billion for municipal sewage systems by 1975 and an additional \$10 billion for industrial waste treatment.<sup>31</sup>

We must run to stand still, yet we are barely crawling. The estimated expenditures and net lending for 1968 by the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration are \$190 million. Of this a little over \$6 million will be allocated to Ohio.<sup>32</sup> The ten largest

agricultural subsidies exceed Ohio's allotment.<sup>33</sup> With this sense of priorities, little progress can be expected. Reductions in federal outlays can be anticipated to be taken from natural resource programs out of proportion to their percentage of the total budget.<sup>34</sup> Few economic blocs lobby to protect water pollution control funds. Even without reduction, the present federal expenditure for water pollution is only approximately equal to the interest that could be earned on the interest that would be paid on the defense budget if invested at 5 per cent.

The state governments' attitude toward pollution control parallels that of the Federal Government. A profusion of conflicting state agencies dealing with these problems is common. Even more common are the lack of effective power and minuscule budgets.<sup>35</sup> Under present law the responsibility for enforcing most laws dealing with water pollution is with the states. In Ohio the Water Pollution Control Board operates with a budget of less than \$500,000.<sup>36</sup> Though there is danger in making comparisons between systems that are not identical, it is interesting to note that the budget for the German Ruhr District Authority—the district is a fraction of the size of Ohio—is about \$50 million.<sup>37</sup> Air pollution control in Ohio is expected to advance with a budget of \$150,000. State grants to local governments in Ohio for pollution control have not materialized,<sup>38</sup> and this in turn denies local governments federal matching funds. Expenditures of this nature predetermine the result.

#### SOCIETY MUST KEEP SCIENCE'S PACE

The failure of our environmental protection program is obvious. The ability of our social organizations to deal with today's problems has lagged substantially behind our science and technology. But the reason for this failure is due largely to the lack of any consensus to effectuate the necessary change. The political pressures that encourage a high level of expenditure by the Department of Defense tend to minimize environmental controls. The general public has had but minimum concern; when its concern grows to the point where it manifests itself in a willingness to approve expenditures commensurate with the task before us, then, and only then, will there be a chance for reversing the deterioration of our environment.

Recent voter approval of bond issues for pollution control is a hopeful sign, but after two centuries of neglect and exploitation, the challenge is so substantial that these sums, while welcome, are but a beginning.<sup>39</sup> We can only hope meaningful recognition develops throughout the nation while the problem is capable of being solved.<sup>40</sup> A danger is that society will adjust to levels of pollution that apparently have only a minor nuisance value, but that this apparent adaptation will eventually cause much pathological damage.<sup>41</sup> Further, the ability of man to adapt to the continuing qualitative deterioration of his environment creates a political climate that makes reversal of this deterioration difficult. After a period of time citizens seem to accept as normal a long journey to areas where fish still live and swimming is safe.

It is the belated recognition that time may not be on our side that is most ominous. The air we breathe is the same as that utilized by Neanderthal man, only now 65 million tons of deadly carbon monoxide are discharged each year by automobiles in this country.<sup>42</sup> The long-term effects of this pollution on man's physical, neurological, and even genetic make-up cannot be determined. What will the 133 million tons of pollutants that are sent into the atmosphere each year in the United States do to weather patterns and eventually to the temperature of this planet?<sup>43</sup> No one can be sure. Water pollution

Footnotes at end of article.

may also become irreversible. The present deterioration of Lake Erie from phosphate—mostly from detergents—that encourages vast algae growth and greatly speeds eutrophication may continue even if additional nutrient inputs are curtailed.<sup>44</sup>

ABILITY TO DESTROY WHAT WE CAN'T CREATE  
REQUIRES HUMILITY

Our technology is allowing man to upset ecological balances without having developed the degree of technological expertise necessary for a new artificial ecological balance to be created that can be predicted and controlled so as to assure that a place remains in our man-defiled environment for man. Until this can be achieved, we must humble ourselves to reinstate a man-nature unity. We must begin to live in harmony with our environment.<sup>45</sup> When this concept is accepted, the necessary money will be forthcoming and social institutions will rapidly provide the means for carrying out the mandate of the citizens. In a democratic society these attitudes can only be created through education and persuasion. Until the consensus of our citizens is that an environment undefiled by man is highly desirable, the reckless abuse of natural resources will continue. The law, particularly when large sums of money must be appropriated, can move only a short distance beyond the desires of the governed. Unless those who are led become convinced of the wisdom of the course of action, even limited leadership will have an ephemeral existence. Until Americans decide they want a livable environment, we cannot have one. Our survival may depend on their decision.

FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Numerous publications lamenting the destruction of our environment have been written in the past several years. Two general books of value are S. UDALL, *THE QUIET CRISIS* (1963) and RIENOW & RIENOW, *MOMENT IN THE SUN* (1966).

<sup>2</sup> In 1952 the London smog killed 4,000 people, more than the number killed in the attack on Pearl Harbor. In late October of 1963, a stagnant air mass over the Northeastern United States caused toxic gases to increase to more than five times the normal level. Only a change in wind direction prevented disaster. LEWIS WITH EVERY BREATH YOU TAKE VIII, xvii (1965).

<sup>3</sup> The decline of numerous ancient civilizations, for example, is attributed to poor irrigation practices. See generally CARR, *DEATH OF THE SWEET WATERS* (1966).

<sup>4</sup> Estimates of the age of the earth vary between 5 and 6 billion years. LEET & JUDSON, *PHYSICAL GEOLOGY* 29 (3d ed. 1965). Human evolution began only 1 million years ago, and all of recorded history encompasses but 7,000 years. STORER, *GENERAL ZOOLOGY* 195 (1954).

<sup>5</sup> Weapons can, of course, effect the environment without being used in war. Contamination from nuclear testing is a well-known danger. A more dramatic example of the danger posed by modern weapons is the death of 6,500 sheep caused by the Army's nerve gas experiments in Utah. NEWSWEEK, April 1, 1968, at 53; Hersh, *Chemical and Biological Weapons—The Secret Arsenal*. The New York Times, August 25, 1968, § 6 (Magazine), at 25.

<sup>6</sup> See generally CARSON, *SILENT SPRING* (1962); HEADLEY, *THE PESTICIDE PROBLEM: AN ECONOMIC APPROACH TO PUBLIC POLICY* (1967).

<sup>7</sup> See generally U.S. DEPT. OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, *AIR POLLUTION PUBLICATIONS, A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY 1963-1966* (1966).

<sup>8</sup> See generally MORGAN, *GOVERNING SOIL CONSERVATION* (1965).

<sup>9</sup> Galbraith, *The Polipollutionists*, ATLANTIC, January, 1967, at 52, 54.

<sup>10</sup> See generally JACOBSTEIN & MERSKY, *WATER LAW BIBLIOGRAPHY 1847-1965* (1966); NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL COMM., NATIONAL

ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, *WASTE MANAGEMENT AND CONTROL*, No. 1400 (1966).

<sup>11</sup> See generally UDALL, *Supra* note 1; HERFINDAHL & KNEESE, *QUALITY OF THE ENVIRONMENT* 35, 65 (1965); STILL, *THE DIRTY ANIMAL* 239 (1967).

<sup>12</sup> See CAUDILL, *NIGHT COMES TO THE CUMBERLANDS* (1962); LIFE, January 12, 1968, at 54.

<sup>13</sup> See W. DOUGLAS, *A WILDERNESS BILL OF RIGHTS* 147 (1965).

<sup>14</sup> Nationally, in 1966, at least 237 federal installations were still improperly discharging wastes into United States waterways. The New York Times, January 3, 1968, at 96.

<sup>15</sup> U.S. DEPT. OF INTERIOR, *WASTES FROM WATERCRAFT*, S. Doc. No. 48, 90th Cong., 1st Sess. 3 (1967).

<sup>16</sup> See generally DOUGLAS, *supra* note 13.

<sup>17</sup> Here the conflict over regulation as a responsibility of government should be distinguished from the merits of any specific regulatory proposal.

<sup>18</sup> Lewis, *The High Court: Final . . . But Fallible*, 19 CASE W. RES. L. REV. 528, 563 (1968), quoting from *A Symposium on Morality*, 34 AM. SCHOLAR 347, 360 (1965).

<sup>19</sup> See generally U.S. DEPT. OF INTERIOR (FEDERAL WATER POLLUTION CONTROL ADMINISTRATION), *LAKE ERIE REPORT* (1968).

<sup>20</sup> See White, *Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis*, 52 SIERRA CLUB BULL. 123 (1967); White, *What Hath Man Wrought?*, SCIENCE, March 1967, at 11; NASH, *WILDERNESS AND THE AMERICAN MIND* (1967).

<sup>21</sup> MANAGING THE ENVIRONMENT, REPORT OF THE SUBCOMM. ON SCIENCE, RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT TO THE HOUSE, COMM. ON SCIENCE AND ASTRONAUTICS 13 (1968).

<sup>22</sup> See generally CONTROLLING POLLUTION, *THE ECONOMICS OF A CLEANER AMERICA* (Goldman ed. 1967).

<sup>23</sup> Clean Air Act of 1963, as amended, 42 U.S.C. § 1857.

<sup>24</sup> For detailed information concerning industrial pollution abatement costs see 3 U.S. DEPT. OF INTERIOR (FWPCA), *THE COST OF CLEAN WATER* (1967).

<sup>25</sup> Statement of George Eagle, Conference on Pollution of Lake Erie and Its Tributaries (June 4, 1968). Perhaps these additional costs may be subject to considerable reduction. See MICH. DEPT. OF PUBLIC HEALTH, *WASTEWATER SECTION DIVISION ENGINEERING, & DOW CHEMICAL COMPANY, STUDIES ON REMOVAL OF SUSPENDED MATTER AND BIOCHEMICAL OXYGEN DEMAND* (1967).

<sup>26</sup> This does not mean that underdeveloped nations do not have pollution problems, but only that their economies are less capable of absorbing abatement costs.

<sup>27</sup> Present government control over pollution is much better than it was prior to 1965, and we are beginning to develop a body of law capable of dealing with some of our environmental problems. However, the law has just begun to function. See Reitze, *Wastes, Water and Wishful Thinking: The Battle of Lake Erie*, 20 CASE W. RES. L. REV. 5 (1968).

<sup>28</sup> *Id.*, at 49.

<sup>29</sup> See generally MOSS, *THE WATER CRISIS* (1967).

<sup>30</sup> CARROLL, *THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS*, quoted in Lewis, *supra* note 18, at 566.

<sup>31</sup> Figures for pollution abatement costs very substantially. There are some estimates from COHEN, *SEWERS FOR A GROWING AMERICA* (1966).

<sup>32</sup> BUDGET OF THE UNITED STATES 108 (Fiscal 1969).

<sup>33</sup> Moore, *Slaves for Rent*, ATLANTIC, May, 1965, at 109, 118.

<sup>34</sup> BUDGET OF THE UNITED STATES 109 (Fiscal 1969).

<sup>35</sup> This is only a generalization. Los Angeles County has an effective air pollution control, though not effective enough to solve the problem. New Jersey has begun a vigorous abatement program.

<sup>36</sup> Reitze, *supra* note 27, at 80.

<sup>37</sup> Fair, *Pollution Abatement in the Ruhr District*, in *COMPARISONS IN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT* 143, at 171 (Jarrett ed. 1961).

<sup>38</sup> Reitze, *supra* note 27, at 79.

<sup>39</sup> Bond issues for water pollution control were approved in Ohio, Michigan and Washington. The \$1 billion bond proposal in Illinois was rejected. BUSINESS WEEK, November 9, 1968, at 104.

<sup>40</sup> A number of environmental pollution problems include a possible irrevocable destruction. A wilderness destroyed by man-created drought cannot be restored. Pennekamp, *Disaster in Everglades National Park*, 50 SIERRA CLUB BULL. 4 (1965). Air pollution may change world weather patterns. Cole, *Can this World Be Saved?* The New York Times, March 31, 1968, § 6 (magazine), at 35.

<sup>41</sup> Dubos, *Adapting to Pollution*, SCIENTIST & CITIZEN, January-February, 1968, at 1, 3.

<sup>42</sup> PROGRESS IN THE PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF AIR POLLUTION, FIRST REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS, June 28, 1968, at 16.

<sup>43</sup> Faltermayer, *We Can Afford Clean Air*, FORTUNE, November, 1965, at 159. See generally U.S. DEPT. OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, *POWER SYSTEMS FOR ELECTRIC VEHICLES* (1967); CARR, *THE BREATH OF LIFE* (1965); 1 AIR POLLUTION (2d ed. 1968); Iglauer, *The Ambient Air*, THE NEW YORKER, April 13, 1968, at 51.

<sup>44</sup> Reitze, *supra* note 27, at 19; see also *supra* note 39.

<sup>45</sup> For further discussion, see generally MURPHY, *GOVERNING NATURE* (1967).

UNITED STATES FAILURES IN  
VIETNAM

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 21, 1969

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, on September 29, 1969, at pages 27560-27561 I introduced into the RECORD a letter in which a Vietnam veteran wrote:

In the end what I objected to was not so much individual atrocities, for these can be found in any war; war itself is an atrocity. What compelled my stand (disaffection with our effort) was the evident fact that at an operational level most Americans simply do not care about the Vietnamese.

In the past few days, my attention has been directed to three publications which speak to this same issue. The first appeared in the October 17, 1969 Life magazine and is authored by former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg. He writes of the Green Beret case and what he views as "an appalling, indeed frightening, deterioration in our national standards of morality and law."

The second article appeared in Saturday's Washington Post. In it, Robert G. Kaiser writes:

Open expression of American contempt for Vietnamese is common.

The third and by far most disturbing story appears in the October 18, 1969, issue of the New Yorker. The story of the rape-murder of a Vietnamese teenager by American troops is told by Daniel Lang. The soldier who brought this sordid episode of the war to the attention of higher authorities encountered a conspiracy of silence by his immediate superiors which attests to the deteriora-

tion of morality noted by Justice Goldberg.

What do these articles say to Congress and others in leadership roles in the Nation? They say that war is an atrocity which degrades all those who participate. But, of course, we already knew this. However, we do not always admit to ourselves that those in the front lines are not—or seldom are—the Martin Luther Kings, the Arthur Goldbergs of our society. Rather they are average Americans required by their Government to perform an inhuman job. They are young and they are under great pressures and they do not always have fine moral sensitivities. They live in a world of kill or be killed. And while we should not be surprised at the individual atrocities that each side commits, we should recognize that this struggle for freedom, self-determination and/or national liberation is being achieved by means that degrade those involved.

I cannot speak to the NLF or the North Vietnamese. I recognize that the atrocities they commit are at least as numerous as those committed in our name. In fact, this point is poignantly made in Mr. Lang's New Yorker article. The sister of the girl killed by the GI's was subsequently abducted by the Vietcong. As the narrator of the story said:

Who says we don't get along with Charlie? Between us, we've taken care of that whole family.

The Green Beret case, the rape-murder case, the generally observed contempt our soldiers show for the Vietnamese cannot be ignored by our leaders. When a military lawyer can say before a military court, as he apparently did in defense of the sergeant who precipitated the rape-murder:

There's one thing that stands out about this particular offense. . . . It did not occur in the United States. Indeed, there are some that would say it did not even occur in civilization, when you are out on combat operations—

Our moral deterioration has progressed much further than Justice Goldberg suspects.

I cannot talk to the Vietcong about their moral deterioration, but I can speak to the American public about ours. To that end I introduce into the RECORD the three publications I refer to in my remarks:

[From Life magazine, Oct. 17, 1969]

ARTHUR GOLDBERG WRITES ABOUT THE GREEN BERETS

The dropping of murder charges in the now famous Green Beret case has almost everywhere evoked a widespread sense of relief.

I must confess that I find this reaction—and, even more, the powerful political clamor against prosecution which preceded the dropping of charges—profoundly disturbing. In them I note an appalling, indeed frightening, deterioration in our national standards of morality and law.

Two comments are necessary by way of preface. First, what I say must not be construed as reflecting adversely upon the soldiers who were charged with murder, or as a judgment upon the facts of the case. Although the eight men will now not have their day in court, the old principle that persons accused of crime are presumed innocent until found guilty still lies at the

heart of our legal system. The charges that were levied against the Berets were only charges. They were not evidence. Still less were they a finding of guilt.

Second, I do not have access to information which would enable me to judge whether the national security would indeed have been jeopardized by disclosures which might have resulted had the case been brought to trial. Nor, in fact, do I have any quarrel with the general proposition that considerations of national security may sometimes justify a decision by the authorities not to prosecute a particular set of charges.

What does alarm me is the way we have responded as a nation to the grave allegation that one or more of our uniformed soldiers executed without trial a foreign national whom they had in their complete control, because they suspected him to be a double agent.

Few of our people, and even fewer of our leaders, have manifested any sense of outrage that such an execution without trial might have occurred, or might have been ordered by American officers. Indeed, General Creighton Abrams, our commander in Vietnam and a brave and forthright soldier who knows the rules of war, has come under sharp public criticism for having insisted on their applicability in this case—to the point of ordering that murder charges be brought.

Of course war is hell. I suppose there has never been a war in which troops under the stress of battle have not committed acts of savagery which they would not think of performing under other circumstances. And I recognize that a counter-guerrilla war in the jungles and rice paddies of South Vietnam is peculiarly prone to instances of misconduct of this kind.

But the Green Beret incident, as alleged, does not involve lapses of discipline under battlefield conditions. The charge was that a South Vietnamese agent in our employ and control was simply executed—rather than being detained, or tried, or turned over to the South Vietnamese for trial. No civilized nation can permit individual members of its armed forces to take this kind of action on their own initiative. Down that roads lies anarchy.

Article 106 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice provides that alleged spies caught behind our lines and not in uniform may be punished by death—but not before trial and conviction by an appropriate tribunal. Articles 93 and 118 of the Code make it a crime for an American serviceman to murder or even to practice cruelty toward "any person subject to his orders." The Geneva Conventions to which we subscribe impose similar restrictions.

At the end of World War II we participated in war crimes trials at Nuremberg and elsewhere in which enemy military personnel who mistreated prisoners under their control were prosecuted, convicted and punished. We sentenced General Yamashita, the "Tiger of Malaya," to death not for his own acts but for his failure to control the conduct of troops under his jurisdiction. We treated as war criminals those German generals who had executed uniformed soldiers and agents whom the Office of Strategic Services had sent into occupied Europe to train partisans, gather intelligence and commit sabotage—despite the generals' defense that Hitler had ordered them to do so. Under international law, as we applied it, an order such as Hitler's was an unlawful one, and therefore not entitled to obedience.

I take great pride in this nation's historic fidelity to the rules which govern civilized societies even when they are at war. Traditionally we have never allowed expedience to justify departures from these rules. In August of 1976, when our nation's very ability to survive was in doubt, the Continental Congress provided that alien spies were to be

executed only according to the law and usage of nations, and on the sentence of a general court martial. The rule was followed from the bleak days at Valley Forge to the end of the war.

In 1942, when our struggle against the Axis powers was at its most desperate, the United States Supreme Court interrupted its summer recess for the first time in 22 years to reconvene and review the procedural protections being afforded eight Nazi saboteurs in civilian garb who had been landed in this country by submarine.

Has the time now come, after all these years, to adopt a lower standard of conduct?

The war in Vietnam is a tragic war, marked by events which no human being can applaud. Whether or not the national interests assertedly at stake there warrant our participation in it—at such sacrifice in lives, treasure and morality—the situation in Vietnam cannot justify us as a nation now, for the first time in our history, to tolerate—more, to legitimate—the cold-blooded murder of individuals wholly under the control of our troops. We may jail spies or prosecute them. But individual American soldiers may not take it upon themselves, away from the battlefield, to serve as prosecutor, judge and executioner. That is utterly unacceptable—now, as it was in 1776.

If the price of the war in Vietnam includes our coming to tolerate or applaud this sort of moral breakdown, it is one I am not willing to pay. Nor should any civilized nation. As a great patriot, Tom Paine, once said:

"He that would make his own liberty secure must guard even his enemy from oppression, for if he violates this duty he establishes a precedent that will reach to himself."

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Oct. 18, 1969]

MANY GI'S DISLIKE VIET ALLIES—VIETNAMESE RETURN THE ANTIMOSITY

(By Robert G. Kaiser, Washington Post Foreign Service)

SAIGON.—"Before I came to Vietnam I wanted a job working with the Vietnamese," the young American lieutenant said, "but now I'm glad I'm in a U.S. infantry outfit. I just don't like Gooks. Right after I got here I went out with one of our companies, one of the first operations I went on. The company got hit—they got mauled, really. Six Americans got killed, 18 wounded. You looked at those guys, dead and wounded, and you had to feel different about the Gook after that."

Gooks—or Dinks, or Slopes—are major figures in the Vietnam war who don't often get their names in the papers. They are, in GI argot, the Vietnamese people. Gooks can be friendly or hostile, ours or theirs. The only good Gook, it is said again and again on U.S. bases throughout Vietnam, is a dead Gook.

Open expression of American contempt for Vietnamese is common. An Army major driving a jeep in Saigon after a heavy rain deliberately drives along the edge of the road so he can keep the outside wheels in the puddles and splash pedestrians. A sergeant in Cantho taunts a Vietnamese girl who operates a PX snack bar with lurid sexual insults, knowing she doesn't understand him, and basking in the laughter his insults evoke from his buddies.

A senior diplomat sneers, "these people are incorrigible." A soldier recuperating in an Army hospital tells a fellow patient about the old man he killed "by mistake," but it didn't matter. "He was just a Gook." One of the eight Green Berets recently accused of murder jokes about the fate of Thai Khac Chuyen: "Just like a Gook to carry more chain than he could swim with."

The American soldier's contempt for Asians is not new. In World War II the Indians were Wogs, the Burmese and Chinese were Slo-

peys. But in Vietnam relations between Americans and "the little people" are more complicated.

Naive young U.S. soldiers are told that their enemy is Vietnamese—small, tough, slant-eyed, wearing black pajamas and lurking everywhere. They are also told that the United States is here to allow the South Vietnamese—small, slant-eyed, many clad in black pajamas—to determine their own destinies.

Enemy and ally don't look any different. Most GIs find it difficult to believe that some Gooks are their mortal enemies while others are devoted friends.

The ordinary soldier's attitude is undoubtedly colored by the Vietnamese he most often meets. Few GIs get to know ordinary Vietnamese people during their 12 months here. Instead the American soldier meets the riffraff of war, the camp-following pimps and bar girls, shopkeepers and hustlers who claw at him whenever he leaves his base.

It would be difficult to convince a 19-year-old American boy that these people are not typical. The Army makes little effort to promote good relations between Americans and Vietnamese.

There have been no polls or surveys to determine how many Americans in Vietnam like or dislike the Vietnamese. One can only report a personal impression: Among soldiers, negative feelings about the Gooks are as common as any openly expressed complaint. The soldier who speaks warmly of the Vietnamese, or who makes an effort to help them in his spare time or on his job, usually makes an impression, because he is an exception.

Soldiers working with the Vietnamese in advisory jobs seem much more likely to like the locals than GIs in American units.

A psychiatric social worker in the Army's 3d Field Hospital in Saigon, Maj. Aaron Dotson, reports that in his experience black soldiers are less prone to prejudice against Vietnamese than whites. But there are certainly blacks who will curse the Gooks. Dotson says anti-Vietnamese feeling is widespread.

Among American civilians hostility is much more subtle, and admirers of the Vietnamese are much more common. But candid relationships are rare.

An American cannot overhear the unguarded remarks of Vietnamese, but one suspects that they regularly return the insults. The basic slang for Americans is "Meo," which the Vietnamese equate with "Yanks," though they say it is a "funny word."

Vietnamese anti-Americanism seems to come in two strains. One is practical and direct: The Americans shot up my house, dumped my vegetable stand, defiled my daughter—I don't like them. The other is more basic: We were a simple and peaceful society before the Americans came, now we are crass and commercial and our values are distorted, Vietnamese life will never be the same, the Americans have created more needs than they have satisfied.

The undercurrent of the second strain of anti-Americanism is strong in Saigon. It often emerges at the end of long lunches or long conversations, heavily coated with Oriental politeness, but forceful and sometimes bitter.

Only occasionally is anti-Americanism overt, and when it is, Vietnamese assure their American friends that it is just an aberration.

A recent example was a series of editorials in the militant Buddhist newspaper Chanh Dao, organ of the An Quang Pagoda. The editorials were written by a journalist named Viet Bang, a former employee of the U.S. government who was fired from his job in Saigon.

Bang's editorials vilified the United States for seeking to monopolize the Vietnamese economy, for importing foreign labor at the

expense of local workers, for promoting black market sales of PX goods to undermine local products, and for many other transgressions. Bang is obviously not a representative spokesman for Vietnamese opinion, but one wonders how widely his prejudices may be secretly held.

There seems to be no single psychological explanation for the hostility between Americans and Vietnamese, but one often senses a common ingredient—resentment.

The Americans are here, they say, to save Vietnam, and they resent the Vietnamese for failing to be appropriately appreciative. Or they are here against their will, because they were drafted to fight a bewildering war, and they resent the Vietnamese for causing it. Or they are Americans who have no patience or deliberate Oriental ways, and they resent the Vietnamese for their stubborn unwillingness to adopt American ways.

For their part, the Vietnamese seem to have always been suspicious about why so many Americans came to their country. Many, including some intellectuals and politicians, are convinced that Vietnam is only a pawn in the grasp of uncaring big powers, and only one big power is available as a target for their resentment.

Some Vietnamese who are deeply grateful for the fact that the United States apparently saved them from a Communist takeover in 1965 (and there are many) nevertheless bitterly resent America's deep involvement in their domestic affairs. Only once in his tenure in office has President Thieu been a genuinely popular leader: when he stood up to the Americans and refused to take part in the Paris peace talks last November. Even Thieu's aides acknowledge to Americans that it was his finest hour.

[From the New Yorker magazine, Oct. 13, 1969]

#### CASUALTIES OF WAR (By Daniel Lang)

Like their predecessors in all wars, American veterans of the Vietnamese campaign who are coming home to civilian life have their heads filled with memories that may last the rest of their days, for, no matter how far from the front a man may have spent his time as a soldier, he will remember it as a special time, when, fleetingly, his daily existence appeared to approach the heroic. Former Private First Class Sven Eriksson—as I shall call him, since to use his actual name might add to the danger he may be in—has also come back with his memories, but he has no idea what the future will do to them. Honorably discharged in April, 1968, this new war veteran, who is twenty-four and comes from a small farming community in northwestern Minnesota, isn't even sure that he would care to hold on to his recollections, if it were possible for him to control his memory. Naturally, Eriksson's experiences in Vietnam were varied, and many of them impressed themselves vividly on his mind. Just seeing an Asian country, for instance, was an adventure, Eriksson says, its landscape so different from the frozen plains of his corner of Minnesota; he had never before splashed through paddy fields, he told me, or stood blinking in the sudden sunlessness of lush, entangled jungle, or wandered uncertainly through imprisoning fields of towering elephant grass. An infantryman, Eriksson saw a fair amount of action, so, if he chose, he could reminisce about strong points he helped take and fire fights in which he was pinned down, and one ambush, in particular, in which half his unit was wounded. But, as Eriksson unhesitatingly acknowledges, the fact is that when he thinks of his tour of duty in Vietnam it is always a single image that comes to his mind. The image is that of a Vietnamese peasant girl, two or three years younger than he was, whom he met, so to speak, on November 18, 1966, in a

remote hamlet in the Central Highlands, a few miles west of the South China Sea. Eriksson and four other enlisted men were then on a reconnaissance patrol in the vicinity of the girl's home. Eriksson considers himself hazy about the girl's looks. He does remember, though, that she had a prominent gold tooth, and that her eyes, which were dark brown, could be particularly expressive. He also remembers that she was wearing dusty earrings made of bluish glass; he noticed the trinkets because they gave off a dull glint one bright afternoon when he was assigned to stand guard over her. Like most rural women, she was dressed in loose-fitting black pajamas. They obscured her figure, Eriksson says, but he has the impression that she was slender and slight, and was perhaps five feet two or three inches tall. For as long as she lived, Eriksson did not know her name. He learned it, eventually, when the girl's sister identified her at court-martial proceedings—proceedings that Eriksson himself instigated and in which he served as the government's chief witness. The girl's name—her actual name—was Phan Thi Mao. Eriksson never exchanged a word with her; neither spoke the other's language. He knew Mao for slightly more than twenty-four hours. They were her last. The four soldiers with whom he was on patrol raped and killed her, abandoning her body in mountain brush. One of the soldiers stabbed her three times, and when defense counsel challenged Eriksson at the court-martial proceedings to describe the sound that the stabbings made, he testified, "Well, I've shot deer and I've gutted deer. It was just like when you stick a deer with a knife—sort of a thud—or something like this, sir."

Eriksson talked with me at his home in (I shall say) Minneapolis, where, since leaving the Army, he has been earning his living as a cabinetmaker at a local department store. He and his wife, Kirsten, have a neat, modest apartment of three rooms, its walls decorated with paintings by Mrs. Eriksson, a Sunday artist, who was present while we talked; she is twenty-three and is employed as a receptionist in an insurance office. The two have no children. They were married four years ago, shortly after Eriksson was drafted. They had known each other since childhood, their fathers having been neighboring farmers, who both had difficulty making ends meet. This was true of many farmers in the area, Mrs. Eriksson told me, adding that most of its inhabitants were of Scandinavian background. "It's a part of the country where we pride ourselves on not being demonstrative," she said. A small, pretty blonde with an alert, intelligent manner, she offered me coffee and cake the instant I set foot in the apartment. She was pleased, she told me, that I had asked to hear about the episode involving Mao. She herself had thus far been the only person with whom her husband had discussed it since returning from Vietnam, and even with her he had not gone into much detail. "It'll do him good to talk to someone else," she said, her tone lively and teasing. Sitting by himself on a sofa, Eriksson smiled somewhat ruefully, a deep dimple forming in one cheek. He is a short man of fair complexion, blond and blue-eyed, and he is not voluble. In the hours we spent together, there were intervals that may have lasted as long as a minute when he sat silent, a brooding expression on his face, before resuming his account. At the start, he spoke laconically, but gradually his natural reticence thawed out, and there were times—generally after one of his silences—when he produced such a burst of talk that it seemed to cost him an effort to bring it to a halt.

At the very outset, Eriksson told me that the last thing he wished to do was discuss Mao's murder in any legalistic vein. It was certainly possible to do so, as I knew for my-

self from having read the court record of the trials he had brought about: seven bulky volumes in the offices of the Clerk of Courts, U.S. Army Judiciary, in Falls Church, Virginia, which included Eriksson's testimony against the members of the patrol; their convictions and appeals; interminable correspondence between judges and opposing counsel; and depositions concerning the character of individual defendants. Having appeared as a witness before four tribunals in Vietnam, Eriksson told me, he had had his fill of the judicial process—of the dogged grillings of lawyers and the repeated strictures of judges insisting on precise answers to questions that were often vague. As far as he was concerned, Eriksson said, it had all seemed a morass of cleverness, but then, he conceded, he may well have entered the military courtroom in the Central Highlands, where the four trials were held, with unwarranted expectations, for it had been his hope that the trials would help him unravel his reactions to Mao's fate. Unreasonably, he granted, he had come into court with the idea that he and the others on hand would wonder aloud, in a kind of corporate searching, how it was possible for the young girl to meet the end she did. He had imagined that he would be able to ask how it was that he alone of the patrol had come to act as he had. He had wanted to tell of the way the episode with Mao had affected him, and why it was that he had felt impelled to report the others—four young Americans like him, each dependent on the others for survival deep in enemy territory. He had wanted to unburden himself of his doubts about whether he had done all he might have done for Mao in her travail—doubts that gnaw at him to this day. With me, he said he trusted he would be able to go into these matters freely, but he had early discovered that in a court of law they were of little interest.

Launching into his unlegalistic account, Eriksson told me that it seemed clear to him in retrospect that he should have been prepared for Mao's death. It had been preceded by any number of similar occurrences. In one form or another, he said, they took place almost daily, but he was slow, or reluctant, to perceive that they were as much a part of the war as shells and targets were. Eriksson now believes he should have foreseen that sooner or later one of these incidents was bound to strike him with special, climactic force. He had scarcely landed in Vietnam, in October, 1966, when he was made aware of these occurrences, each of them apparently impulsive and unrelated to military strategy. He told me that beatings were common—random, routine kicks and cuffs that he saw G.I.s administer to the Vietnamese. Occasionally, official orders were used for justifying gratuitous acts of violence. Thus, early in his tour of duty, Eriksson recalled, G.I.s in his unit were empowered to shoot any Vietnamese violating a 7 p.m. curfew, but in practice it was largely a matter of individual discretion whether a soldier chose to fire at a stray Vietnamese hurrying home a few minutes late to his hootch—the American term for the mud-and-bamboo huts in which most natives lived. Similarly, it was permissible to shoot at any Vietnamese seen running, but, as Eriksson put it, “the line between walking and running could be very thin.” The day after the one on which his squad was ambushed and half its members were wounded, several enemy prisoners were taken, and, in retaliation, two were summarily killed, “to serve as an example.” A corporal who was still enraged over the ambush tried to strangle another of the prisoners; he had knotted a poncho, nooselike, around the captive's neck and was tightening it when a merciful lieutenant commanded him to desist.

Needless to say, Eriksson continued, the kind of behavior he was describing was by

no means limited to Americans. The enemy did the same thing, and much of the evidence for this came from the Vietnamese themselves. They constantly reported rapes and kidnappings by the Vietcong; in fact, the Vietcong committed these crimes so indiscriminately that the victims were sometimes their own sympathizers. On one occasion that he knew of, Eriksson said, American troops, attracted by the familiar odor of decomposing bodies, had found a pit piled high with Vietnamese men and women who had been machine-gunned by the V.C. But, as Eriksson pointed out, he could not give me many such first-hand accounts of V.C. depredations. Necessarily, he said, he was in a position to speak only of the behavior of American soldiers, since they were the people he fought and lived with.

Ending the first of his brooding silences, Eriksson said, “From one day to the next, you could see for yourself changes coming over guys on our side—decent fellows, who wouldn't dream of calling an Oriental a ‘gook’ or a ‘slopehead’ back home. But they were halfway around the world now, in a strange country, where they couldn't tell who was their friend and who wasn't. Day after day, out on patrol, we'd come to a narrow dirt path leading through some shabby village, and the elders would welcome us and the children come running with smiles on their faces, waiting for the candy we'd give them. But at the other end of the path, just as we were leaving the village behind, the enemy would open up on us, and there was bitterness among us that the villagers hadn't given us warning. All that many of us could think at such times was that we were fools to be ready to die for people who defecated in public, whose food was dirtier than anything in our garbage cans back home. Thinking like that—well, as I say, it could keep them from believing that life was so valuable—anyone's life, I mean, even their own. I'm not saying that every fellow who roughed up a civilian liked himself for it—not that he'd admit in so many words that he didn't. But you could tell. Out of the blue, without being asked, he'd start defending what he'd done maybe hours ago by saying that, after all, it was no worse than what Charlie was doing. I heard that argument over and over again, and I could never buy it. It was like claiming that just because a drunken driver hit your friend, you had a right to get in your car and aim it at some pedestrian. Of course, I was a foot soldier all this time. I was operating in a forward area and probably seeing the war at its ugliest. In daylight it was search-and-destroy missions, and at night it was setting ambushes for the enemy. I discovered it's not difficult to kill a human being—in combat it's as instinctive as ducking bullets. You never knew whose turn it was to die, and that isn't how it was in rear areas. The farther back you got, the closer you approached the way people lived in civilian life.”

On November 16, 1966, the commanding officer of Eriksson's platoon, a Negro lieutenant, Harold Reilly (whose name, like every soldier's name in this account, has been changed), assigned him as one of five enlisted men who were to make up a reconnaissance patrol, its mission to comb a sector of the Central Highlands for signs of Vietcong activity. Testifying later in court, Lieutenant Reilly characterized the mission as “extremely dangerous,” and said that to carry it out he had picked members of the best of the four squads in the platoon. Special care had been taken with the operation, he stated, since it had been conceived by the battalion command, a higher echelon than the company command, to which Reilly was ordinarily responsible. Explaining his choice of the patrol, Reilly testified, “These people, I felt, knew what they were doing, and a second reason was because the company commanding officer asked for good people.” On

the following afternoon, November 17th, the members of the newly formed patrol met in a corner of the platoon's headquarters area, near the village of My Tho, where, relaxed, as they stood or sat on the ground, they listened to a briefing from their leader, who was seated on a low stool. He was Sergeant Tony Meserve, a slim, black-haired man of medium height who was twenty years old and came from a town in upstate New York, near the Canadian border. According to Eriksson, Meserve, who was assertive and confident, was both the patrol's youngest soldier and its most experienced one, being a volunteer of three years' standing who had fought in Vietnam for a year and had been decorated several times; he was due to go back to the United States in a month. The group's second-in-command was Ralph Clark, a corporal who came from a town near Philadelphia. He was twenty-two, a stringbean in physique, and blond, with eyes that were a pale, cold blue. Again according to Eriksson, Clark was given to quick movements and to seemingly abrupt decisions that reflected Meserve's thinking in an exaggerated form. The two other G.I.s in the combat team were a year younger than Eriksson, who was then twenty-two. They were cousins named Diaz—Rafael, known as Rafe, whose home was near Amarillo, Texas, and Manuel, who came from a town some distance north of Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Eriksson remembers Rafe as a tall, swarthy, round-faced man with a disposition that was naturally sunny and amiable. As for Manuel, who was fair-skinned and stockier than his cousin, his manner was on the jumpy side. Like Clark, he was given to quick movements, but his behavior had nothing to do with embellishing Meserve's thinking. Manuel showed no initiative in that regard, Eriksson told me, his attitude toward authority being simple and automatic: he heeded it devoutly. In mild contrast, Rafe was capable of questioning authority, Eriksson said, but he generally wound up by going along with whoever seemed to be the leader—“just to keep from making trouble.”

Returning to the patrol's briefing, Eriksson told me that Meserve was all business as he plunged into his talk. Echoing the instructions that a battalion officer had given him earlier, the Sergeant informed the four men of the duties that each was expected to carry out, of the chain of command in the field, and of radio-communication arrangements with the platoon command, and then, consulting the grid coordinates of a map he was holding, the Sergeant described a precise westerly route that the patrol was to follow.

It was to take them, ultimately, to Hill 192—a height, in the Bong Son valley, that overlooked a ravine laced with a cave complex, which was suspected of serving as a Vietcong hideout. But caves weren't all that the five men would be looking for. Bunkers, trenches, trails that were not marked on maps, caches of enemy equipment—these, too, were to be reconnaissance objectives. Naturally, Meserve said, if the men could spot any Vietcong in the open, that would be all to the good, but the patrol's orders—and these had been spelled out in no uncertain terms by the battalion command—were to avoid any shooting matches with the enemy except in self-defense; as a so-called pony patrol, he said, they were out to collect “early-warning” information concerning enemy intentions.

The men were to be gone five days, the Sergeant revealed—a fairly long time for a reconnaissance mission—and on hearing this Eriksson experienced a sense of exhilaration, just as he had at the prospect of far shorter patrols in which he had taken part. He felt that way, he explained, because out in the field, in territory that could turn hostile at any moment, the men in the patrol would be very much on their own, and this would be so even if a high-ranking officer were in

charge. "You could never tell how a man was going to behave under pressure," Eriksson said. "He might turn out to be dumb or brave or to have a wonderful stock of jokes. Sure, there were always advance plans to do this or that, but they didn't often stand up in the field. The only thing you could count on out there was that the unexpected would happen." Usually, Eriksson said, it took time for the unexpected to develop, but now—more than half a day before the patrol was to leave platoon headquarters—it happened with stunning abruptness.

It happened when the Sergeant, having delivered his instructions, concluded the briefing by telling the assembled men that they were going to have a good time on the mission, because he was going to see to it that they found themselves a girl and took her along "for the morale of the squad." For five days, the Sergeant said, they would avail themselves of her body, finally disposing of it, to keep the girl from ever accusing them of abduction and rape—both listed as capital crimes in the Uniform Code of Military Justice. Rafe later testified at his court-martial, "Meserve stated we would leave an hour ahead of time so that we would have time to find a woman to take with us on the mission. Meserve stated that we would get the woman for the purpose of boom boom, or sexual intercourse, and at the end of five days we would kill her." And in Manuel's testimony one finds: "After we were briefed by Meserve, he said that we would take a girl with us on patrol, or that we would try to take a girl with us to have some fun. . . . He said it would be good for the morale of the squad."

The Sergeant had made his announcement with a straight face, leaving his men to interpret it as they would. Clark at once greeted it with enthusiasm. The two Diazes laughed, either out of embarrassment, Eriksson conjectures, or because they thought Meserve was joking, in view of his remark about "the morale of the squad"—an old gag in the platoon. Eriksson told me that he himself reacted silently but that after Meserve and the men had broken up to go their separate ways until morning he sought out his friend Corporal Curly Rowan, a West Virginian, who had been in Vietnam, and with the platoon, just as long as Meserve had. Rowan listened with astonishment as Eriksson apprised him of the Sergeant's plan, but when Eriksson asked his friend whether he thought Meserve's statements should be reported to an officer before the patrol left camp, Rowan immediately shook his head, replying, as the court record shows, "Meserve wouldn't dare do such a fool thing." This incredulity notwithstanding, the news of Meserve's briefing left Rowan unhappy. The two men had arrived in Vietnam at the same time, and he had known Meserve as a considerate, agreeable man. However, in the last month or so, Rowan told Eriksson, the Sergeant, apparently undergoing changes, had exhibited a mean streak toward the Vietnamese; a couple of weeks before, Rowan said, Meserve had shot at and wounded one of them, giving as his reason afterward that he had "felt like it." "The way Curly talked about him, Meserve sounded as though he had become a kind of war casualty," Eriksson told me.

At four-thirty the following morning, Meserve diligently checked his men's gear at the edge of camp, seeing to it that their chow, star clusters, rounds of ammunition, smoke and hand grenades, and other supplies were in order. Once this was done, the patrol filed out of the camp in the faintly humid darkness, the men still uncertain of their leader's intent. Twenty minutes later, they knew what it was. By then, moving unhurriedly in the gray dusk, Meserve's squad had dutifully followed him two thousand metres to the east, which, as Eriksson and the others realized, was a flagrant deviation from the westward route the Sergeant

had described so precisely at the briefing. By then, too, the men were approaching the hamlet of Cat Tuong, in the district of Phu My, and Eriksson was cursing himself for having listened to Rowan. In disbelief and confusion, his heart palpitating, Eriksson saw that Meserve was losing no time in carrying out his plan, for, with Clark at his heels, the Sergeant had embarked on a systematic search of the hamlet's hootches. The pair had emerged empty-handed from five or six of the huts when Rafe, ever his amiable, accommodating self, pointed to a white hootch ahead and called out, "There's a pretty girl in there! She has a gold tooth!" Instantly, the Sergeant said, "That's the girl we'll find." Astounded by the enormity of his own suggestion, Rafe looked miserably at Manuel and Eriksson as Meserve and Clark, quickening their steps, made for the white hootch that contained the pretty girl with a gold tooth. While Eriksson, Manuel, and the now wretched Rafe hovered outside, Meserve and Clark entered the hut—Mao's home. They lingered in it longer than they had in the other hootches, but since Eriksson was standing outside the hut he is unable to describe what went on inside. However, Mao's sister, Phan Thi Loc, who was present, has done this at one of the trials. Translating the testimony of Loc, who was two years younger than Mao, an interpreter informed the court, "She said they come in, use flashlight and shone around the house and saw her mother's face and her sister's face and all of them wake up at the same time. It was six in morning and dark." The father was away in Phu My market, the interpreter went on. The mother wept and pleaded, and her daughters, clinging to one another, cowered against the wall. Loc was spared, but Mao was seized by the two soldiers, who bound her hands behind her back with a length of coconut rope. Reporting another of Loc's answers at the trial, the court interpreter stated, "She said her sister have gold tooth, right side in lower jaw."

When Meserve and Clark rejoined their comrades, Eriksson told me, they had the bound Mao well in tow. Clark was holding her elbow, and he pushed her forward when Meserve ordered the patrol to get moving. "Daylight was coming on fast, and he wanted the girl in the light as little as possible," Eriksson told me. "Helicopter crews might spot her." Before the patrol left the hamlet, a swarm of local children materialized, chattering agitatedly in a circle around Mao, and then out of the white hootch came Loc. The two sisters looked at each other. "Their eyes were terrified," Eriksson remembers. Departing from the hamlet with their prize, the soldiers moved west toward the main trail they should have been on. They had gone scarcely twenty metres when a cry of distress halted them. It came from Mao's mother, who was giving chase. Meserve testified at his court-martial, "The mother came out, like they always do, started crying talking. We just tell them to *dee dee*"—meaning to go away. The mother, Eriksson told me, was waving a scarf and laboriously propelling herself forward. Panting, she finally reached the soldiers, indicating to them that the scarf was Mao's and that she would like her daughter to have it; the woman's cheeks were wet and her manner was imploring. It was an awkward moment, Eriksson said, and Clark terminated it. A smile spreading on his face, he took the scarf and stuffed it into Mao's mouth. In an affidavit that Manuel later signed, he stated, "Clark gagged the girl to keep her from yelling out. It was still dark in the area, and no civilians attempted to stop us." Leaving the mother behind, the patrol resumed its march, prodding Mao to match its stride. The hamlet was barely out of sight when Manuel, perhaps competing with Clark, untied Mao's hands, then slipped his pack from his shoulders and loaded it onto the girl's.

The five men and Mao kept up a steady pace. Meserve saw to that, for a brilliant sun had come up, its glare exposing the bizarre party as clearly as it did the landscape. "We were advancing through nice country," Eriksson told me. "We were on a plateau in the Highlands, and all around us were small mountain ranges, hazy and green. Below was a valley with a winding stream, and along its banks were paddy fields with neat little dikes around them. The country we were moving through was mostly all shades of green, but we also passed arid stretches and, here and there, places that had been browned by napalm. The land was very changeable. It would be open for a while, and then there'd be sections so thick with thorny vines tearing at our clothes that we couldn't see each other, even though we were spaced no farther apart than you and I are, right here in this room." Around eight o'clock, Meserve permitted his squad a half hour's break for chow.

Mao was ungagged but was given no food; noticing that she was flushed and coughing slightly, Meserve handed her an aspirin. Only one piece of military action occurred that morning, and it could have been dispensed with. Gazing into the valley below, Rafe thought he spied a Vietnamese in a native type of straw hat standing in the stream. Deciding that he was looking at a V.C., Rafe let fly with a couple of rounds from his M-16 rifle. His target turned out to be the rumpl of a wallowing water buffalo, the animal raising itself from the shallow stream in clumsy panic and lumbering out of view. Rafe had flouted the order against unnecessary shooting, confirming Eriksson's observation that plans could mean little in the field and that out there any patrol was a unit only in theory. "We were each acting the way we had to," he told me. Meserve said nothing to Rafe; nor did he say anything to any of the others when, as the mission unfolded, they committed similar derelictions. Under cross-examination at his court-martial concerning this disregard of his commanding officer's instructions, the Sergeant stated, "Sir, most of the time everybody agrees with his C.O. Sometimes you have your disagreements, and sometimes you don't voice them, you keep them to yourself."

At ten-thirty, a short distance below the summit of Hill 192, Meserve found what he was looking for—a command post for the day. It was an abandoned hootch, eight feet square and eight feet high, with a window on the east side, a door on the west, and two sills facing north and south; there was a stream a few metres away, giving the patrol a ready source of water. The hootch contained a table, a low bench built against a wall, and tattered remnants of a straw mat strewn in a dark corner, and the dirt floor was littered with scrap metal, rocks, and cans. The structure was in a state of extreme disrepair, and had a number of large holes in its mud walls. However, it was essentially intact, and Meserve quickly converted it into a weapons depot, dumping ammunition stocks, and also food supplies, on its dirt floor. In addition, the hootch served as a place to hide Mao. Ordering Eriksson and Rafe to clean up the hootch, and leaving Mao in their charge, the Sergeant went off with Clark and Manuel to have a careful look around. In the hootch, Eriksson recalled, Mao, now relieved of Manuel's pack, watched him and Rafe heave out junk for a while, and then, unasked, the girl lent the G.I.s a hand. "She had no idea the kind of place she was helping to prepare," Eriksson said.

Meserve and the others returned an hour later, toward noon, and had a hearty snack, eating it outdoors, near the entrance to the hut. Sprawled on the ground after the meal, Meserve, refreshed, glanced at his fellows and then, with a knowing smile, indicated the partly ruined structure. "It's time for some fun," he said. Clark appeared to be beside himself with anticipation, Eriksson

told me, and Manuel and Rafe appeared less so. He himself, he imagines, must have looked glum. "It was the way I felt," he said. "It was impossible for me to have any part of what I knew was about to take place." He suspects that Meserve sensed this, for before anything else happened the Sergeant confronted him, demanding to know whether he would enter the hootch when his turn came. Eriksson shook his head. Incensed, the Sergeant uttered the first of a series of threats. Unless Eriksson went along with the others, Meserve warned, he would run the risk of being reported "a friendly casualty." Clark seconded this vociferously, and both Diazes concentrated puzzled stares on the difficult member of the patrol. Eriksson shook his head again. "I had had enough of watching beatings and stranglings with ponchos," he told me. Rebuffed a second time, Meserve lashed out with an attack on Eriksson's manliness, deriding him as "queer" and "chicken." The attack didn't bother him, Eriksson told me, but it appears from the court record that it did affect Rafe, who testified that he could not have withstood the epithets he heard Meserve heap on Eriksson; it was his fear of such derision, Rafe stated, that caused him to join those who entered the hootch he had helped make tidy. Manuel gave similar testimony. "I was afraid of being ridiculed, sir," he told the prosecutor. Asked why, he answered, "O.K., let's say you are on a patrol. These guys right here are going to start laughing you out. Pretty soon, you're going to be an outcast from the platoon. That guy, he's scared of doing this, he's scared of doing that. Everybody is going to make fun of you. When you go out on a patrol, you ain't going to be as good as you want to be, because these guys ain't helping you do anything. It is going to be yourself. There is going to be four people on that patrol and an individual."

Once Meserve had delivered his estimate of Eriksson's virility, the ill-fated bacchanal got under way. Just before it did, Eriksson moved away from the entrance to the hootch, where he had been standing, and sat down alone on the grassy turf to one side of the structure; periodically, he raised his field glasses to gaze at distant points. Cross-examined at Meserve's trial as to why he had shifted his position, Eriksson testified, "Well, sir, these gentlemen seemed to me—oh, I should say kind of enthused about what was going on. The whole thing made me sick to my stomach. I figured somebody would have to be out there for security, because there were V.C. in the area."

The Sergeant was the first man to enter the hootch, and soon, Eriksson told me, a high, piercing moan of pain and despair came from the girl. It repeated itself in waves, broken only, Eriksson assumed, by Mao's need to summon fresh breath. After several minutes, the moan turned to a steady sobbing, and this did not cease until, after a half hour, Meserve reappeared in the open. He was shirtless; his face wore an expression of swaggering irresistibility. "She was real good—pretty clean," he said. Pointing to the hootch, he signaled to Rafe to be his successor, and Rafe, sparing himself ridicule, walked in. In court, Rafe said that he found Mao naked, lying on the table, her hands bound behind her back. "The girl looked so innocent, so calm," he testified. But Rafe stayed, and again the moan and the sobbing, slightly diminished, rose from the hootch. Outside, according to the court record, Clark was watching his comrade through a hole in the mud facade and letting out whoops of delight that mingled with Mao's cries. His manner became momentarily subdued when Meserve waved him in as the third man, but Clark was his jaunty self again when he returned. "I held a knife to her throat," he told the others. He displayed a hunting knife. It was ten inches long, and its handle was wrapped with tape that bore a pattern of tiny diamonds. The men were

familiar with the knife; it had recently been given to Clark by a close friend in the platoon who had been wounded. As Manuel was going into the hootch, Mao's sounds could be heard, weak and conquered. The four soldiers' visitation lasted nearly an hour and a half, and two minutes after it was terminated the men, to conceal themselves from any Vietcong who might be in the vicinity, reentered the hootch together. Eriksson was now with them, and he saw that Mao had retreated to a corner of the hut, frightened, watchful, her eyes glistening with tears, her presence made known chiefly by a cough that had grown more pronounced since morning. The girl was dressed and her hands had been freed. The men ate, again without feeding her, and reminisced about their communal feat, comparing Mao with other girls they had known, and talking about how long it had been since they had had a woman. After fifteen or twenty minutes, Meserve, as though he were finally bored with the topic, abruptly reminded the unit of its mission; he wanted the men to do some more reconnoitering that afternoon. This time, he said, it would be Clark who would stay behind to guard Mao and the weapons in the hootch.

The day continued eventful. Exploring the mountain further, often making their way through shoulder-high vegetation, Eriksson, Meserve, Manuel, and Rafe pushed on toward the summit. Though the men had to struggle for footing, Eriksson related, they made a point of keeping an eye on the stream that ran near the hootch; it had its source high up on the mountain, flowing down past a number of rice fields. After half an hour, their watch on the stream paid off, producing a more interesting sight than Rafe's water buffalo. Three Vietnamese were spotted walking along the edge of the water, and though they wore no uniforms, Meserve assumed they were V.C., and he and his men, including Eriksson, opened fire on them. None of the four hit anything, and the Sergeant radioed the platoon command for artillery support, which was quickly granted; the cooperation, Eriksson recalled, pleased Meserve no end, since it implicitly conferred an importance on the skirmish. Deciding to close in on the three Vietnamese, Meserve dispatched Eriksson and Rafe to the hootch to pick up a supply of smoke grenades. Arriving on the run, the two explained their errand to Clark, who heard the news eagerly, then pulled rank on Eriksson and ordered him to take his place in guarding the hootch. As Clark and Rafe left, Eriksson told me, he realized that he was about to exchange one kind of excitement for another—the encounter with the three Vietnamese, that is, for the quieter, more complicated ordeal of being alone with Mao. He was uncertain how he would act with her, he said, even though, oddly, he felt he knew her well; her cries, he said, had thrown him into a turmoil he had never before experienced. As he listened to her, he said, it had even crossed his mind to shoot her assailants, but then, he observed to me, "I'd have had the bodies of four men to justify." Asked in court for his thoughts during the period he had sat on the grassy turf, he testified, "Well, sir, I was wishing I wasn't in the situation I was in. I might say I was praying to God that if I ever got out of there alive I'd do everything I could to see that these men would pay for what they did."

Eriksson now lapsed into the longest of his silences with me, and when he spoke again, it was, for him, at great length. "When Mao saw me come into the hootch, she thought I was there to rape her," Eriksson said. "She began to weep, and backed away, cringing. She looked weary and ill, and she seemed to be getting more so by the minute.

"I had a feeling she had been injured in some way—not that I could tell. She had her black pajamas on. I gave her crackers and beef stew and water. It was her first food

since she'd been taken away from her hamlet—it had been still dark then, and here it was the middle of the afternoon. She ate, standing, and it was whimper, then eat, whimper, then eat. She kept looking at me, as though she was trying to guess what my game could be. When she finished eating, she mumbled something in Vietnamese; maybe it was 'Thank you'—I wouldn't know. And I told her, in English, 'I can't understand you.' I wanted to tell her other things. I wanted to say, 'I apologize to you for what's happened, but don't ever accept my apology or anyone else's for that. Please don't ask me to explain why they did it. I'll never know. You're hurt, I can see, but how are you? I mean, if I let you go, do you think you can make it home?' I wish Mao and I could have talked," Eriksson said, his voice tightening. "She might have helped me know what to do, instead of my having to figure it out alone—it was her life that was at stake. I stepped outside the hootch to be by myself awhile, and out there I could hear the muffled noise of artillery off in the distance. I had no idea where my unit was. I didn't know then that they were four hundred metres away, at the top of Hill 192, or that it would be a whole hour before they returned. It might have influenced my thinking if I'd had that information, but I'm not sure. As a disciplined soldier, I knew I wouldn't abandon the weapons in the hootch to the enemy, but, just the same, I was dizzy with thinking how to save Mao. I thought again of letting her go, but what would I tell Meserve when he got back? That this weak, coughing girl had overpowered me? Besides, she was in no condition to reach home or anywhere else. Then I thought of taking off together with her. We couldn't have gone very far, I realized, but it was going to be dark soon and we might find a hideout somewhere in the brush. After that, we'd have to stay out of sight until the third day of the patrol's mission—that was the day the patrol was supposed to rendezvous with another unit for fresh supplies. I knew the rendezvous spot, and if Mao and I could show up there at the right time, there was no question in my mind but that the fellows in the resupply squad would help us both. But I couldn't think any of my brainstormers through. I knew I had cut myself off from the rest of my patrol, refusing to go into that hootch, and I had this idea that the fellows were watching the place from the brush, waiting for me to make just one false move with Mao. I had this picture that when we did, they'd fire at us, or, at least, Meserve would have me up on charges of desertion. The guys would back him up, of course. They'd say there had never been a girl with the patrol, and I'd be left looking crazy."

Shifting uneasily on the sofa, Eriksson went on. "When I stepped back into the hootch, I saw that Mao had made up her mind that I wasn't going to harm her. She had stopped whimpering, and there was even a little look of trust in her eyes. There shouldn't have been, because I had decided, outside, that there wasn't a thing in the world I could do for her. It was the hardest decision I've ever had to make, and it couldn't have been the best possible one, or Mao wouldn't be gone today."

In the time that elapsed before the patrol's return, Eriksson said, Mao's condition worsened noticeably. The men found her feverish and coughing, and Clark was all for rescheduling her death hour to that evening. Meserve, however, counselled patience. A good night's rest might do wonders for Mao's health, he pointed out, in which case he, for one, wouldn't mind revisiting her in the morning. Rafe subsequently testified that the Sergeant was in an expansive mood, cheerfully observing to his men that it wasn't every day he could rate artillery support and have himself a woman as well. The patrol and Mao shared the hootch that night, the girl spending it in a corner by herself. The soldiers set up a night watch, each man pull-

ing guard duty outside in the moonlight, alert for any lurking enemy. Mao coughed throughout the night, and at one point, Eriksson recalls, Clark again urged that the girl be finished off forthwith. Eriksson said, "He told Meserve her coughing was going to give away our position, but I didn't think it was Charlie he had on his mind. I thought he wanted to destroy living evidence."

In the morning, everyone got up shortly after six, and it wasn't long before Mao's fate was sealed. "Events happened fast that day," Eriksson said. The first of them, he told me, was that Mao woke up less alluring than when she had gone to bed. Her fever and coughing had increased overnight, he said, and that didn't do her cause any good. Meserve, he noted, paid scarcely any attention to her. The Sergeant seemed more attracted by the possibility of military action, to judge by the speed with which he had his charges break camp. His last order before they left was to send Eriksson, Rafe, and Manuel to fetch the day's supply of water from the stream. When they returned, Eriksson told me, they discovered that Clark was no longer alone in advocating Mao's early demise. Meserve was now an ally, he and his second-in-command apparently having arrived at a meeting of minds while the others were filling the patrol's canteens. As Mao stood listening, mute and uncomprehending, Meserve said that she had to be got out of the way; if they ran into action, he pointed out, she would be a hindrance, and even if they didn't, helicopter crews scouting the area might want to know who she was. All that awaited decision, Meserve went on, was the moment and method of the girl's murder, but, whatever was settled on, the Sergeant's thought was to have Eriksson do the job; if Eriksson refused, Meserve said, he would be reported as K.I.A.—killed in action. Manuel later told agents of the Army's Criminal Investigation Division, "Meserve said to Eriksson that inasmuch as he did not do anything to the girl [the day before], Eriksson would have to kill the girl, but Eriksson said that he would not have anything to do with that." Meserve, however, didn't follow through on his threat. To Eriksson's astonishment and deep relief, the Sergeant abruptly shifted his attention to the Diazes, asking first Rafe then Manuel to carry out the murder. "Both refused," Eriksson said. "They were very definite. It excited me." Impatiently, Clark volunteered his services, but Meserve wouldn't have that, insisting that they collaborate, Clark could knife the girl from the front, the Sergeant said, while he bayoneted her from behind; the body would then be tossed over a cliff from the summit of Hill 192, where the patrol had reconnoitered the previous day. Accordingly, at nine the group struck out for the cliff. The climb took longer than it had the day before, the men's pace slowed by the packs they bore. This morning, Manuel carried his own.

Serving as radioman, he was in the vanguard with Meserve and Clark; Mao walked ten metres behind, wearily ascending the rugged terrain, with Rafe as her forward guard and Eriksson bringing up the rear. It took an hour to negotiate the climb, and the group had barely attained the ridge when Rafe, his eyes sweeping the vista below, saw five Vietnamese in peasant dress making their way along a mountain trail toward the paddy fields near the stream. The Vietnamese proved to be V.C., for the moment they were aware that they had been seen they fired at the patrol with small arms, then changed their direction and passed temporarily out of sight. Meserve at once radioed the platoon command, reaching Lieutenant Reilly, to whom he suggested that the V.C. be ambushed. Agreeing, the Lieutenant said that he would order another squad, operating at the base of the mountain, to coordinate its movements with those of Meserve's patrol, and

that he would also dispatch two other squads in the area. In addition, Meserve learned that he was again to be the recipient of artillery support; in a short while, Reilly said helicopter gunships—aircraft equipped with rocket artillery and machine guns—would be in the area. "It was going to be a big outlay, considering the few men we were up against," Eriksson said. Ordinarily, he conjectured, the promise of such generous support would have cheered Meserve but Mao's presence seemed to confuse matters. Glancing at the girl with distaste, the Sergeant ordered Eriksson and Rafe to stay with her on the ridge, whereupon he, Clark, and Manuel began a cautious descent of the mountain, their purpose to stalk the Vietcong. Thirty metres down, they came to a curiously shaped rock formation composed of two jutting ledges. Using the upper one as a vantage point, they spied the small band of V.C. making slow progress toward the refuge of the cave complex, which was three hundred metres away, almost at the bottom of the ravine. But the Sergeant did nothing about the escaping V.C., for he was now powerfully distracted from the enemy; in the distance, still inaudible and looking miniaturized, were four approaching gunships. Acting fast, he sent Manuel backtracking to the summit to tell Eriksson and Rafe to report to him with Mao. In ten minutes, they were all together again; by then, too, the helicopters had grown larger and their engines were faintly audible. Rafe later testified, "There were helicopters flying around, and everyone was getting jumpy about having the girl."

Before Meserve could devise any next step, Clark took hold of Mao's arm. "Let's kill her and get it over with," he said, according to the court record.

"All right, go ahead," Meserve said, and he instantly turned his attention to the enemy, ordering Eriksson to the lower ledge of rock while he and Manuel returned to the upper one, with Rafe to their rear.

Rafe was the man closest to Clark and Mao—only a few metres away—and because he was, his testimony concerning the events that now took place carried special weight with the court. He stated at the trial, "From where I was, I observed Clark grab the girl by the arm and take her into the bushes nearby. . . . I saw that Clark had his hunting knife hidden in one of his hands." It was in the next seconds that deer-gutting sounds issued from the bushes. "I then heard the girl cry out, but not too loud," Rafe continued. "Clark came back to where we were. Meserve asked him if he had finished the girl." Clark had just replied yes when Mao, like a wounded apparition, was seen crawling rapidly downhill and then disappearing into the thick foliage. As Rafe recounted it, "Meserve saw her and said, 'There she goes.' Clark said, 'Why, that bitch, I stabbed her more than twice.' Meserve told us all to shoot her before she could get away. We were all told to look for the girl." All five men shot, but Eriksson aimed his weapon—a grenade launcher, which looks like a shotgun—down into the valley, away from the general direction of Mao. In addition, Rafe flatly said, "Eriksson could not see the girl," despite which, Rafe also testified, "Eriksson stated, 'Oh, no,' like he regretted that he had fired." Rafe himself let go with a burst from his M-16, which, inexplicably, caused his rifle to jam. However, he did call Clark's attention to a bush directly ahead. It was rustling. "I couldn't tell whether it was Charlie or the girl," Rafe testified. Clark, who was several metres in front of Rafe, yelled back to him that it was the girl. "I saw him raise his rifle," Rafe stated, adding that he then started toward Clark. Moving in on the bush, Clark blazed away with his M-16, and at once the rustling foliage grew still. "You want her gold tooth?" Clark called over his shoulder to Rafe, who was then, he testified, a foot away

and was staring, aghast, at Mao. "When I got up to the girl, I saw that her head was partially blown away," he testified. "She was dead, I'm sure."

Immediately after the murder, Eriksson told me, the men appeared to assume a self-protective air of disbelief at what had taken place. Straggling uphill, he said, they gravitated toward their leader, who stood, unflustered, near the jutting rock formation, surveying the combat situation. It had built up sharply. The gunships were now unmistakably in the area, their motors sending up a storm of noise as the machines hovered low and their crews searched out the enemy. Now the V.C., flushed from their temporary hideout, continued to beat a desperate retreat, relying on sniper fire to fend off their attackers, who were converging on them from both sides of the stream. Small artillery spotter planes had arrived, heralding the imminent use of ground-artillery support. The court record attests that it was in the midst of this encircling racket that Meserve chose to initiate radio contact with Lieutenant Reilly, the burden of the Sergeant's message being that he wanted to report "one V.C., K.I.A." Under cross-examination at Meserve's court-martial, Reilly, appearing as a defense witness, testified, "Sergeant Meserve called me up and informed me in the middle of the fire fight that a girl was fleeing up the side of the mountain, and I informed him to get the girl. He called me back in a few minutes, or a couple of minutes, and informed me that he could not catch the girl, that he had had to shoot her. . . . I called him back and commended him on the job that he did and reported it, in turn, to the company headquarters."

Meserve fought well that day. With Mao out of the way, he was able to concentrate on the action at hand, managing his patrol, working in concert with the other squads, and helping to guide the diving gunships, whose presence he now welcomed. Among them, Eriksson said, these sizable elements, advancing toward the cave complex, succeeded in killing one V.C. and wounding another. Two escaped, and the fifth man made to the caves, where he holed up for a last-ditch stand. The man was never captured, Eriksson said, despite the fact that he became the single target of the gunship's rockets and the infantry's bullets and grenades. Moreover, Eriksson told me, the enemy soldier inflicted casualties on the infantrymen deployed around the cave complex, which was some two hundred metres long and had numerous mouths. At the time the fifth V.C. entered the caves, he said, the patrol had long ago left the vicinity of the curiously shaped rock formation, and had descended so deep into the valley that the men were practically able to touch the thick, rough outer walls of the caves. Meserve, Clark, and Manuel, together with members of the other squads, were shooting away at the solitary V.C., who was behind an aperture that measured perhaps six inches wide and a couple of inches high. As for himself, Eriksson told me, Meserve had ordered him to a ledge from which he could overlook the complex as he trained his grenade launcher on two cave mouths in particular, either one of which, the Sergeant thought, could afford the entombed V.C. an exit.

For Rafe, the fighting had ended an hour earlier—well before the patrol reached the cave complex. As the men had raced to get there, clambering and sliding, Rafe had slipped and fallen from a ledge, dislocating an elbow and a shoulder. Evacuated by a medical helicopter, he was flown to a hospital at Qui Nhon. There, corpsmen deposited him on a bed alongside that of a battalion officer he knew and liked. At Rafe's court-martial, it was disclosed that for several days the two patients in the hospital ward seemingly talked about whatever came into their

heads but that Rafe never mentioned Mao. Testifying in his own defense, Rafe stated, "I was afraid to tell [the officer], because I might be the only one who brought it up. I didn't know Eriksson brought it up. I wanted to find out first what Meserve and Clark might do."

The fire fight in the ravine lasted several hours, the attackers finally breaking off after dark. The holed-up V.C. (who escaped the following morning) wounded five Americans, and Meserve displayed considerable courage in rescuing the most seriously injured of them, a G.I. whose ammunition pouch, girding his midriff, had exploded as the result of a hit. "The poor guy's guts were out," Eriksson said. "It was as though he had shot himself with two rounds of his own ammo." The wounded man lay helpless, directly in front of the small opening from which the V.C. was shooting, and Meserve, braving a fusillade of bullets, crept forward and pulled the man out of the V.C.'s line of fire. For this action, Meserve was nominated for a Bronze Star.

Eriksson had no occasion to fire his grenade launcher, and that was just as well, he told me, since his mind was on Mao—on the part of the war that, as he put it, "had got to me." Perched on the mountainside, listening to the gunfire and the helicopters, he found his thoughts returning repeatedly to the fact that Rafe and Manuel had refused to kill the girl. Transitory though their show of character may have been, he said, it encouraged him in reaching a private resolve, for as he kept watch above the cave complex, Eriksson told me, he was suddenly seized with the overwhelming realization that unless he took it upon himself to speak out, the fact of Mao's death would remain a secret. "No one would ever know what had become of her!" he exclaimed. "Who else would tell but myself? All the others in the patrol had raped or killed her. I knew I wouldn't rest until something was done about Mao's murder. It was the least I could do—I had fallen her in so many ways. The only thing that could stop me was if I became a friendly casualty."

Looking back, Eriksson thinks that the small band of V.C. may have rescued him from Meserve. The outmanned, outgunned enemy put up so strong a fight, he said, that the Sergeant, Clark, and Manuel ran out of ammunition, and the patrol had to interrupt its five-day mission long enough to go back for fresh supplies of bullets and grenades. This meant going to platoon headquarters—the home of four squads, and only a few minutes' walk from company headquarters, where there were officers who outranked Reilly, the platoon's lone lieutenant. Arriving at the platoon area, Eriksson told me, he felt as though he had reached the promised land; the anxiety in which he had lived the past two days yielded to what he described as an almost tangible sense of safety. Since the patrol would be going out again, Eriksson said, he knew he had to act fast, but that seemed no big deal. In the first place, he wanted to act fast, and, besides, he had no doubt that once he did act, there would be fast results. Once he was inside the camp perimeter, he assumed, it would be a simple matter to bring Meserve and the others to judgment. All he need do, he believed, was report that they had committed rape and murder, and the military authorities would investigate with the same alacrity that civilian authorities are expected to show in such situations. During his first hour back in camp, he recalls, no one could have persuaded him otherwise.

In any event, Eriksson went on, he lost little time in seeking out his friend Curly Rowan to tell him the story of Mao. He had barely begun it, however, when Clark, seeing the two in conversation, descended on them, demanding to know what they were talking about. "We made up something to get him to go away," Eriksson told me. "He had a wild

manner—he couldn't stand still, and his eyes looked every which way. All of us in the patrol had long ago stopped pretending nothing horrible had happened. All of us had come back scared and upset, but Clark, I thought, showed it the most." Once Clark had left them, Eriksson continued with his story, feeling an immense relief when he had finished telling it. "At last, someone outside the patrol knew of Mao," he said. He had no illusion, though, that Rowan himself could do much about what he had just learned, but at that, Eriksson said, his friend did what he could, immediately relaying news of the murder to the sergeant of his own squad. In turn, the sergeant passed the news on to Lieutenant Reilly, who sent for Eriksson.

Arriving at the austere hootch that Reilly used as a command post, Eriksson told me, he imagined that the lieutenant, if only conversationally, would express dismay over the murder. No such dismay was expressed. Instead, to Eriksson's astonishment, Reilly chose that moment to offer a reminiscence. Calmly and easily, he told Eriksson about an experience that he had undergone three years earlier, when he drove his wife, also a Negro, to an Alabama hospital to have their first child. She was in an advanced state of labor, the lieutenant related, but she had been refused admittance to the hospital, on racial grounds, and she had eventually had her baby on the floor of its reception room. Wild with rage, Reilly had tried to wreck the place, whereupon hospital orderlies summoned the police, and the new father was arrested and jailed. In his cell, Reilly went on, he had made plans to shoot various officials at the hospital, but when he was finally released he gave up the idea of vengeance. "By the time I got out of jail," he told Eriksson, "I was saying to myself, 'What's happened is the way things are, so why try to buck the system?' And take it from me, Eriksson, it's even more hopeless to try to buck it in the middle of a war—there's more of a system than ever. Better relax about that Vietnamese girl, Eriksson. The kind of thing that happened to her—what else can you expect in a combat zone?" His recollection out of the way, the lieutenant informed Eriksson that the patrol, having replenished its ammunition stocks, would be leaving camp at any moment to resume its five-day mission. Eriksson wouldn't be going along, though; the lieutenant had assigned another G.I. in his stead. Acknowledging the danger in which Eriksson had placed himself, the lieutenant told him, "If I sent you out with that patrol, you'd never make it back."

As the court transcript shows, Reilly didn't let matters rest there. The atrocity that Eriksson had reported was too big for that. Reilly was aware that if it came to public knowledge it would tarnish the image of the officers commanding the platoon, the company, the battalion, perhaps even the regiment; the officers might be made to appear incapable of controlling the conduct of the men in their commands. Reilly's immediate superior, Captain Otto Vorst, as was later brought out in court, was out in the field at the time on "a tactical problem." He was not due back until November 22nd, the day Meserve's patrol was scheduled to conclude its mission. The Captain—a "lifer," or career Army man—had left instructions that he was to be sent urgent messages only, but shortly after Eriksson took leave of Reilly, the lieutenant, confident that the murder merited his superior's attention, radioed word of it to Vorst. As it happened, the Captain heard about it from a second source as well—from Eriksson himself. Out on a search-and-destroy mission the morning after leaving Meserve's command, Eriksson told me, he encountered a small group of American military men reconnoitering the vicinity of the cave complex. Vorst was in the group, and Eriksson, detaching himself from his unit, went up to the Captain and told him about Mao.

"Leave it to me, I'll handle everything," Vorst said. A moment later, the two groups went off in different directions.

On November 22nd, Meserve, Clark, and Manuel, weary from their five-day stint (Rafe was still hospitalized), had scarcely dropped into their foxholes back in the platoon area when they were ordered to appear at Captain Vorst's command post—a hootch somewhat larger than Reilly's but equally bare. They found the company commander, who had himself only just returned, waiting impatiently to confront them with Eriksson's report. In his affidavit for Army investigators, Manuel gave what is probably a comprehensive account of the confrontation that took place in the Captain's quarters. "This was about 1400 hours," Manuel stated. "Captain Vorst handed Meserve a piece of paper with three words printed on it—Kidnapping, Rape, Murder. We all looked at the paper, and he asked us what this was all about. At first, we all denied any knowledge about it. He first asked Sergeant Meserve, 'Do you know anything about this?' To which Meserve said, 'We don't know what you're talking about.' He then directed the same question to all of us, 'Do you people know what you've done up there?'"

"Captain Vorst then asked me did I know what would or could happen to me. I said, 'Probably the firing squad, sir.' He then said something to the effect, 'I could send you all back to the States for courts-martial,' or he could court-martial us out here and still have a firing squad. Then the C.O. said something to the effect, 'You people acted like animals up there and do not deserve to live.' He said he would have never learned about this but one man had the balls to tell [the officers] about it. Then he proceeded to tell us that if anything happened to Eriksson, our souls would belong to him." Possibly to help them retain their souls, Vorst announced that he was breaking up the patrol. Rafe, hospitalized at Qui Nhon, was already accounted for; Clark was to take a relatively rear-area post, at battalion headquarters; Meserve was to be shifted to another platoon. Only Manuel would remain anywhere near Eriksson; he was being re-assigned to a different squad in the same platoon.

Eriksson saw Vorst shortly after the three soldiers left the company command post. At the time, Eriksson told me, he had no idea that the Captain had chewed them out. If he had known this, he thinks, he might have realized then, as he did later, that the Captain was in a bind; that is, he was torn between the dictates of his conscience, which condemned the crime, and concern for his Army career, which, Eriksson later discovered, the battalion commander—who outranked Vorst, and who was also a "lifer"—was in the habit of admonishing the Captain to bear in mind. Initially, however, Eriksson discerned no signs of inner conflict in Vorst. As far as he could make out, the company C.O. held a clear, uncomplicated view of the crime, and that view was that its repercussions should be kept to a minimum. "That word 'handle!'" Eriksson said reminiscently. "Three times I saw the C.O. about Mao, and three times he used it—I'll handle everything, 'I'll handle everything,' 'I'll handle everything.' Maybe he did, but not in a way that had anything to do with anyone's making amends." At his meeting with Vorst the day of the Captain's return, he went on, he noticed that—like Reilly, who was present—the company commander failed to deplore the murder, and instead stressed its potentialities as a scandal. Reilly later testified in court, "Captain Vorst stated to Eriksson, 'I guess you realize how serious this incident is, and that it could cause an international issue.' Eriksson stated that's why he reported the incident—because he knew it was serious."

"Eriksson also stated that the entire taking of the girl, the rape, and killing of the

girl were pre-planned . . . that he [had] thought [at first] the men were just joking about really completing the acts." Throughout, Eriksson told me, he had the distinct impression that his position and Vorst's were at variance. Despite Vorst's generally negative tone, Eriksson said, he believed that the company commander would eventually take steps to bring Meserve and the others to justice. At one point, Eriksson recalled, the Captain warned him that if the incident did result in courts-martial, he might face rough going on the witness stand. When Eriksson replied that he was prepared to take his chances on that, Vorst asked whether Eriksson might not care to transfer out of the company—or, for that matter, out of the infantry altogether. Eriksson replied that he wouldn't mind a change—not that it would deter him from pressing charges. He wouldn't mind being a door gunner aboard a helicopter, he told Vorst, citing as his qualifications for such a post that he had been trained as a machine gunner and that he was fond of flying. Vorst filled out transfer forms, and Eriksson signed them. As he was leaving, he told me, the Captain called out reassuringly, "I'll handle everything!"

When Eriksson heard nothing from Vorst for four days, he sought an interview, which was granted. It was the final talk between the two men. They were alone this time, Eriksson told me, and when Eriksson inquired what progress there had been in the murder case, the Captain seemed not to hear but posed a series of questions. He was merely asking, Vorst said, but had Eriksson really thought through what he was doing in pushing his charges? Had he taken into account the amount of suffering that Americans had already undergone in behalf of the Vietnamese? Had he stopped to think of the consequences to himself of accusing four fellow-G.I.'s—thereby adding to that suffering? Besides, what if the four were court-martialed and found guilty? Did Eriksson know that military judges and jurors were notoriously lenient in their sentencing? Unlike their civilian counterparts, Vorst said, the law officers (the term by which military judges were known) and members of the court (as jurors were known) had a sympathetic understanding of the pressures a combat man faced in risking his life daily; military jurists didn't expect foot soldiers to be on their best behavior in a war zone. Here, the C.O. went on, it was mild sentences that were the order of the day, and, what was more, they became even milder when they were up for review; safe and professionally idealistic back home, he said, the legal experts of military appellate bodies invariably looked with suspicion upon the administration of justice in war zones. Thus, Vorst concluded, coming to the last of his questions, if the men in the patrol were actually convicted, Eriksson could anticipate their being freed in short order, and when that happened Eriksson himself might not feel so free—for was it really inconceivable that one or more of the exconvicts would seek revenge? And wasn't it just possible that the victim might not necessarily be Eriksson himself but, rather, his new bride? Eriksson stated in court, "Captain Vorst said that the men would get off with hardly any or no sentence at all, then myself and my family would really have something to worry about."

In the weeks immediately following Mao's death, Eriksson's home continued to be the platoon area, and his routine consisted of patrols—search-and-destroy by day, ambush by night. These were always demanding and hazardous, yet they could not distract him from the intense feeling of frustration that now beset him. After his last talk with Vorst, he told me, that frustration was always with him—eating at him, keeping him remote from his fellow-G.I.s, costing him sleep. Lying awake nights, listening to Asian bird-song and the squealing of monkeys in the

jungle nearby, he said, he found himself constantly mulling over the phenomenon of military discipline—the chain-of-command system. As in all armies, he believed, it pervaded every facet of military life, embracing officers and enlisted men, volunteers and draftees, and, for that matter, men with college degrees, like Vorst and Reilly, and men with meagre educations, like Meserve and him. He was at his wit's end for a way to circumvent the system, Eriksson told me, because he was convinced that it was this system that lay at the heart of his difficulties. He saw now how wrong he had been in thinking that a report of rape and murder would evoke instant action, as in civilian life. In the Army, he had discovered, that kind of action depended entirely on the discretion of one's superior—unless it was possible to figure out some way of bypassing him. It was maddening, Eriksson said, to realize that military discipline threatened to make Mao its victim again, just as it had on Hill 192, when all that certified Meserve's orders was his rank as sergeant. "They scare that discipline into you in basic training," Eriksson told me. "It's obey the man over you, follow the chain of command, or into the stockade you go." Something that added to his feeling of frustration in those trying weeks was that he could not find it within himself to single out Vorst as the arch-villain, from whom all evil flowed. Eriksson said to me, "It only looked as though he was the one out to do everything in, but the C.O., I knew, had someone over him, and his superior had a superior. That was the thing about the chain of command—you couldn't tell who was to blame for what. It had nothing to do with a man's being responsible for his own behavior. Just as long as he stayed in line, just as long as he kept the setup going, he could do whatever he wanted."

Perhaps the most jarring of all the discoveries he made during this unhappy period, Eriksson told me, was that his fellow-G.I.s took a dim view of his efforts in behalf of Mao. To be sure, there were a few individuals, like Rowan, who shared his outlook, but the great majority saw things the way their officers did. Time and again, at chow or during a break out in the field, someone would tell him (as Vorst had told him) that it was pointless to throw good lives after bad by having Meserve and the others up on charges, since (as Reilly had said) violence was the language of war, and, naturally, it could not always be controlled. Continually, Eriksson recalls, he heard the familiar argument that the V.C. also kidnapped, raped, murdered. "Hey, Sven, how do you know that girl wasn't a V.C.?" an Oklahoma rifleman asked one night as he and Eriksson were settling down to sleep in their foxholes. Each day, Eriksson said, he felt as though he were at war with war, a troublemaker out to undermine some careful, desperate code of survival. When he first got back from Hill 192, he said, he had imagined that it might have been his peculiar misfortune to draw a patrol made up of psychopaths, but now each time a new G.I. rallied to the patrol's defense that idea seemed less tenable. "Listening to the fellows, I had the feeling there might be any number of Meserves and Clarks around me," he said. "It was like living in an overorganized jungle—full of names, ranks, and serial numbers but not much else."

Dispiriting though he found the atmosphere in the platoon area, Eriksson went on, there were traces of conscience there. It took him a while to realize this, he said, and, curiously, he became persuaded of its prevalence as a result of thinking about Vorst's negative "handling." As he went over it in his mind for the hundredth time, he began to suspect the existence of cracks in the Captain's seemingly certain, untroubled façade. If there weren't any, Eriksson asked himself, why hadn't the C.O. simply told him to bug off from the word go? Why had he bothered to discuss Mao with him three times? Nor

could the concern that the C.O. had shown for Eriksson's safety be explained unless those cracks existed. Why else had Vorst seen fit to reshuffle the patrol, leaving only Manuel within shooting distance, so to speak? And then there was Vorst's invitation to Eriksson to transfer out of the company. It seemed like a deal, but why was it, Eriksson asked himself, that a captain should feel constrained to bargain with a lowly enlisted man? Why make all this effort to dismiss the death of an unknown peasant girl if it weren't that the C.O. recognized that there were forces of conscience that might have to be contended with? Thinking along these lines, Eriksson said, he arrived at a kind of strategy in regard to Mao. "Whatever I could do about her depended on finding someone with both the rank and the conscience to help me," he told me. "Otherwise, I'd stay boxed in by the chain of command."

On the last day of November, Eriksson was in a patrol that was chasing two or three V.C. down a trail between two hedgerows when the patrol was suddenly fired upon from one side. "Hit it!" the patrol leader shouted, and his men hit the ground, the bullets from the still invisible attackers raising columns of dust all around the flattened G.I.s. In a matter of seconds, the shooting broke off, and another patrol, consisting of another squad in Reilly's platoon, emerged from behind the hedgerow. Eriksson's patrol leader delivered a tongue-lashing to his counterpart, who apologized. It had all been a mistake, he said—he and his men had been dozing when the sound of running feet aroused them, and instinctively they had assumed it was the enemy. He had stopped the shooting as soon as he heard an American voice yell "Hit it!" Still fuming as the two patrols stood facing each other awkwardly, Eriksson's sergeant declared that in all the time he had spent in Vietnam he had never before experienced any such "mistake." As Eriksson waited for his sergeant to cool off, he idly scanned the men in the other squad, his eyes stopping abruptly when they met the expressionless gaze of a familiar face. "It was Manuel," Eriksson told me. "We just looked at each other, without saying hello. Seeing him made me think at once of two questions I would have liked to ask him or his sergeant. Just who, I wanted to ask, was the man in Manuel's patrol who started the shooting? And who was the man who fired the last shot? I couldn't even guess at the answers—not without knowing what kind of jam Manuel thought he was in."

Whatever the answers, Captain Vorst saw to it that Eriksson left his command early the following morning, sending the enlisted man seventy miles away to Camp Radcliff, the 1st Cavalry (Airmobile) Division base, near the small city of An Khe, Eriksson was to remain there until his reassignment as a door gunner came through, Vorst having sent his transfer papers on for official approval by the helicopter command. In the meantime, Eriksson's orders placed him on temporary duty with a carpentry detail that was constructing additional housing for the base, whose population came to twenty thousand. Eriksson was delighted with this duty, since he had had a passion for carpentry all his life. However, he welcomed the shift to Radcliff for a more important reason. He was confident, he told me, that he stood a better chance of finding help there than in the confines of the platoon area. Far from where the daily, relentless fighting was going on, he pointed out, Radcliff was probably less disposed to take gratuitous violence in stride; besides, there were infinitely more people at the division base, and that gave him a better chance of finding the effective ally he needed. "From the minute I got to Radcliff, I was on the lookout for him, whoever he might turn out to be," Eriksson said.

His break came after just a week—by accident, which was the only way it could come.

Late one afternoon, when he and about twenty other G.I.s putting up a barracks were about to knock off for the day, he saw a fellow-carpenter, Boyd Greenacre, detach himself from the crew to have a talk with a passing chaplain, a blond, long-nosed six-footer wearing a captain's bars; the two men, Eriksson could see, were on cordial terms. Eriksson had never laid eyes on the chaplain before. For that matter, he said, he knew almost nothing about Greenacre—only that he was a cowboy from Arizona, a wiry type, who put in a good day's work as a carpenter and didn't have much to say. Now, watching the chaplain depart, Eriksson decided that Greenacre was very much worth cultivating. Eriksson was determined to meet the Arizonan's friend, he told me, for he had a feeling that the long-nosed chaplain was the man who would help him bring Mao's case to light. Seeing him and Greenacre chatting together, Eriksson went on, had made him realize that the only chance he had of escaping the chain of command was through a chaplain. Actually, Eriksson told me, he had once asked Reilly for permission to discuss Mao's murder with a chaplain, but the Lieutenant had discouraged the idea. Perhaps, Eriksson said, he remembered that idea just then because of his recent stewing about Vorst and conscience. At any rate, he felt that he was on the right track, since chaplains were professionally concerned with conscience. "Conscience was one thing that crossed over from civilian life to war," he said. "It was as much a part of us as our legs and arms."

His spirits on the upswing, Eriksson set about trying to meet the chaplain. "It had to be him, and no other chaplain," he recalled, smiling. "And it had to be Boyd Greenacre who would introduce me. That was how my hunch went, and I didn't dare change it in any way." Eriksson moved cautiously. He didn't see how he could just walk up to Greenacre and state his business. Greenacre might react disapprovingly, as the fellows in the platoon had—or, for all Eriksson knew, Greenacre might turn out to be Meserve's best friend. As a result, Eriksson spent the next two days surreptitiously doing a kind of security check on Greenacre's character. "I needed more of an impression of Boyd than I had," Eriksson said. "What if he refused to arrange an introduction for me? I had to know whether he could at least be trusted to keep quiet about what I was up to." As indirectly and offhandedly as he could, Eriksson sounded out various members of the work detail about Greenacre—none of whom, he remarked, he knew any better than he knew the Arizonan.

He remembers that he talked with one of them while they were both shaving, and that in shooting the breeze with another he led the conversation around to Greenacre when the man mentioned that Arizona was where he dreamed of spending his first postwar vacation. Before long, Eriksson told me, his sleuthing established that Greenacre was well thought of, and one evening, after the carpenters had finished eating, he invited Greenacre to take a walk with him. Even though the two were alone, Eriksson remained cautious, revealing nothing about Mao's murder. He did, however, speak of her abduction and rape, and that, it turned out, was quite enough to make Greenacre propose that he and Eriksson walk over to the chaplains quarters immediately. On the way, Greenacre told Eriksson that the chaplain, Captain Gerald Kirk, came from Ogden, Utah; he was a Mormon, Eriksson learned, and so was Greenacre.

Mrs. Eriksson, who was once more plying her husband and me with coffee and cake, put in "Sven and I are Lutherans. In our part of Minnesota, just about everyone is."

It was ten at night when Eriksson sat down to talk with Kirk, and he found he was able to speak more freely than he had even to Curly Rowan. Eriksson remembers having

a deep feeling of ease and calm, as though he were at long last ceasing to be a fugitive from injustice. Greenacre was present throughout the talk, at Eriksson's insistence. "Boyd had been a big help," he told me. "I hadn't let out anything to him about the murder, but as long as I was with Chaplain Kirk, I thought he was entitled to hear everything." The gesture impressed him, the chaplain has since told me. "With Greenacre there, it meant that Sven was waiving his right to my silence," he said. Impressed though he may have been, he heard Eriksson out with some skepticism, for before Kirk entered the Mormon priesthood he had spent ten years as a policeman on the Salt Lake City force. "I listened to Sven's story with a cop's ear," the chaplain said. "I wanted to be very sure that he himself hadn't taken part in the rape. Coming to me, the way he did, he might have been trying to save his neck by turning state's evidence, so to speak." Kirk therefore interrupted Eriksson frequently, challenging him to tie together details that at first seemed contradictory. Gradually, though, the cop's ear gave way to the chaplain's.

"I decided I was hearing an individual who wished he could have saved that girl but hadn't been able to," Kirk told me. "I can assure you he wasn't being paranoid in thinking he might be shot in the back for seeing me. In war—at least, the war we were in—it was nothing unusual to hear shots that were unexplained, to find a body that might or might not have been shot in combat. Where we were, it was a time and place for thousands of men to play for keeps, and that certainly included Meserve and the others in the patrol, because if they wanted to eliminate Sven as a potential witness they had the M-16s to do it with."

Eriksson finished telling his story to the chaplain toward midnight, whereupon Kirk pressed him closely, as Vorst had done earlier, to determine whether he was certain in his mind that he was prepared to endure not just the cross-examinations but the risks attendant upon appearing as a government witness in open court. When Eriksson reaffirmed that he was, Kirk picked up his phone and called the Criminal Investigation Division office at Camp Radcliff. "I'd never known the Army had any such unit," Eriksson told me. In ten minutes, a pair of agents entered the chaplain's quarters, and Eriksson, as his affidavit shows, told them, in a signal example of understatement, "This [the rape and murder] has been bothering me since it happened, and I went to the chaplain tonight and told him what had happened." The agents interrogated him with a cool, neutral competence. "They weren't shocked, or anything like that," Eriksson recalls. "They were just doing their job." Once the pair had assessed the gravity of the crimes being charged, they moved swiftly. "The next thing I knew, I was in jail," Eriksson told me. "They locked me up in a steel box, in solitary. For protective custody, they said."

From that point on, Eriksson's life in the Army was radically changed. Released from jail in a few hours, he found himself no longer a lone, underground accuser but, instead, a cog in an elaborate law-enforcement machine, whose purpose was to gather evidence, question suspects, and generally determine whether "a case" existed. Once the investigation of Mao's murder had been set in motion, Eriksson was frequently consulted by a variety of experts, among them pathologists, C.I.D. agents, lawyers, and ballistics and firearms specialists. Even his routine duties as a G.I. now had to do with law enforcement, for he was reassigned to the 545th Military Police Company at Camp Radcliff, in which outfit he guarded high-ranking officers, pulled gate duty, made periodic "sweeps" of the base area for signs of infiltrating V.C., and, every day at 4 p.m., climbed into "the drunk wagon," which was

an M.P. bus that collected G.I.s who had fallen on hard times in "Sin City," a section of bars and bordellos in An Khe, two miles away. "The C.I.D. wouldn't let me become a door gunner," Eriksson told me. "They put a hold on my transfer forms. They said that door-gunner duty was too dangerous—that if I was going to be any use as a witness I had to stay alive."

Eriksson recognized the abrupt transformation of his military life the morning after his meeting with Kirk. Almost before he was awake, M.P.s escorted him from his cell to the Provost Marshal's office, where he underwent a further interrogation. "Technically, I myself was a suspect," Eriksson told me. "The C.I.D. carefully explained that to me, informing me of my legal rights, one of which was to shut up." When the interrogation was over, he was asked to lead a search party to the spot on Hill 192 where he had claimed that Mao's body could be found. Accompanied by a squad of armed enlisted men, as a precaution against an enemy ambush, the search party set out early the following morning, December 9th, flying from An Khe to an airstrip near Captain Vorst's company headquarters. In charge of the group were a colonel, a major, and, after they reached the airstrip, Captain Vorst himself, who maintained silence toward Eriksson. Among its members were C.I.D. agents, photographers, a firearms expert, and a ballistics man. The group walked from the airstrip to Hill 192. It was a six-hour trek, over difficult terrain, and when the men finally stood just below the summit, several of them, who were unaccustomed to tramping so long, were near exhaustion. Eriksson himself stood scanning the landscape intently, looking for the curiously shaped rock formation where the stabbed girl had been shot. Eriksson had considered the jutting and twisted rock a highly unusual one, but now, refamiliarizing himself with his surroundings, he saw, to his surprise, that it had a practically identical twin close by. It had to be on one of the two rocks that the girl lay, Eriksson knew, and to spare the others in the party unnecessary exertion he screened out the nearer rock by himself, doggedly plunging through formidable brush to reach it. Mao wasn't there, and Eriksson, rejoining the waiting group, pointed to the other rock.

"That's where she is," he said, with certainty. After the others fell in behind him, he walked silently to the second rock, seventy-five metres away. In due course, they came upon Mao, her remains a rigid crescent settled grotesquely in a half nest of soil and rocks and matted foliage. She had lain moldering there for three weeks and her body was badly decayed. As the others clustered around it, Eriksson withdrew to the fringes of the circle, made uncomfortable by everyone's purposeful curiosity. "It was another case of people doing their job," he told me. "They hadn't ever heard Mao's voice or seen her carrying Manuel's pack."

Going about their tasks with unrelieved efficiency, the men staked out an area thirty feet square in which to conduct their operations, soon gathering a harvest of clues, among them lead fragments of spent bullets, for the ballistics and firearms men, and parts of Mao's remains, for the pathologists. The corpse itself was placed in an Army "casualty bag"—a rubberized olive-drab shroud, originally designed for fallen soldiers. There was to be an autopsy at the United States Army mortuary in Saigon, by a Japanese anthropologist, Professor Tadao Furue, of Toyo University, and Colonel Pierre A. Finck, commanding officer of the 9th Medical Laboratory. (Dr. Finck, a well-known Army pathologist, was one of the team of three physicians that performed the autopsy on the late President Kennedy.) Throughout, Eriksson recalls, dozens of pictures were taken, for possible use as trial exhibits, the flashes of the photographers'

bulbs pale in the afternoon sun. Additional pictures were taken a week later, when Eriksson led a second pilgrimage to Hill 192. The search party was a smaller one this time, Eriksson said, its assignment to make certain that nothing of any conceivable courtroom value still lay hidden in the area around Mao's body; eventually, a C.I.D. agent, poking through leaves with a bayonet, found teeth, finger bones, and yet more bullet fragments, all of which he deposited in a plastic bag.

The evidence gained as a result of the two field trips played an important part in the judicial proceedings, Eriksson told me. For example, the ballistics and firearms specialists, working together, were able to analyze the lead bullet fragments as having come from an M-16 rifle and to offer it as their judgment in court that Mao had been shot at close range—a judgment that afforded a presumably objective basis for incriminating Clark, at least, as one of her assassins. Professor Furue and Colonel Finck also appeared as witnesses, to offer information based on clinical studies they had made of Mao's skeletal parts in Saigon. The experts' findings established conclusively that Mao had been stabbed three times, in the rib cage and the neck, and that her skull presented a "crushed" appearance, "showing the shattering effects of two high-velocity-missile wounds." Classifying her "racial stock" as Mongoloid, Professor Furue placed Mao's age at between eighteen and twenty and her height at five feet four and a half inches—somewhat greater than Eriksson had estimated it to be in talking with me. A veteran of thirty-five thousand autopsies, Professor Furue told the court, "Compared with other female Mongoloids, Mao's remains were well developed, a well-balanced body build."

Meserve, Clark, and the two Diazes were taken into custody the day after the first search party made its visit to Hill 192. Arrested by military policemen at scattered points, the four soldiers passed through Vorst's area in the late afternoon and saw the Captain briefly. His farewell to them was succinct. Recalling it for investigators later on, Manuel stated, "He told us he had attempted to keep the incident quiet but that now he couldn't give us any further advice or help." The M.P.s took the enlisted men to the Provost Marshal's office at An Khe, where they were given an initial interrogation before being remanded to the stockade at Long Binh. It didn't take many further interrogations to convince the law-enforcement officers that they had "a case," for Rafe and Manuel readily signed affidavits whose substance supported Eriksson's account of "the incident on Hill 192"—the name by which Mao's murder became known among the military. (Asked by a C.I.D. man, "Who raped or had sexual intercourse with the girl?" Manuel replied, "Sergeant Meserve, Clark, R. Diaz, and myself. Eriksson did not have sexual intercourse or harm her in any way.") Meserve and Clark denied any wrongdoing, and the leader of the misbegotten patrol insisted that his motives had been misconstrued. He had only been fooling, he testified, when he talked of having "fun" on the reconnaissance mission. As he recalled his briefing, he had told the men, "It'd be nice if we could pick up five women for the five days up there and have an orgy," and then, he said, "everybody had made comments and laughed." As for going to Mao's hamlet, the Sergeant said that he had led the patrol there to look for V.C., and that he had captured the girl because she had behaved suspiciously inside her hooch. When Meserve ended his testimony, the prosecutor inquired how many times and to whom he had "told the story you just told on the witness stand."

"Numerous times, sir," the Sergeant replied. "Mostly to my lawyer."

The four courts-martial took place in the winter of 1967, within a period of about ten

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days in the middle of March. The trials were held in a courthouse at Camp Radcliff, a frame structure measuring thirty feet by thirty and roofed with tin. The weather had turned hot and dry, Eriksson remembers, and the interior of the courtroom throbbed with the whirr of electric fans. Outside, a diesel generator, the base camp's source of electricity, made a constant racket, causing the law officers frequently to request witnesses to raise their voices. The participants in the cases, including lawyers, witnesses, law officers, and members of the court, lived in tents near the courthouse, and often at night the vicious thump of artillery shells, enemy-bound, from the edges of the division base disturbed the quiet of the legal encampment.

Throughout each trial, Eriksson said, the exponents of military law strove diligently to apply judicial rules largely borrowed from civilian law, as though they were seeking to re-create a semblance of civilian life. Eriksson found it impressive that these procedures should be so punctiliously observed within easy artillery range of the enemy—which, he added, was not to say that he was unaware of various shortcomings. Uninitiated though he was in the ways of jurisprudence, Eriksson said he found it odd that defense lawyers could freely engage him in conversation during court recesses, questioning him on subjects that he was later asked about under oath when the court session was resumed. And, in fact, Eriksson told me, a C.I.D. man attending the sessions assured him that this was highly improper. "But then I don't know how much the C.I.D. fellows knew about law," Eriksson said. "One of them, I know, goofed on his interrogation of Manuel—he forgot to read off one of Manuel's rights before he started asking questions." In addition, Eriksson told me, he would have appreciated it if the prosecutor—whom he looked upon as his lawyer—had tutored him slightly in how to conduct himself in court; despite his status as the Army's chief witness, Eriksson said, he took the stand practically cold.

However, he acknowledged that the prosecutor did warn him, as Vorst and Kirk had previously, of the possible consequences to him and his wife of his testifying for the government. "He said for me to think that over again very carefully," Eriksson recalled. "He sounded genuinely concerned." Something else the prosecutor did was to advise him to see a psychiatrist before the trials started. The prosecutor, it appeared, counted it a safe bet that the defense attorneys would attempt to portray Eriksson as some kind of repressed nut for having failed to join in the festivities on Hill 192. To counter any such strategy, the prosecutor wanted to have on hand a statement attesting to his chief witness's mental stability. Thus, a couple of weeks before the first court-martial opened, Eriksson found himself sitting in a cubbyhole office at Camp Radcliff face to face with a stocky medical captain with an extremely close crew cut who wanted to know whether the young infantryman loved his mother and whether he heard from his wife. Recalling the interview, Eriksson said, "I'd answer a question, then he'd wait and I'd have to wait along with him, then he'd ask another question real fast, and in I'd come with my next answer. His questions didn't take long—maybe twenty minutes—and when they were over he wrote down on a piece of paper, 'Has no speech defects, steady manner.'" Offering an evaluation of his own, Eriksson added, "He seemed like a nice guy. When he stopped asking me questions, he started talking about Meserve and the others, sort of thinking aloud what it was that came over fellows in wartime. He sounded as though the war would have to come to an end before his work could make much sense."

For Eriksson, the trials were totally unlike anything he had anticipated. He had thought of them uneasily, imagining that the act of

testifying might force him to relive the macabre episode on Hill 192. No such thing happened. From his point of view, as he had indicated at the beginning of our talk, the legal consideration of the crime was a field day of fencing and distortion, of quibbling and traps. No matter how close the questioning, and no matter how detailed the testimony he gave, or heard, it all seemed related to Mao's murder in only a surface sense. "The lawyers were playing a game," he said. "To listen to them, and to the testimony that the guys in the patrol gave, Mao was probably living happily in her hamlet." As early as the opening day of Rafe's trial, which was the first one held, he realized that it was idle to consider whether the G.I.'s punishment would, or could, fit the crime. Throughout, he told me, the single belief that sustained him was that in serving as the defendants' principal accuser he was carrying out the resolve he had made as he trained his grenade launcher on the cave complex; namely, to let the world know of Mao's fate.

Enacting the role of chief government witness was not an edifying experience, Eriksson went on. Just as the prosecutor had foreseen, the defense attorneys did try to make Eriksson look odd, but that was among the milder of their insinuations. By the time he concluded his last appearance on the stand, he had been accused of lying, of cowardice, and even of Mao's murder. One of the defense lawyers hammered away at the point that Eriksson had killed the girl when, in obeying the Sergeant's command to shoot her, he fired his grenade launcher. But the assertion was a hard one to prove, for Rafe was on hand to testify that Eriksson was so situated in that feverish moment that Mao wasn't even in his line of vision. Besides, as the defense could not dispute, the jacket containing the explosive charge of a grenade launcher is made not of lead but of copper, and the search parties' experts had found only the lead of numerous bullets from an M-16 rifle littering the immediate vicinity of Mao's body.

In all four trials, the court records show, defense lawyers made a studied effort to depict Eriksson as less than lion-hearted, presumably on the theory that proving him to be craven would automatically exonerate their clients. "Are you afraid of Sergeant Meserve?" Eriksson was asked at one point, and he replied, "That's affirmative, sir. . . . I am not afraid of him if he has no weapons." Eriksson answered, "That is negative, sir," when a defense counsel, taking up the pre-Hill 192 patrol in which half of Eriksson's squad had been wounded, inquired, "Isn't it true, Eriksson, that you allowed the squad to walk into the ambush area without warning, because you were hiding in the bushes?" Undeterred by Eriksson's denial, the lawyer persevered with his line of questioning.

Q: How did you react to this particular ambush, Eriksson? Did you fire your weapon?

A: I was in the rear of the column, and didn't have a chance.

Q: Were you afraid?

A: No, sir.

Q: You were not afraid?

A: No, sir.

Q: Isn't it true you were so afraid you could hardly move?

A: No, sir.

Q: You think your fear was apparent to anyone else?

A: No, sir.

Another defense attorney repeatedly taxed Eriksson with having "fabricated" his charges against Meserve and the others in order to escape further assignments to hazardous infantry missions. When Eriksson was able to state that he had put in for door gunner aboard helicopters, which could hardly be considered safe duty, the lawyer persisted in reminding him that "you testified you wanted to get out of the platoon."

Eriksson agreed, "I wanted to get out of the platoon," he stated. "I wanted to get out

of the whole company, because I could not see staying in a company that would do anything such as here. I realize that we are over here fighting a war, but to go out and kill an innocent person has nothing to do with the war."

Accused of shrewdness in seeking to evade infantry duty, Eriksson found himself also accused of a lack of shrewdness in failing to let Mao escape when he was alone with her in the hootch. He was asked, "Couldn't you have thought up a story [for Meserve] to the effect that you heard some noises or heard some V.C. and went out to check, and she got away from you, right out of the hootch?"

"No, sir," Eriksson replied.

"You traded the girl's life for your well-being," he was told.

At times, Eriksson displayed a certain poise on the stand. Asked whether Meserve might not have been searching the hootches of Mao's hamlet for the strictly military purpose of finding "strange faces," he answered, "I wouldn't say this, sir. They were all strange faces." Asked whether Mao's continued presence on Hill 192 might not ultimately have "endangered the lives of the members of the patrol," Eriksson said, "Sir, this girl wasn't supposed to be on this patrol."

Before Eriksson was through, even his possession of a sense of humor became an issue. This arose when a defense witness, a sergeant in the platoon, said that Eriksson had none. "He didn't laugh and joke as much as the other guys did; he was much quieter," the sergeant said.

Cross-examining, the prosecutor asked, "When you say he didn't have a sense of humor, you mean he wasn't a joker, running around making or seeing the funny side of everything?"

A: Yes, sir.

Q: Did he endeavor to actively join in with the free-time activity of the rest of the people, or did he have to be coaxed . . . or did he just refuse at all times?

A: Oh, no, sir, it was not that he was disliked in any way. It was just that he was less than average as far as being one of the guys, should we say? He was just more serious-minded.

Mao's sister, Phan Thi Loc, appeared as a prosecution witness, her very presence irrefutable evidence that Mao was not in fact living happily in her hamlet. Through an interpreter, Loc related that after the patrol finished with their hamlet, she and her mother had searched desperately for Mao. Accompanied by troops of the South Vietnamese government, the two women had eventually come to the hootch on Hill 192, where they had found Mao's brassiere, flecked with blood; the troops had burned down the hootch. Loc's mother was now missing. The Vietcong, Loc said, had abducted her, accusing her of having led South Vietnamese forces to a V.C. munitions cache on Hill 192. Loc and her father had moved from their native hamlet; they now lived in a village several miles from there.

Though Eriksson testified at greater length than anyone else, most of the witnesses who appeared in the close, noisy courtroom spoke in support of the defendants, extolling their gallantry, their sense of duty, and their other soldierly virtues. With few exceptions, these witnesses had fought alongside the defendants, and it was a powerful camaraderie they shared, forged, as it was, in combat, where they had all saved each other's lives more than once. Recurrently, the court records show, witnesses found it deplorable that the defendants should have to fight for their survival in a prisoner's dock when they might be far better employed doing that on the battlefield; in their every utterance these witnesses reflected the view that losing soldiers of Meserve's calibre could result only in gaining a stronger enemy.

Perhaps because Meserve had been the leader of the four accused, he came in for

particularly heavy praise. In a sample encomium, Lieutenant Reilly declared that the Sergeant's "character and reputation are the best I have seen, and [he is] one of the best combat soldiers I have known." Reilly also called him "a fine soldier," and went on to say, "He never failed to accomplish the mission. I give him 'max' rating as a soldier." In other connections, it was brought out that the Sergeant had not waited to be drafted, that he was currently in line for the Bronze Star, and that in the course of his overseas duty he had been awarded five medals, of varying importance, and had a conduct rating of Excellent. It was adduced that even before Meserve left for Vietnam he was regarded as an exemplary soldier, since he had been selected to march in President Johnson's inaugural parade—an honor limited to two hundred men with unblemished records. Inevitably, though, the defense witnesses were unable to confine their remarks to Meserve's service record, for—almost tactlessly, it seemed—the prosecutor would inject the topic of Mao's murder, the implications of which had less to do with the conquest of an enemy than with the requirements of an ordered civilian life. Given this confusion of values, the legalistic consideration of Mao's death sometimes bordered on the incongruous. Thus, defense lawyers raised no objections when the prosecutor asked the defendants and the defense witnesses whether a soldier who was condemned for having committed civilian homicide, such as the killing of Mao, should be kept on as a member of the armed forces—that is, should be permitted to go on committing military homicide. Needless to say, the question was not examined philosophically in the Camp Radcliff courthouse; instead, it was employed narrowly as a government gambit for stumping a witness. If he said no, he would appear to be disowning the defendants, his comrades-in-arms; if he said yes, he would in effect be telling the jury that he regarded the war as a public-works project for criminals. The trial records make it clear that the question left the witnesses uncomfortable, for their responses were reluctant and tortured. Of those who were asked the question, only Captain Vorst, "lifer" though he was, stated that if Meserve was guilty of rape and murder, then he did not care to have the Sergeant in his command.

Vorst's executive officer, by contrast, could not countenance the thought of Meserve's being cashiered. Here is the interchange between the executive officer and the prosecutor:

Q: Do you feel there is a place in the United States Army for murderers?

A: Sir, Sergeant Meserve, he joined the unit in approximately February of last year, and he served under me when I was a rifle-platoon leader, and the reason he is a sergeant today is because we put the duties of squad leader upon him—

Q: I didn't ask you for a long elaboration. I simply asked, do you think a murderer should be retained in the United States Army? Yes or no?

A: Well, no, sir, until they've—not until they serve their sentence. Then, of course, after rehabilitation—I think there's a difference, sir. . . .

Q: You would suggest some minor form of punishment, in other words?

A: Well, in general, sir, [but] in this specific case—

Q: For a murder. I'm talking about a murder. I'm not talking about any specific case.

A: Well, yes, sir, I think if someone has been found guilty of murder, they should be punished, but, knowing Meserve as an individual, I would accept him back in the unit, yes, sir.

As for the defendants themselves, only Rafe showed contrition, the most striking manifestation of which was his decision to testify against Clark. The decision was not easily arrived at, for two days before Clark's

trial was to begin, and when Rafe had already been convicted, Clark approached Rafe in the stockade at Long Binh, where both were jailed, and, appealing to Rafe's conscience, told him that if he gave unfriendly testimony against his comrades, "he would have it on his mind the rest of his life." Troubled by this, Rafe sought, and heeded, the counsel of a Catholic chaplain at Camp Radcliff in resolving the dilemma of choosing between his "moral obligation," as Rafe put it to the chaplain, and "loyalty to the patrol." Summoned to the stand by Clark's lawyer, the priest said he had advised Rafe that, as opposed to defending Clark's interest, he had "a greater obligation to his wife and his child and the young woman who, supposedly, I assume, was killed, and to justice and society." The priest also said he was asking a Franciscan brother in Texas to break the news of Rafe's conviction to his wife, "to help her absorb the initial shock."

By contrast, the general demeanor of the other defendants was that of incredulity at being tried; the impression they gave was that they thought only the sheerest, most improbable sort of accident could explain their being haled before a tribunal. Their testimony indicates that they were so injured to the epidemic, occupational violence of war that they found it hard to recognize their judicial plight as a type of retribution. In the case of Manuel (the father of a three-month-old girl), this attitude of mystification became so palpable that the prosecutor finally inquired, "Do you feel you are involved in any way in this rape and murder?" To which Manuel replied "No."

Q: You feel that the government has done you a grave injustice in bringing you here today for trial?

A: No, sir, I've got nothing against the government.

Q: Well, you feel you are not involved in any way?

A: Yes, sir, I feel that way.

Q: You shouldn't be on trial?

A: Well, yes, sir.

Q: As a matter of fact, you have complained [from the stockade] that your promotion is being held up?

A: I wrote my senator. I told him I was being wrongly brought to trial.

Manuel admitted to C.I.D. investigators before the trial started that he had committed rape, but when the subject came up in the courtroom, it appeared to be Manuel's judgment that he had taken part in a reasonable enterprise, and the justification that he gave for doing so was military discipline. Confirming Eriksson's ruminations on this subject, Manuel testified that at a special ten-day camp in Vietnam where G.I.'s were trained intensively to cope with combat situations "it had been knocked into our heads, practically, to obey orders and . . . they said if you were fortunate enough to get in a group where you had an old-timer who had been in Vietnam like six months longer than you had, if you followed what he said, you would live longer." Besides, Manuel testified, if he had not gone into the hootch he would have risked becoming an outcast. Asked by the prosecutor why he thought Eriksson had stayed out of the hootch, Manuel answered, "Eriksson was different. He was brand-new, I'd been there a month or three weeks longer."

When he went on to imply that Eriksson might be "chicken," the prosecutor asked, "How come he stood up to Meserve? Do you consider yourself braver than Eriksson?"

A: I don't think I'm braver than Eriksson. I'm not going to say that, sir.

Q: Why did you want other members of the squad to think you were a rapist?

A: Better to go into the hootch, sir, and keep contentment in the squad, and keep a better—well, how can I explain it—keep the thing running smooth. It makes for an easier mission and no problems.

Q: You don't believe the military gives a choice between rules, orders, and conscience?

A: The Army expects you to do it the Army way, and that's follow orders.

In the end, the four juries sitting at Camp Radcliff found the defendants guilty of one crime or another. All were dishonorably discharged, reduced in rank to private, and deprived of all pay, with the exception of Rafe, who was to go on receiving pay but forfeit fifty dollars monthly for eight years. All four soldiers were sentenced to hard labor at the United States Army Disciplinary Barracks, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. There was little pattern to the verdicts, each of the juries indulging in its own vagaries. Possibly because of his cooperative attitude at the trials, Rafe was given the lightest term—eight years, for the crimes of rape and unpremeditated murder. Clark, convicted of rape and premeditated murder, was to serve for life. Manuel received a sentence of fifteen years, his punishment for rape. To Eriksson, Meserve's was the most surprising of the verdicts, for the Sergeant was found innocent of the charge of rape but guilty of unpremeditated murder, for which he was sentenced to a term of ten years. When Meserve had been convicted but not yet sentenced, he was asked by the law officer, "Is there any particular thing that you would like to tell the court?" Standing before the bench, Meserve replied, "Well, sir, I've seen a lot of killing, which it is our duty to do, because it's kill or be killed. Sometimes you hate the enemy so bad. Well, during this Operation Thayer II, which started [last October], we ran into a hooch that was burned down. Some Vietnamese people were bringing children out of . . . the bunker in the hooch. They suffered from smoke inhalation. I had to give one small child mouth-to-mouth respiration and bring her back to life.

"That just shows you it isn't all combat over here." Meserve's lawyer, pleading for his client immediately after this, spoke of the pressures on "twenty-year-old sergeants . . . leading men on fifty, sixty, seventy patrols," and gave it as his opinion that "this incident did not occur as the normal incident." Making his chief point, Meserve's lawyer told the court, "There's one thing that stands out about this particular offense. . . . It did not occur in the United States. Indeed, there are some that would say it did not even occur in civilization, when you are out on combat operations."

Two weeks after the trials ended, one of the court interpreters, a Vietnamese schoolteacher, with whom Eriksson had made friends, brought word to him that Mao's sister was missing. Eriksson said to me, his voice urgent, as though he had just heard the news, "Charlie kidnaped her, just as he did Mao's mother. So now it's only the father who's left—or is he? Who says we don't get along with Charlie? Between us, we've taken care of that whole family."

Eriksson never did become a door gunner. Since the verdicts would automatically come under review and the government might again need him as a witness, he was kept on in the post of military policeman at the division base. Fortunately, he said, his assignments involved no murder or rape cases. Only minor infractions came his way, but even such a routine chore as driving the drunk wagon down to Sin City could make him conscious of the sense of justice in himself that had been so tumultuously aroused the preceding November. It was a consciousness he could have done without, he remarked, for its effect was to remind him of Mao, and, following the trials, he was in a mood to try to forget her. "I just wanted to feel quiet," he said. He had no impulse to talk about Mao—certainly not with his fellow policemen. To do so, he believed, might only invite their censure, enforcers of the law though they were. As it turned out, they required no

invitation to talk about her—particularly in the summer months, when the torrential monsoon rains drowned all possibility of outdoor routine. In that season, Eriksson told me, when the M.P.s yakked the hours away together in their quarters, one or another of his fellow cops would periodically recall what Eriksson had chosen to do. Invariably, Eriksson said, he found himself reproved for the deed. "But they weren't as sure about it as the guys in the platoon had been," he said. "One M.P., I remember, told me he could have understood it if I'd gone to bat for a G.I. who was murdered, but how could I do it for a Vietnamese? But he was very tolerant about it. He said it was only human to make mistakes."

Eriksson's attempt to forget Mao proved futile, as he had really known it would. In addition to the occasional remarks he heard in the police barracks, a train of other developments served to remind him of the girl. In the late spring, for instance, he learned that a change of sentence might be in the making for Clark, whose lawyer, it appeared had asked the jurors who convicted him to approve a petition urging clemency; all but two of them had agreed, and Eriksson was given to understand that this augured an almost certain reduction in sentence. Commenting on this, Eriksson told me, "I realized that nothing definite had happened yet, but I had the feeling it was the first sign that things were going to work out the way Captain Vorst had warned me they would—I mean, that the sentences would get shorter and shorter, maybe even disappear."

Late in July, Eriksson was handed a communication from the commanding officer of his division, the 1st Cavalry (Airmobile). It turned out to be a letter of commendation. Mrs. Eriksson fetched it for me from a bureau drawer, and I read:

"1: You are to be commended for the important role you played in seeing that justice was done in the recent court-martial cases involving four soldiers charged with the rape and murder of a young Vietnamese woman. Your prompt reporting of this serious incident to your superiors and subsequent testimony in court were essential elements in the apprehension and trials of the men responsible for this brutal crime.

"2: The great pressures you were subject to during those critical months are appreciated. Yours was not an easy task, but you did your duty as an American soldier. You should know that the courage and steadfastness you demonstrated make me proud to have you a member of this division.

"JOHN J. TOLSON,  
"Major General, U.S.A. Commanding."

Eriksson's tour of duty in Vietnam came to an end on November 28, 1967, a year after the patrol paid its visit to Mao's hamlet. He thought of her as his plane, full of singing soldiers, took off from Cam Ranh Bay and he had his last look at the unhappy land below. "She was the big thing that had happened in the war for me," he told me. His plane was a commercial airliner, the Army having chartered it for a flight to Fort Lewis, Seattle, from which point the men, all of whom were going on leave, would be on their own. Eriksson was bound for Minnesota, for a month at home before his discharge in the spring, but when his plane put down at Seattle he found that he was ten dollars short for the final leg of his journey. Fortunately, he ran into a fellow-Minnesotan at the airport, an artilleryman with whom he had gone off to Asia thirteen months earlier; the artilleryman, also homeward bound, unhesitatingly lent Eriksson the ten dollars. When the two men were aloft and sitting side by side, the artilleryman suddenly glanced at Eriksson with fresh interest and said, "Say, weren't you the guy who turned in that patrol? That was a bum rap." Smiling, Eriksson remarked to me, "We were thirty thou-

sand feet up by then, or he might have asked for his money back."

In Minnesota, Eriksson returned to the small apartment in Minneapolis where we were sitting, his wife having maintained it while he was gone. During his month's leave, he was always with her and with relatives and friends and, in a way, Eriksson said, with Mao. Mao seemed to figure constantly in his thoughts, he said, which were concerned mostly with how he would earn his livelihood after he left the Army, the following April. The ideas that came to him, he said, had less to do with jobs than they had to do with life, and he attributed this to the incident on Hill 192. Sounding as though he felt he would be years mining its lessons, he told me, "I decided that whatever jobs I'd get, they weren't going to be as important to me as the way I lived. That had to have some purpose. If it didn't, then coming back from that patrol meant nothing."

Recalling her husband's arrival, Mrs. Eriksson said that when she went out to the airport to meet him, she could tell at once that there was a stronger kindness in him than when he had left. "The girl was very much with us when Sven came home that day, and maybe she always will be," Mrs. Eriksson said. "We'd had to support each other in a new way after she was killed. I made sure I wrote to him every day, and in each letter I put a packet of Kool-Aid, so that at least his water would be tasty. He was upset and frustrated—it was in all his letters. He had no one to talk to over there. Of course, I never bring up the girl now, because I know how much she's still on his mind, but Sven brings her up, and usually when I don't expect it." Eriksson and his wife spent Christmas of 1967 with members of their families in the small farm town up north that they both came from, and while they were there, an uncle of Eriksson's asked him about Mao. Eriksson was fond of his uncle, Mrs. Eriksson said, but, reluctantly, he answered, "I'm afraid I don't want to talk about her."

When Eriksson's leave was over, he finished out his two-year hitch at Fort Carson, Colorado, where many of the men were either completing their service, like him, or departing for war. Eriksson continued as an M.P., his duties generally less onerous than they had been in Vietnam, and his existence certainly more relaxed, since, as he observed to me, he was waking up every morning not only in his own country but in the presence of the Rockies. Besides, Eriksson said, none of the M.P.s at Fort Carson asked him about Mao—very likely, he assumed, because they didn't connect him with her. He made one particular friend at Fort Carson, a Marine captain who had seen eighteen months of combat in Vietnam and was also about to become a civilian. Perhaps as an earnest of his friendship, Eriksson told the Marine about Mao one afternoon, and the captain was shocked to hear what had happened to her. "His reaction interested me," Eriksson said. "There had been times when I'd thought that if I had been in Vietnam longer than just a month when the incident took place I might have felt differently about it—had the same attitude, that is, as most of the fellows. But here was this Marine, who had put in much more combat service than Meserve or Clark or anyone else I'd met, and he felt exactly as I did about the crime."

Eriksson now fell into one of his silences, and I imagined he was contemplating the mystery of human character. When he spoke, however, it was about his friendship with the Marine. He told me that their bond was religion and that the interest each of them took in it had been heightened by their experiences in the war. No doubt, Eriksson said, the close brushes that he and his friend had been through had something to do with this, but in his own case he had been deeply impressed while he was overseas by what he called an upside-down mentality, which he believed explained the general unconcern

there about incidents like the one he had taken part in. He said, "We all figured we might be dead in the next minute, so what difference did it make what we did? But the longer I was over there, the more I became convinced that it was the other way around that counted—that because we might not be around much longer, we had to take extra care how we behaved. Anyway, that's what made me believe I was interested in religion. Another man might have called it something else, but the idea was simply that we had to answer for what we did. We had to answer to something, to someone—maybe just to ourselves."

Before Eriksson saw the last of Fort Carson, he again acted as a witness for the government. That occurred in February, 1968, when Manuel was granted a retrial on the ground that although his C.I.D. interrogators had apprised him of various rights he had, among them the right to remain silent and to have a lawyer, the interrogators had neglected to mention that he was entitled to have an "appointed" lawyer, meaning one whose services would be free of charge. In fact, it would have been difficult to find any other kind in Vietnam, since the Army was dispensing such benefits all over the place. And, in practice, neither Manuel nor any of the other defendants (nor Eriksson, for that matter) paid a cent for legal services. However, a board of review in Washington, made up of three senior officers, had noticed the C.I.D.'s oversight, and it had resulted in a second chance for Manuel. "He got a break. Another board might have found differently," a colonel in the Judge Advocate General's office told me. As a result, Eriksson left Colorado for Fort Leavenworth, where Manuel, serving his time in the Disciplinary Barracks, was to be retried. Eriksson told me that he felt weary at the mere prospect of reappearing as a witness a year after the Radcliff trials. He felt even wearier on arriving in Kansas, when he learned that there was little point to his presence. Because of the C.I.D.'s slipup, it appeared, practically all the pretrial information obtained by the investigators could be successfully challenged in court by the defense—which meant that Manuel's confession of guilt would be inadmissible as evidence, and without that the government's case was as good as emasculated. Even the prosecutor predicted defeat, Eriksson told me, and during a short break Eriksson heard the judge remark to the court reporter that the trial was a waste of the taxpayers' money.

Eriksson himself helped Manuel's case by testifying briefly as a defense witness, corroborating the fact that Manuel had refused to obey Meserve's order to kill Mao. (Eriksson had done the same for Rafe at his trial in Vietnam.) The *pro-forma* proceedings at Leavenworth took two days, at the conclusion of which the jury came in with a verdict of acquittal. Grinning, Manuel approached Eriksson, stuck out his hand, and said, "No hard feelings." Before Eriksson could say anything, Manuel turned and left the courtroom, a free man. "I couldn't tell who was supposed to have the hard feelings—Manuel or myself," Eriksson told me. "Flying back to Carson, I thought to myself. So Manuel's out. That leaves three to go."

In April, Eriksson received his honorable discharge from the Army, and in April, too, he heard of further judicial developments. In Vietnam, the jurors' petition urging clemency for Clark had been acted upon, with the result that the G.I.'s life sentence had been commuted to a sentence of twenty years. Now, six months later, Clark's case, forwarded from Vietnam, had been gone over in the United States by a board of review, which had reduced his term to eight years. At about the same time, other boards of review had dealt with Rafe's and Meserve's convictions. Rafe's sentence of eight years had been cut to four, and Meserve's ten years had been

trimmed to eight. These varying decisions, it seemed, were attributable to a variety of factors, among them considerations of the defendants' character and background. Thus, it assumed pertinence that Meserve came from an impoverished home and that his father had deserted his mother, and the members of his board of review learned, further, through material furnished them by the commanding general at Fort Leavenworth, that the former sergeant had gone through the ninth grade, had no police record, was a lapsed Roman Catholic, had worked in a cannery in upstate New York, and had saved five thousand dollars while he was in the Army, and that he was confident that "even though war was a brutal business . . . he could control his aggressions in the future, like a professional prizefighter." In Clark's case, the commanding general, who was responsible for deciding whether the evidence supported Clark's conviction and whether Clark's sentence should be lowered, was informed by a staff lawyer who had interviewed Clark that the soldier in the Disciplinary Barracks was "articulate and above average in intelligence," and that, if given a chance to reënter society, he hoped to earn a college degree in either English or philosophy. It was also noted that, like Meserve, Clark was the product of an impoverished and broken home.

"As if Sven had it so easy!" Mrs. Eriksson said to me when she heard of these findings. "As if his family had any money! He was all of seven when he was driving a tractor on the farm. He was ten when his father suddenly died. Or maybe it's our winters that make Sven so different from those other men—our Januaries, when it's fifty below and the snowdrifts are so high you can't get from the house to the barn without pulling on a rope."

Since returning to civilian life, a year and a half ago, Eriksson has been concerned primarily with what his wife calls "sorting things out." Once he had been separated from the service at Fort Carson, he came back to Minneapolis determined to find employment at something other than carpentry. Much as he loved it, he told me, it was what he had been working at before he was drafted, and, as is often true of new war veterans, he felt restless and in need of a change. The idea that came most easily to his mind was to continue in police work, in which he had been engaged since his days at Camp Radcliff, but on applying to the State Highway Patrol for a post as motorcycle cop he discovered that this was impracticable. "My height," Eriksson said, "I was an inch too short." Somewhat gratefully, he went back to his prewar, and well-paid, job of cabinet-making at the small department store. For a number of months, though, he found it less than exhilarating to pick up where he had left off. Everything around him, he said, impressed him as pointless and arid—his fellow-workers, the monotony of clock punching, and even, at times, his beloved carpentry. His discontent abated when he managed to remind himself of the plan he had made during his leave to reach out beyond his jobs, whatever they might be. Acting on this, he enrolled in a non-credit course at the University of Minnesota designed to teach adults with an inadequate education how to study.

Speaking matter-of-factly, Mrs. Eriksson said, "Out in the boonies, where we come from, you get an A if you don't throw erasers."

His interest in religion still strong, Eriksson took part in church activities, he told me; he had recently supervised a group of high-school-age boys and girls making a two-week retreat on an island in a lake between Minnesota and Canada.

"Sven wasn't raised churchy," Mrs. Eriksson remarked. "His parents stayed home plenty of Sundays."

Eriksson expects that such steps as he has

taken will be succeeded in time by others, though he has no idea at the moment what these may be. He hopes to open a small carpentry shop of his own in several years, but, ideally, he would like to be a farmer—a career that he doubts he will ever be able to afford. He has yet to come to terms with the incident on Hill 192, Eriksson told me. He still has a tendency to fight off its memory, he said, and he thinks the reason for this is that although the experience he had may have revealed certain strengths in himself, he is far more concerned with the limitations it exposed. The thought of them, he said, makes him feel discouraged at times about his future, which, he pointed out, could be a long one. "I'm still young," he said, and it took me a moment's effort to recall the fact of his youth, and the youth of Meserve and the rest of the patrol. Eriksson was confident, though, he told me, that the older he grew, the more accepting he would be of his memory. "Things will get sorted out," he said.

Rafe's case, I learned, had taken a fresh turn in recent weeks. Last winter, members of the Military Appeals Court—the military's highest appellate body—had decided that the admissions Rafe made in Vietnam were "tainted;" that is, like Manuel, he had made a confession without being fully informed of his rights. The judges had ordered that the incarcerated Rafe be given a new trial, which, like Manuel's was held at Fort Leavenworth. Eriksson was not called upon to testify this time, and this was a vast relief, he told me, not only because he was eager to get on with his civilian life but because it looked to him as though Rafe's rehearing would be a duplication of Manuel's second trial; that is, with Rafe's "tainted" admissions thrown out, the government's arguments would be undermined and a verdict of acquittal brought in. To Eriksson's surprise, the trial, which occurred in June, 1969, resulted in Rafe's second conviction, an inevitable finding, in view of the fact that Rafe pleaded guilty to the charge of unpremeditated murder. Rafe received a punishment of four years' imprisonment, plus a monthly forfeiture of fifty dollars in pay.

It was the same sentence he had been serving, but now, having been transformed into a new verdict, it was subject to another review, the effects of which soon worked to Rafe's advantage, for in August, 1969, the commanding general at Fort Leavenworth shortened his term to twenty-two months. The G.I. already had more prison time than that to his credit, so the force of the general's ruling was to bring about Rafe's immediate release from confinement. He is now on duty as a soldier in the United States while awaiting further word on his case, which since September has been in the hands of a board of review. Inasmuch as the board may only affirm or reduce Rafe's sentence, any changes that it makes will necessarily fall under the heading of good news for him; for example, the board may decide that Rafe served too long a sentence by five or six months, in which event it will be incumbent upon the Army to restore back pay for that period; it is also within the board's power to reverse Rafe's dishonorable discharge.

Eriksson told me he has no qualms about Rafe's being at large, because Rafe's remorse over the criminal episode had been evident to everybody in the Radcliff courtroom. Eriksson conceded, however, the the prospect of Meserve's and Clark's freedom did disturb him. As far as he knew, he said, no legal developments were brewing in their behalf—not that it made much difference, he added, since he had learned just a few weeks earlier that Meserve and Clark stood to be declared eligible for parole before they had served even half their time at Fort Leavenworth. "They may be out in a few months," he

said. "It will even be possible for them to join the Army again."

"Sven had to do what he did," Mrs. Eriksson said. "If he'd kept quiet, he would have been impossible to live with."

Regardless of when Meserve and Clark get out, Eriksson thinks, the atmosphere of civilian life may exert a moderating influence on their outlook. He has no idea to what extent that may operate, however; nor is he prepared, he said, to bank on anything so abstract. "Kirsten and I have talked about the day of their release," he told me, "and our realistic hope is that Meserve and Clark have been able to see for themselves what they've done."

"What else can we hope?" Mrs. Eriksson asked. "We would be fools to think those men couldn't do again what they did before."

He would never cease to condemn the members of the patrol personally for their crime, Eriksson said, but that didn't mean they were beyond pity. Other soldiers, he said, might just as easily have betrayed the weakness that the four men had betrayed on Hill 192, but it had fallen to Meserve and Clark and Rafe and Manuel in particular to act as they had. Speaking evenly, Eriksson said, "They were among the ones—among the few—who did what everyone around them wanted to do." Nor was he himself free of blame, he went on, without pausing—once again referring to the limitations within himself that he had glimpsed in Asia. He had yet to exonerate himself from the self-imposed charge of having failed to save Mao's life. He had no idea how long this feeling would continue, but for the present, he knew, he lived with the charge daily, often wondering how Mao might have fared in a time of peace. Six months ago, he said, he had taken a Minneapolis bus home from work and, being very tired, had dozed off. When he opened his eyes, a new passenger was sitting directly opposite him—a young Oriental woman. Still in the process of waking, and not yet thinking clearly, he said, he had transformed her into a peasant woman on her way to do a day's farming, such as he had seen many times in Vietnam; he had envisioned the passenger in a broad, peaked straw hat and black pajamas, carrying the traditional stick across her shoulders, with baskets at either end for holding crops. "Those baskets could get awfully heavy," Eriksson recalled. "Sometimes I didn't see what kept the stick from snapping. They were hard workers, those Vietnamese women, picking little bananas, shinnying up palm trees for coconuts. But on the bus the peasant woman across from me was going to work in paddy fields that were near Mao's hamlet, from which it was a nice walk downhill to a stream that flooded the rice fields. That's where the woman was going in the early morning, but it was peacetime and it wasn't necessary either for her or for the peasant women she was with to smell the bodies that were always rotting for miles around, no one knew where, when I was in the Central Highlands. The only thing these women had to do on their way to the stream was breathe pure mountain air."

#### LIFESAVING HEART OPERATION

### HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, I recently had the opportunity to be of assistance in bringing a 10-year-old boy from Calcutta, India, to the United States for a lifesaving heart operation. The operation was performed free by

the Deborah Hospital, Browns Mills, N.J., and the boy and his father were transported free to this country by Pan American Airways.

All private citizens involved in arranging this step of international good will are to be highly commended, and I am pleased officially to recognize their efforts by recording them in the RECORD.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement from my office outlining what was accomplished and an editorial published in the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin.

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

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Evening Bulletin, Aug. 29 1969]

#### THE LIFE OF A BOY

Where a boy's life is concerned, red tape can and will be cut.

At Deborah Hospital, Browns Mills, N.J., a team of surgeons operated on an eleven-year-old Indian boy, to close a hole in his heart. The boy and his father, a physician, arrived from Calcutta last week on a flight made possible by the cooperation of four governmental agencies, the Civil Aeronautics Board, the U.S. State Department, the Government of India and the office of U.S. Senator Richard S. Schweiker.

Dr. A. K. Basu-Mullick wrote to Deborah Hospital, telling of his poverty, even as a doctor, and pleading that an effort be made to save his son, which could not be done in India.

Hospital officials offered all surgical and medical services without cost, if the boy could be brought from India. The Defense Department could not furnish transportation for a private citizen on military aircraft, but Mr. Schweiker appealed to CAB and the State Department to permit Pan American Airways to carry the Basu-Mullicks free.

It is true that even mountains can be moved to meet the needs of the young.

A 10-year-old Calcutta India boy will arrive at Kennedy Airport in New York Tuesday night for life-saving open heart surgery, Senator Richard S. Schweiker (R-Pa.) revealed today.

Sabyasachi Hullick, desperately ill with a hole in his heart, will be taken to Deborah Hospital, Browns Mills, New Jersey, which will perform the operation without charge. The boy's father, Dr. A. K. Basu Hullick, will accompany the boy and stay with him at Deborah Hospital.

Schweiker said hospital officials notified him in June that in response to a letter from Dr. Hullick, they had agreed to perform the operation, but that they had no funds for transporting the Hullicks from India.

"I inquired with both the Defense Department and the State Department, but found out that regulations prohibited free transport on military planes," Schweiker said. "However, I discovered that private air carriers can provide free transportation if the Civil Aeronautics Board approves and if it is in the 'national interest.'"

Schweiker said Pan American Airlines took the necessary action, and is flying the boy on flight number one from Calcutta to New York, arriving at 8:10 p.m.

The Hullicks will be met at the airport by Jack Lesser, President of Deborah Hospital, and Dr. Henry T. Nichols, Chief of Cardiac Surgery, who will perform the operation, assisted by a team of leading heart specialists in the Greater Philadelphia area.

"I want to commend Deborah Hospital and Pan American Airlines for their efforts to bring about a significant step of interna-

tional good will, and I am pleased that I could be of assistance in coordinating the transportation problem."

Deborah Hospital was founded in 1922, and is a non-sectarian charitable hospital.

#### A PROVOCATIVE LETTER

### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the Ohio State Lantern of April 10, 1969, carried a letter which is of interest to me for its author, Walter W. Seifert, now at Ohio State University, is a good friend of mine. The caption introducing the letter was especially eye catching: "A Letter From a Skeptical Son to His Bald-Headed Dad." The letter read:

DEAR DAD: Last time I was home, you said some significant things about my interest in radical proposals for a new social order. When you told me I was too young for sane opinion on such matters, you insinuated that your generation is better qualified to find "the way out" than mine. I question this assumption. I do not believe that those who led us into this mess are capable of "leading" us out.

Dad, believe me when I say that I am indebted to you for paternal love and protection, but believe me also when I say that my generation holds in contempt the colossal social, economic, and political blunders which you perpetuated. As we survey the worthless heritage of crime, war, poverty, and greed, we unite in shouting, "We will have none of it. There must be a second Renaissance!" And we scrutinize our entire inheritance to find the true value of these institutions. If you say our sin is lack of respect, then we can answer, "Veneration was your sin."

"Our capitalistic democracy is the ultimate in modern government," I have heard you brag. May I call your attention to the metropolitan editor who recently said, "I support this man because he is the least crooked of the three." "Trust our economic leaders," you assure me. I answer, "Men are starving today in the shadows of your rotting granaries and hog-butcher establishments, Dad. Under your system privation increases in proportion to the increase in production." "Hold fast to the religion of your fathers," you warn, and I cannot help wondering, "Has that religion lessened hatred, crime, war, and suffering in its Twentieth Century trial? Are its fundamental concepts philosophically sound?"

Dad, our young people are admittedly a skeptical crowd. What we have lost in the comfort of blind faith, we have gained in the assurance of empirical, scientific reasoning. If this fact-facing attitude be heresy, you may style us "heretics." If we worship reality instead of sublimity, you may say that we are fools. If science has altered our moral convictions, and if our new freedom conflicts with your age-old prohibitions, then you may consign us to your fiery hells.

But one thing is certain. Win or lose, right or wrong, we are beginning to think through these things. We are trying to see "beyond our noses"; we are striving to build a better world. In that struggle we ask your co-operation, realizing that our youthful ambition, coupled with your aged perspective, is the one combination which can solve the riddle of these times.

Well—how about it, Dad?

A word of explanation is in order. It is true that Walter W. Seifert, age 55, is at

OSU—as an associate professor of journalism. Concerning the letter, Walter commented:

The more things change, the more they stay the same. This editorial could have been written by any of our young rebels just yesterday.

The letter also appeared in another campus newspaper, the Kent Stater, though under different circumstances.

The author? Walter W. Seifert, student editor.

The year—1934.

NATIONAL BUSINESS WOMEN'S  
WEEK

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I am delighted to have this opportunity to pay tribute to the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc. Since 1928, 1 week each year has been designated as a tribute to business and professional women. This year National Business Women's Week is being observed October 19 to 25.

Today the NFBPWC has over 180,000 members. Membership is open to all women who are actively engaged in business or the professions, upon invitation from a local club. BPW clubs are in operation in every congressional district with more than 3,800 local clubs under 53 State federations.

The emblem of the organization is the Nike because it symbolizes progress to which the federation is dedicated. The emblem also includes the Staff of Mercury, the Torch of Wisdom, the Scroll, and the Ship of Commerce.

Since its founding in 1919, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., has worked to elevate standards for women in business and the professions. It is an articulate and well respected voice speaking out in the interest of business and professional women everywhere. Among its activities are the publication of a monthly magazine, National Business Women, and a Congress of Career Women Leaders held yearly.

I am sure that I speak for many of my Senate colleagues in calling the Nation's attention to this worthwhile organization and to the goals it seeks to promote. I believe that the legislative aims of this organization are especially worthy of note and commendation. They are:

To elevate standards for the employed woman, to promote her interest, to create a spirit of cooperation, to expand opportunities through industrial, scientific, and vocational activities, to secure equal consideration under the law, and to establish conditions which assure both men and women the fullest opportunity and regard for the development of their capacities to the maximum potential.

In our advancing complex society, women must continue to assume more and more of the top career positions. I am proud to salute the National Business

and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., for their fine contribution in this area.

As a sponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 61, I applaud its purpose. The joint resolution proposes an amendment to the Constitution providing a constitutional guarantee of equal rights under the law for men and women. I was pleased to note that the National Federation of Business and Professional Women endorsed this legislation at its 1969 national convention.

I invite Senators to join me in commending our Nation's career women and their determined efforts for a better America.

A NATIONAL MARCH OF  
CONFIDENCE

HON. JOHN M. SLACK

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. SLACK. Mr. Speaker, since the Vietnam Moratorium Day marches and demonstrations of October 15 and the subsequent announcement that there would be a recurrence of such demonstrations in November and perhaps December, there has been proposed by a prominent police official in my congressional district a countermovement which I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues. Briefly, it has been proposed by Chief of Police Dallas W. Bias of my home city of Charleston, W. Va., that November 10 be declared the date for a national march of confidence, built around the active participation of the policemen and firemen of each community.

The following letter which I received from Chief Bias gives a summary of his experience in connection with the events of October 15, and I believe this experience reflects about what took place in any typical medium-size American community. It is now suggested that there be a counterdemonstration to permit the expression of convictions by those who do not agree with the philosophy of the Vietnam moratorium marchers.

As a supporter of fairplay and freedom of expression for all, therefore, I feel it proper to call his proposal to your attention, in the belief that you may wish to pass the information along to officials in your communities:

CHARLESTON, W. VA.,  
October 18, 1969.

HON. JOHN SLACK,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: On October 9, a young, oddly dressed, bearded male and a similarly dressed willowy type female, obviously of a beatnik group, came to my office and asked for a parade permit to parade a number of youths to stop the Viet Nam War. They had no organizational name and did not know how many would be in the parade. I advised them that normally a group of people parading had some name and a parade marshal, etc. and outlined some information I needed. The following day three youths applied in a handwritten letter under the name of the Charleston Peace Coalition for a permit. I denied the permit for the reasons outlined in my memorandum of that date (copy enclosed).

Suit was brought against me in Federal Court which I answered on October 13, 1969. Attorneys representing the American Civil Liberties Group were John L. Boettner, Jr. and A. Andrew MacQueen III. Among the exhibits was a sheet headed Viet Nam Moratorium Committee, Suite 806, 1029 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005, telephone number 202-347-4757, which started with "Dear Congress Participants:" and called for a generally pressure demonstration if the United States had not surrendered the war by October 15, 1969. The Court ordered a parade permit be issued and I complied with that order.

I have asked for a National Parade of Policemen and Firemen, who are the first line of defense within the boundaries of the United States against crimes and treason, to show strength inside America and demonstrate confidence in Congress and our government to handle affairs in the Viet Nam War for the orderly, peaceful and honorable bringing home of our troops with safety and to protect them on all other fronts.

Being one aroused Chief of Police concerned with the safety of our Nation within the infiltration of communistic influences on gullible politicians, unsuspecting clergymen and undirected youths, I feel that it is time for the silent Americans, red-blooded patriotic Americans of all ages, to stand up and be counted and let our fighting men and women guarding all fronts know that their Mother Country is very much alive for them to fight for and come home to. I have received hundreds of phone calls, telegrams and letters locally and from as far as Seattle, Washington, endorsing this parade. People here are asking me to hold a mass rally in the ballpark in the evening. One attorney who suggested it feels that if the enthusiasm continues the response from our plea locally will fill two ballparks. I have every indication that here in Charleston we will fill the streets. I think a parade of confidence followed by rallies in some cities will show these "rebels without a cause" that red-blooded America has a purpose in this world.

Hitler overthrew Germany by starting with some radicals in a beer hall and the world stood by; Castro overtook control of Cuba with a handful of propaganda from outside the country and zealous youths; last year we got some inking of the youth in Red China running amuck, arresting government leaders, etc. and I feel that if we do not take a national stand to show our strength and confidence in the government we will sit by apathetically and fall from within.

One newspaper today, seemingly as a slur, called me a "Fierce Patriot". I see nothing wrong with being a fierce patriot particularly when three of the speakers from the Moratorium sought audience with me yesterday and during an hour's conversation of disagreement with newspaper stories, one youth said he did not see that the National Anthem with the American Flag was necessary and that it was out of style with this date. I became rather fierce in my speech and it caused one of them, an ADA leader, to say that with my determination they would like to have me on their side (whatever side that is).

I believe if you would use your influence through the International Association of Chiefs of Police and The Fire Fighters and other patriotic citizens throughout the Nation to participate in this parade of confidence, it would be successful. I want you to know that I absolutely do not belong to any organizations of lodges, secret or otherwise, except the International Association of Chiefs of Police. I am only Dallas M. Bias, a cop, a veteran and an American. I hope you will consider lending your support to this movement.

Respectfully yours,  
DALLAS W. BIAS,  
Chief of Police.

CHARLESTON POLICE DEPARTMENT MEMORANDUM, OCTOBER 8, 1969

To: Persons concerned.

Subject: Anti-Vietnam war parade permits.

The United States is at present in an armed conflict with the Communist elements of the Viet Nam Government, a defacto war. This conflict is under the orders of the President of the United States with the sanction of Congress.

Anti-Viet Nam War marches and demonstrations tend to give aid and comfort to the common enemy of the United States in this conflict. Notwithstanding the Constitutional right of the people "to assemble in a peaceful manner, to consult for the common good, to instruct their representatives, or to apply for redress of grievances." It is my belief that to authorize a permit would appear to endorse such a protest and I, therefore, will not issue a parade permit to any person or group protesting against the United States' involvement in the Viet Nam War as it may tend to increase the resistance of the common enemy in this conflict and endanger or cause the loss of life to American soldiers in the field.

Nothing herein shall contravene the right of assembly in a peaceful manner as provided by the State Constitution to instruct their representatives, which, in this case, would be the members of Congress and I believe they should be present to hear the grievances.

DALLAS W. BIAS,  
Chief of Police.

[From the Charleston (W. Va.) Daily Mail,  
Oct. 17, 1969]

TO SUPPORT GOVERNMENT, MILITARY—CHIEF BIAS ASKS NATIONAL MARCH OF POLICEMEN AND FIREMEN

(By Jim Johnson)

The nation's fire and police department members were called on by Chief Dallas Bias of Charleston to participate in a Nov. 10 "National March of Confidence" to support the federal government and its fighting forces all over the world.

"Since the police and fire departments throughout the nation are the first defense line of interior America," Chief Bias said, "I will request them to set aside a day and march in support of our government and our boys in Vietnam as well as those stationed throughout the world."

He said contact with the members will be made by police network and other means.

"If the protesters got the word passed throughout the nation, I'm sure we will find a way.

"I want it known right now," he added, "that I'm applying for a city parade permit for Nov. 10 and that it will be useless for other groups to apply."

The chief's comments were made during his observations this morning on Wednesday night's parade held in connection with the nationwide Vietnam Moratorium. He had previously refused to issue a permit to the Charleston Coalition for Peace until ordered to do so by a federal court order. His reason for refusal at that time was that the march and nationwide demonstrations gave "aid and comfort to the enemy."

Today he reiterated those views and asked for the nationwide March of Confidence.

"My observation last night," he explained, "leads me to believe that middle age Americans—25 and up—had better get off their behinds and get their bodies and spirits in condition to lead this nation back to a democracy under the flag of the Republic and not let it decay under the hands of misguided, non-directional beatnik youth, who I believe are being led by Communistic influences or leanings.

"I think it is a national disgrace (the Vietnam Moratorium). I do want to commend U.S. Senator Robert Byrd, and U.S.

Congressmen John Slack and James Kee for their stand in supporting the U.S. President against these forces. They are men with strength who are needed in our government at this time."

Asked why he chose Nov. 10 as the day for the March of Confidence, Bias said: "The tentative date of Nov. 10 was chosen because people are always parading in honor of the dead on Nov. 11 and I want to parade for living."

He said he would suggest that the red rose, worn by his men and the city fire department would also be used in the March of Confidence "to show that the mother country is still very much alive."

The participation of between 300 or 400 area youths was termed as being "unreal" at times by Chief Bias.

"As to my personal feelings concerning the demonstration," he said, "I have some rather knotty stomachached feelings mixed with sadness.

"The loud, raucous music played around the flag in beatnik rhythm made me hear the silent strains of our National Anthem. I felt like I was looking at a strange group of people—somewhat like a scene found on a movie set—or an old "Mutiny on the Bounty" movie.

"I saw some familiar faces of speakers which looked as though they didn't fit the scene's setting. I heard, I suppose, but didn't hear, the people speaking. Somehow it didn't seem real, but it was there.

"One of the leaders, Morgan Anderson, who is with the Civil Rights Commission, looked, by his mode of dress and clean shaven face, like a Patrick Henry, who should have been talking for his country, instead of against it."

The marchers were orderly as were most of the 200 to 300 onlookers, according to Bias. He said he had to restrain several of his men on one occasion.

"I had to caution two or three of my men—war veterans and one young man—about their conduct towards an older man whom I understand works for a high state government politician.

"He was acting cute and making derogatory remarks towards me and my uniform."

After the parade was over, Bias said most of the speakers came over to him to congratulate his men and him on a job well done.

"They came by to shake my hand after the demonstration was over and congratulate me for taking a stand on what I believed in and for my official protection of the protesters.

"I could not help but advise them that I was acting properly under the same orders of the same government that they were generally opposed to. The same one they are asking the people of the United States to revolt against."

ADDRESS BY GENERAL PALMER

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, Gen. Bruce Palmer, Jr., Vice Chief of Staff of the Army, delivered some most interesting remarks at the ROTC luncheon of the annual meeting of the Association of the U.S. Army.

His comments are most timely and worthy of being repeated so that all of us who are concerned about the problems of youth may have the benefit of his thinking.

I am inserting General Palmer's speech at this point in the RECORD:

ADDRESS BY GEN. BRUCE PALMER, JR.

I welcome this opportunity to talk to you today, in particular those of you representing our youth, because our hopes for the future ride on you. Moreover, I have the feeling that those of us here representing the older generations should be listening to you. In fact, one of my recommendations to the AUSA for future sessions will be just that—have a senior ROTC cadet talk to the convention and tell us "like it is" as to life in our universities. In any event, I hope that we will all listen and learn something from each other . . . for listening is the art of communicating. Taken together, we present represent at least three generations of men who are serving our country, and we have much to learn from each other.

Why this accent on youth? There are many reasons. I can cite a few:

Roughly 75 percent of today's Active Army is made up of selectees and first term enlistees, most of whom will return to civilian life after two or three years of service. Our median age including everyone is 23.4 years.

As it has always been, young men are the ones who fight and win our battles. Age, experience, great leadership and outstanding training cannot make a fighting Army if the basic human material is lacking in heart, character and moral fiber.

The President is seeking a basic reform in our current draft law. The result will be even a younger Army. The President would also like to move toward the goal of all Volunteer Armed Forces. If and when such a goal is reached or approached, I suspect that it will continue to mean a relatively young Army.

Youth is troubled world-wide. Our schools and campuses are scenes of doubt, disagreement and disavowal. The old traditions and values are being challenged. Our way of life . . . our society as we know it seems to be in question. Our government and institutions—the so-called Establishment—are under attack.

Thus it seems only prudent to examine our society as objectively as we can and see wherein we are failing our youth.

Discipline, obedience, self-control, strength of character—these old-fashioned virtues are as fundamental as ever. But how to instill them and get the willing allegiance of those being led—the followers—has always been the essence of leadership. This is a good deal more difficult today. There was a time when you could be physically tough with men and demand their instant obedience with no questions allowed, but this won't do today. Youngsters of this day and age are too well educated and intelligent to accept something without a rational and logical explanation. Even our football coaches are finding this out. College and professional coaches are bemoaning the good old days when all a coach had to say was, "Do it my way—or else." The opportunity for leadership is still there—but it is of a distinctly different nature.

To complicate matters, we now have a new dimension on the scene which is of major significance. This is the question of racial tension and conflict. I need not tell you young college men what I'm talking about. You know far more perceptively than I. We now see this tension in the Army . . . in the young black soldier and the young white soldier. It is there—we cannot avoid it, walk away from it, hide our head in the sand and pretend it's not there.

Our young black soldier is a justly proud man. We must not confuse rightful and dignified pride in his race for black militancy and belligerence.

Our young white soldiers must also understand and recognize this just pride and not react defensively or fearfully. This pride channeled in constructive directions is a good thing.

There is much room for mutual under-

standing and, above all, perceptive leadership. Again, this burden will fall on you—our youth.

Many of you have come from the firing line—college campuses across our Nation where you may have been confronted by dissidents—people who question your participation in the ROTC and even attempt to humiliate you in front of your contemporaries. And yet in all honesty, I must say that some of the people who confront you are actually sincere, thoughtful individuals, searching like most men for answers to fundamental questions about themselves and their country.

Daily we read in the newspapers and see on TV sensational antimilitary arguments to the effect that:

Military spending prevents us from solving our social ills . . .

Military advice prevents solutions to problems of foreign affairs . . .

The defense establishment undermines our democratic values . . .

The so-called military-industrial complex is too big and powerful and wields more influence in national affairs than it properly should.

As citizens, taxpayers and thinking, free men in our own right, we must all give these very pertinent questions the attention they deserve. We must also look at the other side of the coin:

Military efforts and achievements have made great contributions to our society, in many positive constructive ways. Engineering, aviation, medical advancement, scientific research in numerous fields are good examples.

Military factors are essential to any sound and balanced analysis of foreign policy.

Our defense establishment under firm civilian control is the very guardian of our democratic values. To keep this concept viable requires enlightened, broadly based and balanced military leaders . . . in other words, the products of a liberal education and a diversity of experience.

Our military-industrial complex is what we used to call the "Arsenal of Democracy." Teamwork between defense and industry is necessary if we are to get the most for our defense dollar and give our men first class weapons and equipment. So long as these relationships are lawful and proper, they are a strength, not a weakness.

The real trick is to get a dialogue going—to get people to discuss all sides of a question and not close their minds to all views except their own. In other words, communications rather than confrontation.

I am sure that we all have thought, "Where do I . . . where do we go from here?" "Where do I stand?"

Is my country right? Or is my country wrong?

What is right? What is wrong?

What is moral? What is amoral? What is immoral?

Am I right? Am I wrong?

Last June, President Nixon asked us as a people to address three fundamental questions:

"What is America's world role?"

"What are the responsibilities of a great nation toward protecting freedom beyond its shores?"

"Can we ever be left in peace, if we do not actively assume the burden of keeping the peace?"

In my opinion, it is not for the military or defense to answer these questions alone. These are questions which must be answered by every individual citizen—questions which the public as a whole must consider—questions which, in the final analysis, our political civilian leaders must face up to. I would say only this . . . there are more than just 200 million Americans involved. There is the whole Free World at stake. If the United States does not lead, who can? Who will?

Honest reflection will tell you that there is no other country capable of leading. Either the United States will lead or there will be no leader.

Your role as an ROTC cadet on almost any college campus across the Nation today is what you personally make of it. You will have to stand up for what you believe in. It may take a lot of courage to join the ROTC and wear this uniform on campus. But I am sure that you are a better man for it.

Why are you in ROTC? Why is it that on a day-to-day basis you are required to justify your beliefs?

If you are sincere in desiring to serve your country, unlike those who harass you, you owe your allegiance to others than yourself. You can ask them what they are doing for the betterment of mankind . . . a better country . . . a better world.

Now if you are still bothered by questions of service to your country after having thought the problem over, and if you find you don't believe in dedicated service or you cannot accept decisions which you can't agree with, then you are of no use to the Army. But if you haven't made up your mind, don't turn us off . . . don't close your minds to what the Service has to offer.

And it is not pay; it is self-satisfaction . . . the satisfaction and reward which only come from dedication to a cause or ideal greater than oneself. Beyond this we still have room for the outdoorsman—athlete, hunter, fisherman—as well as the intellectual, the writer, the card-player, and even the idealist and romanticist. The soldier can pursue practically unlimited avocations.

The Army will not ask you to be a crusader, but rather that you understand what the majority of our citizenry has asked the military to do through legally elected constitutional authority. While you are in the ROTC, we hope that you will let people see that the ROTC cadet is someone who is knowledgeable, articulate and willing to stand up for what he believes.

When we think of military courage, we most often think of the soldier under fire, closing with the enemy. This is characteristic of the American soldier. But other kinds of courage are a part of our military tradition also.

The real courage which is more than ever in demand is moral courage—to have faith in your own convictions—and to fight for them . . . and to be able to articulate your position.

On our part, we will support you in every possible way. We are making extraordinary efforts to upgrade and reorient our ROTC Program in tune with the times. But it will not be at the expense of a sound, solid, curriculum; nor will it degrade the stature of the program.

Earlier I spoke of dissent against ROTC on some college campuses across the Nation. Unfortunately, we have closed and are closing some fine ROTC units . . . at some prestigious institutions. Gentlemen, it is to your credit, however, that we still have a large, strong ROTC Program across the Nation and that many colleges are seeking to join the ROTC Program.

Your predecessors have established an unparalleled precedent of professional excellence and dedication in the Army. They are continuing those traditions today . . . all over the world. In the Army, we care not where a man came from, or what school he attended. We simply want to know how well he can perform. If he has the capacity, he can and will go all the way to the top.

Gentlemen, our Army, as it has been for nearly two centuries, is dedicated to nothing more simple and noble than the defense of our homeland and the preservation of our way of life. I know that we can depend on you . . . and countless other fine young men who have preceded you . . . to serve your country well.

GEN. CASIMIR PULASKI, FATHER OF THE AMERICAN CAVALRY

## HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, October 11 marked the 190th anniversary of the death of Gen. Casimir Pulaski, the great Polish soldier and patriot who gave his life in the struggle for American independence. Without his superb leadership of the first American cavalry forces, the poorly organized and ill-equipped colonial troops would have been seriously weakened and possibly defeated. I believe we should recall some of the details of the remarkable career of this man who did so much and finally made the supreme sacrifice to help us win our independence.

Pulaski was born in Podolia, Poland, on March 4, 1748. He became interested in military affairs before he reached his majority and served in the guard of Duke Charles of Courland before he reached the age of 20. In 1768 he joined his father, Joseph Pulaski, as one of the eight original associates of the Confederation of Barr, a national Polish movement against the Russian oppression. He and his father pledged themselves to freeing Poland. Casimir carried on a partisan warfare against the Russians after his father's death, and in 1769 raised a revolt in Lithuania. He finally forced the Russians to withdraw from the fortified monastery of Czestochova to which he had been driven and took an active part in forcing them across the Vistula.

Subsequent military reverses caused Pulaski to leave Poland. He went to Turkey to seek, unsuccessfully, the aid of the Sultan against the Russians. He then went to Paris in 1775. It was in the French capital that he made the acquaintance of Benjamin Franklin. After his talks with Franklin he became interested in the American struggle for independence and came to this country in March 1777. He immediately joined General Washington's staff in Philadelphia. In the battle of Brandywine, in company with Greene, Wayne, Sullivan, and La Fayette, he struck his first blow in behalf of the American cause. His great service in this engagement was to defeat the attempt of the enemy to cut off the line of retreat. He executed his task so successfully and promptly that, upon the recommendation of Washington, he was commissioned a brigadier general by Congress and assigned to command the newly organized American cavalry. General Washington, in his letter to Congress recommending Pulaski for this place, said:

This gentleman has been, like us, engaged in defending the liberty and independence of his country and has sacrificed his fortune to his zeal for these objects. He derives from hence a title to our respect that ought to operate in his favor as far as the good of the service will permit.

Pulaski later saved the Army from a surprise at Warren Tavern, near Philadelphia, and took part in the battle of Germantown. In the winter of 1777-78

he participated in the operations of General Anthony Wayne and helped defeat a division of British troops at Haddonfield, N.J. Subsequently, he was assigned to special duty at Valley Forge.

Congress, upon General Pulaski's suggestion and upon the recommendation of General Washington, authorized the formation of a corps of lancers and light infantry to be commanded by Pulaski. This corps, which was recruited mostly in Baltimore, later became famous as "Pulaski's Legion."

Performing garrison duty at Minisink, N.J., during the following winter, he expressed a wish to return to more active military service in Europe, but Washington persuaded him to remain. On May 8, 1779, he entered Charleston, S.C., and 3 days later, May 11, the city was attacked by 900 British troops. Pulaski's forces were heavily outnumbered, but he held the city until the arrival of reinforcements on May 13.

In the siege of Savannah, where he met his death, he rendered distinguished service. In the assault of October 8 he commanded the entire cavalry, both French and American. During the battle he received a wound which eventually proved fatal.

For the account of General Pulaski dying in the arms of Col. Richard Clough Anderson, we have the word of Colonel Anderson's grandson, Edward Lowell Anderson. The biography of Colonel Anderson, published by his grandson, in 1879, contains the following:

The attack (on Savannah), though at several points successful, was, in the end, repulsed. Upon his way back to camp, my grandfather met Pulaski. The unhappy Pole was mounted upon a rough-moving pony, at whose every step the blood from a mortal wound churned up in the long boots of the rider. Until death released Pulaski from his sufferings, at some hour during that night, Major Anderson remained with him. He received from the dying man a sword, in memory of the sad service.

There is no further mention of Pulaski's sword in Mr. Anderson's book.

The details given in other historical accounts differ, but there is general agreement that Pulaski was carried from the battlefield after the conflict to the American brig *Wasp* for transfer to Charleston. Two days later, in the company of his close friend and subordinate Captain Bentalou, he died of the gangrene which had set into his wound. He was buried at sea, but, when the French fleet reached Charleston, a memorial procession and service was held. Pulaski's empty coffin was followed by his horse bearing his uniform and cavalry accoutrements.

Casimir Pulaski was not the only brave Pole who left his native land to help America win her independence. Those who served under the General in the Pulaski Legion included Joseph Baldeski, Maurice August Beniowski, Baron de Botzen, August Christian Elholm, Jerzmanowski—first name unknown—Kotkowski—first name unknown—Michael Kowacz, Kraszewski—first name unknown—Charles Litomski, Matthias Rogowski, and John Zielinski, a cousin of General Pulaski and one of the first three officers of the Legion.

Americans have not forgotten the contributions of General Pulaski. There are eight towns named after him, located in the States of Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Mississippi, New York, Tennessee, Virginia, and Wisconsin; and seven counties, located in the States of Arkansas, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, and Virginia. No national forest yet bears his name, but the Pulaski Highway in Maryland runs from Baltimore through Aberdeen and Elkton to the Delaware line and the Pulaski Skyway in New Jersey is a wonder of highway engineering.

General Casimir Pulaski spent more than \$50,000 of his private fortune to maintain his cavalry. In a letter to Col. R. H. Lee in 1778 he wrote:

Honor and a true desire of distinguishing myself in defense of Liberty was the only motive which fired my breast for the cause of the United States.

His example of sacrifice and devotion to our Nation's cause is a model of patriotism for all times. Truly, Casimir Pulaski stands as one of history's greatest protagonists of human freedom.

#### ANALYSIS OF OUR PRESENT POLITICAL CRISIS

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an open letter to President Nixon, written by Mr. Edward C. Smith, owner of La Galeria of California, in La Jolla, a constituent of mine.

In this letter there is much food for thought. There are parts of it with which I am in full agreement, and parts of it which I would reject as being impractical.

I recommend a careful reading of Mr. Smith's analysis of our present political crisis.

The letter follows:

AUGUST 30, 1969.

President RICHARD M. NIXON,  
White House West,  
San Clemente, Calif.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The contents expressed herein will most likely not be brought to your attention, but the fact that this paper was written will bring much satisfaction to myself, my family and numerous fine and loyal friends across the country.

Presidents come and go and certainly leave their mark on the land, unfortunately, in some cases, for years to come. The judicial branch of our government has its duties in that it is supposed to interpret and nothing more the law of the land, i.e., the Constitution; and then we have the legislative branch—and herein lies the rub!

The Congress of the United States is most adept at regulating the lives of the American people and although repeated attempts have been made, the Congress will do nothing to regulate itself! There has been a very weak reform bill before the Congress, which if brought to a vote would not pass.

CONGRESS IS THE PEOPLE

The inability of the Congress of the United States to properly represent the American

people is fast, if not already so, bordering on criminal neglect. Various and sundry politicians who are most talkative, but saying little, wildly proclaim that America is not sick! Maybe not—but she sure has one helluva belly-ache!

Let us cite just a few examples:

Federal intervention from the early 30's to date in the farm problem has produced nothing but dissatisfaction for the farmer and the taxpayer. The farm subsidy program as we know it today is a financial "foul-up". The small farmer is not benefited as was the original intent; big business is the receiver of this unfair and senseless waste of the taxpayer's money. Witness these figures, recently released. In 1967, 42.7 per cent of the nation's agrarians with an income of less than \$2,500 a year received only 4.5 per cent of total farm subsidies, while the top 10 per cent, many of them farm corporations or vertical trusts in food processing, received 54.5 per cent of total payments!! Five (5) farm operations received subsidies of over \$1 million last year with two California companies topping the list. One (1) company received \$4.09 million and another \$2.86 million. Payments of between \$500,000 and \$1 million each went to 15 farms and 388 got payments between \$100,000 and \$500,000. Mark Twain once remarked, "Reader, suppose you were an idiot. And suppose you were a member of Congress. But I repeat myself."

The question, Mr. President. How much longer do you suppose the American people are going to tolerate the rotten injustices of the Farm Program which the Congress of the United States has had thirty-seven (37) years to rectify?? Our republican form of government is supposed to exist for the protection of the rights of the minorities and not for big business, the loved and the wealthy—they have many friends and few enemies. But—the Congress simply will not get off their "prats". Let us go further with this corrupt and vicious "political foot ball". Is it not dumbfounding and downright puzzling that we live in a Nation of universal plenty and yet general poverty exists in various portions of the land? What a strange paradox! Ask any Congressman why aid in money and produce is being distributed to foreign lands when our own go hungry; if he be the timid politician that certainly predominates in our Congress today, he will respond with the answer that our Country is capable of being "all things to all men"; this is mental masturbation of the highest degree. Firstly—charity certainly should begin at home. Secondly—the past warns us that all governments which attempt to perform more than their constitutional intention, ended up by performing less!

The State of Mississippi reports that upwards of one-half of the population lives in dire poverty; \$28.7 million in subsidies went to 1,438 landowners in 1966 while only \$4.7 million was spent for food assistance to the poor. Subsidies totalling \$35.8 million were paid to 4,375 farm operators in Nebraska in 1966, while during the same interim less than \$1 million in food aid was provided for the 368,000 Nebraskans combating poverty. The past 10 years has witnessed the Federal government blissfully handing out \$55 billions of the "long green" to large and well-to-do landowners, for keeping acreage out of production!! The list of these recipients reads like the "Who's Who" of American farming and big business. I believe it was May of 1968 that an Amendment to the agricultural appropriation bill appeared before the Congress; this amendment advocated placing a ceiling on farm subsidies, be it a corporation or an individual, of \$10,000; this bill was overwhelmingly defeated. Henry Adams said it in 1818, "You can't use tact with a Congressman. A Congressman is a hog. You must take a stick and hit him on the snout."

Mr. President, there is an old Southern expression which reminds us that, "if you

want to clean up the stream you gotta get the hog outa the spring." The streams of America are heavily polluted; there are too many hogs wallowing around in the springs of Washington. Our biggest problem is in your own back-yard, Mr. President!

Let us take a "running-kick" at the Post Office boondoggle. Why is the Congress of the United States so reluctant to straighten out this mess of all messes! Are these people so reluctant to lose some of their precious authority? Excellent suggestions have been made to completely revamp the Post Office Department and operate same in a business-like manner, but it appears that the greed and avarice of Congress will prevail. What a pity—but the American people are fuming and in the long-run, God willing, it is the people who will triumph.

On October 2nd 1969 Carl Hayden of Arizona will be ninety-two (92) years of age! Mr. Hayden entered the Congress of the United States on 19 January 1912, the year Arizona became a State; he was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1926 and served in that capacity until 1968; he did not choose to run for re-election! This man served in the Congress of the United States for a total of fifty-six (56) years. If one will simply read "The Federalist Papers," he will note that our founding fathers did not intend for a person or persons to make a life's work of serving the people in our Nation's Capitol. They call it seniority, Mr. President, and both major parties are grossly at fault in maintaining that a man stay at his post regardless of his capabilities in the performance of his tasks. Can you imagine any of our great corporations who have done so much in making what this country is today, allowing a man to remain in a seat of power past the age of 70!! Absolutely not—the gold watch is presented, a pat on the back is given, and new blood that understands the *changing times* is brought into the ball game.

Senator Hayden is merely an example, for the Congress is loaded with individuals who are far past their prime. The average politician in Washington, where factions run high, is interested not for the whole people, but for his own section of it. The rest are in his own view, strangers, enemies or rather, let us say, pirates!! And as the Government has become a trade and is managed solely on commercial principles, these men plunge into politics to make their fortunes and only hope that the system shall last their days. Is it any wonder that the word politics, as understood by the American people, means nothing but corruptions?

Why are the directors of the most immense and extravagant business the World has ever known, i.e., the Federal Government, allowed to operate in such an unbusinesslike and archaic manner? Does it make any sense that 535 directors of the fate of 200 million people should be immune from the revealing of their business and financial interests? Congressional immunity — my foot!! Yet, every effort, and it may be noted that such efforts have been rare, to demand that the Congress pass judgment on itself, has met with an overwhelming veto. Referring to "conflict of interest", the late and outspoken Senator Robert Kerr of Oklahoma, remarked, "Hell, if everyone abstained on grounds of personal interest, I doubt if you could get a quorum in the U.S. Senate on any subject".

It is now high time for the stockholders in this most giant of corporations to demand a new and completely reoriented board-of-directors. The country can no longer tolerate these hunters of popularity, men of ambition, interested only in profit and forgetting honour, men of deception and wily cunning, who, while in office follow not what is right for a constitutional country, but what is expedient to being re-elected!

The average *thinking* American today does not give a tinker's "dam" for either the Democratic or the Republican parties. Theo-

dore Roosevelt put it so very well in 1912; he said, "The two (2) major parties are husks, with no real soul within either, divided on artificial lines, boss-ridden, and privilege-controlled, each a jumble of incongruous elements, and neither daring to speak out wisely and fearlessly what should be said on the vital issues of the day". Things have not changed since 1912—the situation has simply worsened!

The Point—One of Mr. Humphrey's senatorial supporters during the course of the last election stated that he saw no reason to be concerned over a third political party. Now just how naive can one get? It may be true that Governor Wallace is a controversial figure, but he cut a fairly "wide swath" because of the *universal unrest* in the land today! Many folks feel that if the two (2) major parties do not shape up—and fast—there must be a change. By what name a new entity is known is unimportant in the chaotic circumstances that face the United States today. Do we, as so many maintain, have a weak government in a disordered society?

Our system of government contains numerous imperfections. However, it is without comparison the best system that now exists or ever did exist. But—what next, Mr. President? When the power of the governed ceases to exist, when the trustees charged with adhering to the principles of our Constitution fail to perform their position of trust, when the Federal government infringes on the "constitutional rights of the States" and does not permit said States to control their own domestic institutions according to their own judgment, when the Federal government gets involved in private enterprise, a function for which it is notoriously inept, when the Federal government advocates a foreign policy which it not only does not understand, but is a complete reversal of the intent of our "founding fathers," and when you have an evasive political party in power which manages the government solely on commercial principles and surrenders its convictions strictly to party objectives—the inevitable result is a government by oligarchy which masquerades as a democracy; the central government becomes a police state; the nation becomes a mob!

#### CONGRESS MUST BE REFORMED

Back to the Congress—what in heaven's name can be done? In 1850 a senator whose name is lost to history, stated, "We are in a horrible state—No one will resign and they are not dying off fast enough!"

Mr. President, for a starter the answer is with us and quite simple. We should put a limitation on all office holders as we do the Presidency, thanks to the foresight of President Washington. No representative in the Congress should serve over six (6) terms, which is Twelve (12) years. No Senator should serve over two (2) terms, which is Twelve (12) years, and no governor should be allowed to serve over eight (8) years! By doing this, we would eliminate the politicians and have some of these men turn into statesmen. The difference—a politician lives for the next election—a statesman for the next generation! Too often an elected officer, the moment he goes into office, does everything in his power to see that he will be re-elected, and, although his position may be the popular position, so often the popular position is the *wrong* position. Let us all be reminded of the words of Artemus Ward, voiced in 1865, "Congress, you won't do. Go home, you mizzerable devils—go home."

"No taxation without representation" was the predominant slogan of the thirteen (13) original colonies, prior to gaining their independence. There is a parallel here! At this time the American people are heavily and sorely taxed, i.e., morally, mentally and above all where our strength lies, financially. But are we as a people being properly represented? A look at the record will show we are

not!! We must be shed of this albatross around our necks. In short—the Congress must be reformed—the survival of this country depends on it.

#### On Viet-Nam:

The Revolutionary War lasted for six (6) years and six (6) months to the day, and ended with the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown on the 19th of October 1781; this had been the longest war in our history; we lost approximately 4,500 men; however, upon the death of Specialist 4th Class James Thomas Davis of Livingston, Tennessee, on 22nd December 1961, the Viet-Nam war now has the dubious honour of being the longest conflict in the annals of our times; we should not be proud of this horrible, grossly immoral and undeclared debacle!

And here, Mr. President, the record should be set straight, for it is a thorn in our side and is cutting deeper, it is afflicting humanity; it is destroying religion; it is destroying families; it is dividing the Nation!—War is an act of violence which has only one (1) purpose; that is the total and complete destruction and/or containment of the enemy. Nothing more—nothing less! And any Nation blessed with the armament and finances who does not seek a hasty and final conclusion to this "scourge of humanity" must and will be recorded as immoral and rejecting mankind. War is not a popularity contest. Few nations ever fought an honourable war. But here lies the big rub.—Any novice student of armed conflict knows that he who preaches peace in the midst of war is wasting his time. Washington constantly hammers at the American people that we are striving for an "honourable peace". This is pure and unadulterated baloney! An honourable peace is only attainable by an efficient war and by all that is holy and moral, Viet-Nam is a far cry from an efficient war! In short, these "arm-chair generals", of which there are far too many in Washington, are seeking a compromise. Poppycock!—a compromise makes for a good umbrella but a damn poor roof. Regardless, at this writing, in whatever manner the Viet-Nam War is resolved, it is a war of infamy which will surely blot the pages of our history.

"Viet-Nam is not a military necessity—but a geopolitical gamble."

When the gauntlet is thrown down and one picks it up he must be prepared to go all out, but by the same token one must not forget the oldest axiom as regards mortal combat, namely, "A great country can have no such thing as a little war".

Starting with two-hundred and fifty (250) advisors in 1954, and now with over five-hundred thousand (500,000) troops in Viet-Nam, who are fighting a war they cannot possibly win under the *initial* program as set forth in Washington, is without parallel in the History of Mankind. This horrendous situation cannot possibly be won—but there was a time when it could have been contained and the door is possibly still open!

Why has the harbour of Hai Phong not been mined as the Navy many times in the past has officially requested? This act can be carried out in a swift and efficient manner without the loss of any planes which we can ill-afford to lose under the present circumstances. Why do we allow supplies to flow into the hands of the enemy and above all delivered by our friends and pseudo-friends?

Why have we not blown the billy-be-jesus out of the many dams checking north Viet-nam? Cut off his food and cut off his armament—this is the way to bring a foe to his knees—and then—and only then do you go to the peace table! This is the procedure that history reveals to us and yet the United States persists in violating the well-known and obvious "modus operandi." Is it any wonder that the American people are confused, dumbfounded and fast becoming downright volatile, as regards this intolerable mess?!!

On Russia, China, and the United States:

In Washington there are many so-called astute individuals who appear to be deathly afraid of the Chinaman. It is true that the populace of China is tremendous; however, future conflicts will not be decided by the "ground-pounder" or "gravel-agitator"—I speak of the Infantry. To fight the Chinese on a man-to-man basis would be suicide!! Nor is it agreed that the next conflict will be entirely nuclear in its aspect. Nuclear cannon, possibly, but not necessarily the big bomb. A point in case—Gas was introduced by the Germans at Ypres, Belgium in World War I with much destruction; the Hun did not take advantage of this action, but that is another story. Anyhow—other than isolated cases which were never proven, no gas was utilized in World War II. However, there was enough gas stockpiled to destroy the World. The next conflict would possibly follow a similar pattern, i.e., various nations having nuclear capabilities but reluctant to completely destroy each other.

Mr. President—W. Winwood Reade said it in 1872, "It is not probable that war will ever absolutely cease until science discovers some destroying force so simple in its administration, so horrible in its effects, that all art, all gallantry, will be at an end, and battles will be massacres which the feelings of mankind will be unable to endure."

But regardless—the Chinaman is certainly in no position at this time to take on the might of the United States. Five (5) to ten (10) years from now might be another story. But rest assured, if the situation was reversed at this time, i.e., the Chinese in our position, this country would be levelled! However, there is much in our favour if we will only play our cards correctly. It seems to be evident that Russia is quite concerned with the Chinaman. And justifiably so—the Chinese are in the Russians' back-yard. Russia's immediate and future concern will be with the Chinaman—not with the United States. An old Mexican friend, living in Zapata, Texas, who had no benefit of education, told me in 1948, "The day will come when the last white man will be shooting dice with the last yellow man for the last white woman on earth." Could he have meant that some day we and the Russians would be allies? I have often wondered.

On Foreign Relations: There is a homely adage which runs, "Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far. If the American Nation will speak softly and yet build and keep at a pitch of the highest training a thoroughly efficient Navy, the Monroe Doctrine will go far." Theodore Roosevelt, 2 September 1901.

"The refusal of the British and Russian people to accept what appeared to be inevitable defeat was the greatest factor in the salvage of our civilization", George Catlett Marshall, 1 September 1945.

Napoleon attempted to cross twenty-two (22) miles of Channel and defeat England; he was unsuccessful and turned to Russia. Hitler attempted the same feat; he was unsuccessful and turned to Russia. Napoleon was not defeated at Waterloo; Hitler was not defeated in Germany. On the contrary, the backbone of the armies of both Napoleon and Hitler were severed and broken on the steppes of Russia. As Napoleon so aptly put it, "Waterloo is cast in my teeth; I ought to have died in Moscow." St. Helena, 23 April 1816.

The history of the Russian people over the last sixty-five (65) years is quite informative and revealing.

"As soon as classes have been abolished, and the dictatorship of the proletariat has been done away with, the Communist party will have fulfilled its mission, and can be allowed to disappear." Joseph Stalin, April, 1924.

Nicholas II, Czar of all the Russians, lived in a dream world of pomp, ceremony and the Divine Right of Kings. The people under this unfortunate monarch were secondary; the

inevitable overthrow was just a matter of time and circumstance. "Any people, anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government and form a new one that suits them better." Abraham Lincoln, 1848.

In 1904 the Japanese commenced the Russo-Japanese War with a *sneak attack* on the Russian Fleet. Outgunned and with inferior leadership the Russians were soundly defeated both on the sea and the land; the Russian Fleet was completely destroyed and after a short duration Russia came to terms with the nefarious Japs. The United States should have done its homework on this action—but did not; Pearl Harbor might have been avoided.

At the beginning of World War I, the Russian was ill-prepared, ill-equipped and without leadership. In 1914 the mighty German Army engaged the hapless Russian Army at Tannenberg, a small village in Poland. The German carried the field and completely destroyed the Russian forces. The destruction of lives and property was complete and for the Russian, World War I was over!

World War II cost the Russian people over twenty million (20,000,000) souls! The Russian knows all too well the abject horrors of war. He has been massacred, his women raped, his old and young people brutally murdered, his cities levelled, his crops and livestock destroyed. Yes—we can say of the Russian—he knows war—he has been there! War is sweet to those who don't know it.

The Russian values life; the Asian does not. The Russian is educated; the Asian is not. The Russian knows all too well that the only way to prevent a global war is to be constantly and always prepared for war. One wolf will not fight another wolf.

Therefore, considering the past History of Russia, none of us should be surprised when the Russian proclaims and loudly, "Don't tread on me!"

Conversely—let us regard the United States and its attitudes of the past.

"Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens, the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government." George Washington, 8 July 1796.

"The less we have to do with the amities or enmities of Europe or Asia, the better." Thomas Jefferson, 1815.

Consider the above quotes well.—The United States has a record of taking a "laissez-faire" attitude as concerns the political intrigues and squabbles of European nations. However, circumstances, possibly beyond our control, have seen us globally involved on and off for the past fifty (50) odd years. And—when confronted with total war we have consistently never been in combat readiness. If our allies had not given us the time to get militarily ready, we would have been over-run, or at least contained economically and politically. Let us hope that we are fully prepared now—and always remain so; we cannot let our military guard down at any time, as the next world aggressor will concentrate on and attempt to inundate the United States at the outset. Everlasting peace is a dream, and not even a beautiful one.

With the exception of the Civil War which is forgotten by the layman, the United States has never experienced death, destruction and complete and final holocaust such as Europe and Asia have witnessed in the last century. In a way, this is a sad situation, for if one has not been down the glory road—he knows not what it is all about! War is the usual condition of Europe and Asia. A twenty (20) years' supply of causes of war is always on hand!

On the Monroe Doctrine: "We consider the interests of Cuba, Mexico and ours as the same, and that the object of both must be

to exclude all European and Asian influence from this hemisphere." Thomas Jefferson, 1808. Why the "Bay of Pigs", Mr. President? The intent of the Monroe Doctrine was for the U.S. to stay on this side of the pond—Europe and Asia are to stay on their side of the pond. Why did we not intervene in Cuba? And yet—we leave our shores to fight a war that makes no sense—and we travel 10,000 miles to do it! We should forget this hawk and dove debate and rely on the one entity that has never failed us—the American Eagle!

Our forefathers settled America for the express purpose of quitting Europe and making for themselves a better way of life. Why then do we persist in leaving our shores with masses of men, machines and propaganda, and attempt to interweave our destiny with that of any part of Europe or Asia? Why do we entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European and Asian ambition, rivalry, interest, humor or caprice? Their political interests are entirely distinct from ours; their mutual jealousies, their balance of power, their complicated alliances, their forms and principles of government are all foreign to us.

Isolation has become a dirty word and grossly misunderstood, i.e., the definition as President Washington intended it to be. We should promote and carry out trade with foreign lands; we should exchange cultural entities; we should encourage travel among the peoples of the world; we should aspire to cohesive diplomatic relations—but we should not send masses of men, machines and propaganda to foreign shores for purposes of becoming involved in their never-ending political intrigues and squabbles.

On Internal Conflicts: "Either some Caesar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand or your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the Twentieth Century as the Roman Empire was in the Fifth; with this difference, that the Huns and Vandals who ravaged the Roman Empire came from without and that your Huns and Vandals will have engendered within your own country by your own institutions." T. B. Macaulay, 1857. History reveals to us that governments which have fallen, have done so, not from external pressures but from internal unrest, complacency and chicanery.

This country is on the verge of a social, economic and political revolution the likes of which the world has never witnessed before! All should pray that this revolution is bloodless, but let us get our heads out of the sand and not count on it. When a man takes the road to destruction—the gods help him along.

Maybe we should all take note—We have had periods of external strife; we have had periods of internal strife—but never, in our history, have we faced both internal and external strife—concurrently. A dictatorship or autocracy thrives on such a situation. But—could it not be fatal to a democracy? We should all think about it.

It would appear, Mr. President, that it is high time we clean up our own back yard socially, morally, physically, economically, financially and intellectually.

Why is it that we are so critical of the political interests, forms and principles of government of foreign nations when our own system is in such dire trouble? And no government can remain stable in an unstable society and an unstable world. We can go further—the deterioration of every government begins with the decay of the principles on which it was founded.

This is about all for now and the surface has only been scratched. This paper will be printed and distributed to our Committee of One Thousand (1,000); this is a non-dues-paying organization of dedicated Americans who are concerned not for party or politicians but for God and Country.

Political Washington appears to believe

that the American people came down with yesterday's rain. The natives are restless and if one listens closely he will detect the beginning of a rumble. This rumble has just started and long before the next national election it will hit a crescendo. Something has got to give; political parties and *timid politicians* with this, "you scratch my back and I will scratch yours", attitude had better shape up or ship out!

In closing:  
"If you establish a democracy, you must in due time reap the fruits of a democracy. You will in due season have great impatience of the public burdens combined in due season with great increase of the public expenditure. You will in due season have wars entered into from passion and not from reason; and you will in due season submit to peace ignominiously sought and ignominiously obtained, which will diminish your authority and perhaps endanger your independence. You will in due season find your property is less valuable, and your freedom less complete." Benjamin Disraeli: Speech in the House of Commons, 31 March 1850.

To the above quotation I can only add, Amen!

The writer has been a student and an observer of history, geopolitics and political science for the past thirty (30) years. No doubt there will be definite disagreement as concerns portions of this epistle. But obviously, if two (2) folks always agree, one of them is unimportant. So, in closing, if any small segment of this paper makes sense, then my efforts have not been in vain.

May God bless and keep you and yours, Mr. President, and may your tenure in the office of the "splendid misery" bear the necessary fruit that the American people so desperately need at this most crucial of hours.

Vaya con Dios, and with best wishes, I am,  
EDWARD C. SMITH.

#### ADMINISTRATION'S MARINE SCIENCE ACTIONS—FIVE AREAS OF EMPHASIS

### HON. HOWARD W. POLLOCK

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. POLLOCK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this occasion to welcome the recent announcement by the Vice President, as Chairman of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, of the administration's determination to accelerate the Nation's marine science program.

We now have new ocean technology to unlock the resources of the seas. The oceans cover 71 percent of the globe and are assuming a much greater role for strengthening our economy and promoting the welfare of our people. Each of the areas of the announced program has a special significance in this connection:

Coastal zone management can strengthen the States' role in managing and in promoting development of our coastal areas;

The establishment of coastal laboratories will spur environmental research for effective management of coastal activities;

A pilot study of lake and estuary pollution will help us restore our Great Lakes and other estuarine regions;

Environmental research in the Arctic will enable us to prevent man's degrada-

tion of this newly opening northern environment; and

A firm U.S. program for the International Decade of Ocean Exploration will give the needed thrust to this important program for scientific cooperation and our use of the oceans.

I, for one, have great hope for the ocean's potential benefit to society, and I am encouraged by these recent initiatives toward realizing this important potential.

#### ILO AWARDED 1969 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

### HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I call the attention of my colleagues to the unique honor that has come to the International Labor Organization with the announcement yesterday of the ILO being awarded the 1969 Nobel Peace Prize. The ILO is celebrating its 50th anniversary this year. Its director-general is David A. Morse, a native of my State, who has done such an outstanding job over the past 20 years.

I am joined in this statement of congratulations by my colleagues from the House Education and Labor Committee who were privileged to serve as official observers at the ILO meetings in Geneva—the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. O'HARA), the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. AYRES), and the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. ASHBROOK).

Mr. Speaker, as our delegation has reported to the House on previous occasions, the ILO has been working diligently to raise the minimum standards of employment and the standard of living of workers and their families throughout the world. It has also worked with the United Nations on projects to assist the developing nations. The vital importance of the link between better labor conditions and world peace has long been recognized by the nations which make up the membership of the ILO. One of the most inspiring experiences of the members of our U.S. delegation to ILO meetings in Geneva is the opportunity to learn, firsthand at the various committee sessions, of the magnitude of the labor problems which confront nations around the globe. It is gratifying to see how these countries of widely varying economic, political, and social backgrounds, represented by delegates from industry and business, of workers, and of governments can and do work together to seek solutions to international problems that affect us all.

The ILO richly deserves the coveted Nobel Peace Prize for its 50 years of unheralded service to mankind and the cause of peace. ILO's distinguished director, David A. Morse and his dedicated staff deserve special praise for the effective work that has been accomplished to improve the working standards and conditions of many hundreds of millions of workers throughout the world.

We congratulate them for the signal

honor that is symbolized by the Nobel gold medal, diploma and cash prize and wish the ILO many more years of successful work and progress to help build world peace on the solid foundation of decent and productive labor opportunities that will contribute to the dignity of working people everywhere.

Mr. Speaker, I include at this point the articles from the October 21, 1969, issue of the New York Times which describe the Nobel award and the work of the ILO:

NOBEL FOR PEACE GOES TO THE ILO—ITS 50 YEARS OF INTERNATIONAL SERVICE ARE CITED BY HEAD OF COMMITTEE IN NORWAY

OSLO, NORWAY.—The International Labor Organization was awarded the 1969 Nobel Peace Prize today.

Mrs. Aase Lionaüs, a Labor member of Parliament and chairman of the five-member Nobel Peace Prize Committee, said tonight: "It is the international activity of ILO through 50 years that in my opinion makes it a worthy Peace prize winner."

"Until World War II," Mrs. Lionaüs said, "ILO concentrated its activities on reducing social barriers between peoples in an effort to make nations work together in peace. After World War II ILO had a wider perspective and has become a global institution in the work of peace."

"The organization is now deeply engaged in the enormous problem of solving unemployment in the poor world combined with the birth explosion. This is a gigantic challenge to ILO and a task that calls for a concentrated effort of all its talents and powers."

#### LINKED TO LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The prize money this year amounts to about \$75,000 plus a gold medal and a diploma. These will be presented to an I.L.O. representative at a ceremony at Oslo University December 10 on the anniversary of the day that Alfred Nobel, the Swedish inventor of dynamite, died in 1896. The awards were set up by his bequest.

The I.L.O., with headquarters in Geneva, and the International Court of Justice in The Hague are the only organizations established after World War I with links to the League of Nations that are still in existence. The organization had an independent status, which enabled states that were not in the League to become members. Germany and Austria, for instance, were members from the beginning.

In 1946 the organization established a link with the United Nations, becoming its first specialized agency. The director general since 1948 has been David A. Morse, an American. The members include government representatives and labor and employer organizations.

The Peace Prize Committee, which is appointed by the Norwegian Parliament, met for 40 minutes. Mrs. Lionaüs said that 35 individuals and 10 organizations had been nominated for the award.

#### DUBCEK WAS PROPOSED

Among these were Alexander Dubcek, the deposed leader of the Czechoslovak Communist party, whose name had been put forward by the Rev. Dominique Pire, winner of the Peace prize in 1958, who died in January.

The I.L.O. was sponsored by Scandinavian parliamentary leaders from all parties. In Norway, the recommendation was signed by Einar Gerhardsen, former Labor Premier; Halvard Lange, former Labor Force Minister; Trygve Bratteli, leader of the Labor Opposition in Parliament, and by Liberal, Conservative and other party leaders.

Under the Nobel will, the peace prize is to go to those who have worked most for brotherhood among nations, the abolition of standing armies and the furtherance of the

peace congress. The first award was made in 1901, five years after Nobel's death.

The interest from a fund set up under the will is divided into equal parts for prizes in physics, chemistry, literature, medicine, peace, and, since last December, economic sciences. All but the peace award are made in Stockholm.

Organizations that have won the Peace prize are the Red Cross, 1944; the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 1954, and the United Nations Children's Fund, 1965.

The I.L.O. has extended its activities to cover technical assistance to developing countries only in recent years. The organization was founded under the Treaty of Versailles with the purpose of bettering labor conditions as a means to securing world peace.

#### MORSE, AT U.N., HAILS AWARD

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—The award of the Nobel Peace prize to the International Labor Organization was called a tribute to the World's common man today by the agency's chief.

David A. Morse, who was Under Secretary of Labor in the Truman Administration before he became director general of the organization in 1948, is here for consultations with other leaders of United Nations agencies.

Mr. Morse said that the organization, which is celebrating its 50th anniversary this year, was looking ahead to the challenge of helping to find productive labor opportunities for the people of poorer countries.

"There is a labor force of one billion in the developing world," he said. "In this world are 300 million people who are unemployed or underemployed. This is a sleeping giant and our problem is to cope with this giant, which is beginning to rise up."

Mr. Morse said that the labor organization saw its role in the coming decade as one of helping governments to find productive employment for the increased number of jobless. He said this was the main aim of the World Employment Program initiated by the organization this year.

Under the program, the I.L.O. will assist governments by encouraging them to focus on employment as they formulate their economic development plans. The agency is prepared to offer help in making manpower surveys, in setting up training programs and in developing placement services.

Some of the more affluent countries with labor problems will get assistance as well as the developing countries, it was emphasized.

#### I.L.O. ACTIVITIES KEYED TO PEACE SINCE WORLD WAR I

GENEVA.—The appearance of Pope Paul VI before the 50th anniversary conference in the International Labor Organization last June underscored the organization's dedication to the promotion of social justice as a way of furthering the cause of world peace.

The goal was written into the I.L.O.'s constitution, an integral part of the 1919 Treaty of Versailles, which ended World War I.

It is a goal that the organization has pursued by bringing trade unions and employer organizations together with the spokesmen or the representatives of the governments of its member countries, which now number 121.

Each of the three pillars of what the I.L.O. likes to call its "tripartite system"—unions, employers and government—has a separate identity on niches at the organization's conferences and committee meetings, and each has a right to vote.

The United States joined the organization in 1934 its employer delegates at first were named by the National Association of Manufacturers. In recent years, however, United

States employers have been nominated by the United States Chamber of Commerce.

Until many new nations came into being after World War I, the organization concentrated its effort on the conclusion of international conventions that set minimum standards of employment and living conditions for workers and their families.

But in recent years it has given increasing attention to the problems of developing lands. This is a matter of major concern to David A. Morse, a 62-year-old New Yorker who has been the director general since 1948.

#### U.N. AIDS IN FINANCING

Of the organization's budget of \$27.5-million this year, only \$2.4-million was allotted directly for technical aid. But the I.L.O. is also carrying out aid projects this year financed with nearly \$22-million provided by the United Nations Development Program.

All member governments contribute to the budget according to an agreed scale. The United States pays 25 per cent of the total. The I.L.O. staff consists of more than 2,000 persons of 100 nationalities employed there and in many other parts of the world.

The American Federation of Labor and later the merged A.F.L.-C.I.O. have supported the I.L.O., but there have been times of strain in the relations between the organization and the A.F.L.-C.I.O. president George Meany. Mr. Meany has charged that the organization's secretariat tended to be too accommodating to the Communist countries.

In 1966 Rudolph Faupl, the A.F.L.-C.I.O.-nominated United States worker delegate to the organization's conference, walked out with his delegation when a Communist representative, the Government delegate of Poland, was elected president of the annual assembly of member states.

While the United States worker delegation did not return that session, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. has nevertheless continued to participate in the activities of the I.L.O. Mr. Faupl is still a member of the organization's 48-member governing body, or executive council.

At the annual general assembly, member states are represented by two government delegates, one trade unionist and one employer representative, each with the right to vote.

#### EACH ELECTS 12 REPRESENTATIVES

The employer and worker delegates, meeting in separate caucuses, each elects 12 representatives to sit on the governing body. The 24 other members of this executive group represent governments.

Much of the I.L.O.'s work for improving working and social conditions is done in its industrial committees, where government, employer and trade union representatives meet to discuss the problems of specific industries and suggest solutions in which the need of the workers is given particular attention.

In a tabulation prepared for its assembly last June, the I.L.O. listed a total of 128 conventions as having been completed and submitted to governments for their ratification. The United States, however, has approved only seven of these. All but one of the seven deal with working conditions for mariners.

The United States' problem with I.L.O. conventions is constitutional. United States minimum wages, hours of work, vacations with pay and other such standards are almost always higher than those that the organization establishes, but they do not usually come within the province of the Federal Government.

More often they are set by collective bargaining or by state law. This means that Washington cannot legally make most of the conventions the law of the land.

#### TO OUR PRESIDENT

### HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

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

[From the Joliet Herald-News, Oct. 14, 1969]

TO OUR PRESIDENT

(By Dumitru Danielopol)

WASHINGTON, D.C.

President RICHARD M. NIXON,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Don't feel lonesome on Wednesday—Vietnam Moratorium day—when anti-war demonstrators attack you and try to force you to do something you know is wrong.

There are hundreds of millions of people here in the United States and around the world who know that you are right. They know that freedom is indivisible, that it cannot accommodate tyranny in one corner of the world and survive in another.

People like myself whose birthplaces are now behind the Iron Curtain are wholeheartedly with you. We have learned about communism at first hand. Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Albanians, Romanians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Yugoslavs, Urkians, Cubans, Chinese, Jews, Christians, Mohammedans—no matter what color, race or creed—we have suffered indiscriminately at the hands of the Communists. We know their ruthlessness and their perfidy.

The tens of millions who have taken refuge from communism in free lands stand by you.

We don't want to see what happened to us happen to the people of Vietnam, if it can be prevented.

And you know, and we know, that it can be prevented.

The great majority of native-born Americans back you, too, Mr. President, especially those sent overseas to fight the Nazis and the Fascists because governments in democratic countries in Europe in the 1930s failed to understand totalitarianism and failed to do what America is doing right now—stopping aggression while there is still time.

Every major national veterans organization in this country is on record in support of U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

No one wants to prevent free discussion, free opinion and even dissent—but on the condition that our rights are respected, too.

It seems incredible that so many people in high places advocate appeasement and the abandonment of a country fighting for its inalienable right to self determination.

Never in history have the aims of the Communists coincided with those of free people. Never have they voiced any policies that did not try to destroy freedom somewhere in the world. Yet today they seem to have so many articulate allies.

We know, Mr. President, that should the Americans abandon Vietnam—as the dissenters insist—America will cease to be the greatest country in the world.

There are times in the history of great countries and of great men when they have to stand up—even if alone—for what is right.

I witnessed some of those moments in the House of Commons when Winston Churchill tore his government and his party to shreds for the shameful Munich agreement of 1938. He was powerless, but he knew he was right.

From London, I heard Col. Charles de Gaulle, an unknown, call on his fellow

Frenchmen who had been shamefully defeated, to rally against overwhelming odds in the summer of 1940. He, too, was powerless, but he knew he was right.

Mr. President, you are in a much more favorable position than those leaders. You have the power, you have the time, for you are our President and our Commander in Chief, and you have an arsenal that can bring an honorable conclusion in Vietnam.

And, Mr. President, you have us on your side. We don't march or demonstrate, but that doesn't mean we aren't ready to help you.

Sincerely,

DUMITRU DANIELOPOL.

ANGELA BUTTERFIELD—INDIAN LEADER

HON. ORVAL HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, one of Idaho's best known and most respected women is attracting national attention for her leadership among American Indians. Angela Butterfield is vice chairman of the Shoshone-Bannock tribal council in Idaho. She is an attractive, energetic, and articulate spokesman for Indian interests.

To better acquaint my colleagues with the activities of this remarkable woman, I include as a part of my remarks an article from the Portland Oregonian reprinted in the Power County, Idaho, Press:

INDIAN WOMAN BEATS POLITICAL DRUMS

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following article appeared in the Sept. 6 issue of the Portland, Oregonian. Mrs. Butterfield served three years as executive director of the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians. Tandy Wilbur was elected to that position at the meeting referred to in the article.)

(By Yvonne Rothert)

What does the governor of a Girls' State grow up to be?

Angela Paniogue, a Shoshone Indian from the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho, was a delegate to Idaho Girls' State and elected its governor while attending high school in American Falls.

She is now Mrs. John Butterfield, executive director of the Affiliated Tribes of Northwest Indians, holding its annual meeting in Portland this week.

Through all her activities as a wife, mother, bridge player and square dance enthusiast, the thread of politics is woven, American Indian politics.

"It's like a disease—it's in your blood. You never know what is going to happen next," she said.

"It's so exciting that I'd almost put it ahead of playing bridge." She laughs when she says that, because she knows how much of her busy life is spent working for legislation to benefit her people, "to get results that are beneficial to all and not detrimental to any."

Mrs. Butterfield is vice-chairman of the Shoshone-Bannock tribal council, elected to that position with "overwhelming victories, even though I have three strikes against me.

"I am a woman; I am married to a non-Indian; I don't speak the language."

Mrs. Butterfield has turned these drawbacks into political assets. The fact that her husband is a non-Indian helps her, she feels, to see both sides of questions, to understand

the non-Indians even though her feelings are with the Indians.

COMMON LANGUAGE USED

The language lack is no problem because in dealing with other tribes, as she must in her position and as a delegate to the National Congress of American Indians, she uses English, the common language of all tribes.

The Butterfields live on a cattle ranch within the Fort Hall Reservation. It has been owned by her family for three generations.

Mrs. Butterfield follows in the footsteps of her parents in her involvement with tribal and community affairs. Her mother was for five years the chief judge of the tribal court, and her father was the only Indian member of the American Falls school board, which elected him chairman.

There are four children in the Butterfield family: Mike, a senior in high school; Rebecca, 10; Teresa, 5 and Linda, 3. Another son, between Mike and Rebecca, was killed when the horse he was riding was struck by a car.

All members of the family enjoy riding—"It's a good thing they do, because they have to!"

Square dancing has been a favorite pastime of the senior Butterfields. "It's really fun—that music! When they play 'When the Saints Come Marching In' I can't sit still, even if I'm playing bridge."

Women are becoming more active in Indian affairs, Mrs. Butterfield says, though "they still do the things women should do, raise their families, do beadwork, tan hides." More and more, however, they are serving on tribal committees, because, "like all women, they are competent."

She tells a story of her mother, who, when she was serving as tribal judge, was told by a non-Indian "You think like a white man." "I think like an Indian woman!" was Mrs. Paniogue's indignant reply.

A "really enjoyable thing" for Mrs. Butterfield is the opportunity to do lobbying in Washington, D.C. Asked when she does this, she replied, "Every chance I get!"

At the moment her chief concern is her tribe's opposition to the erection of a dam at American Falls which would inundate the bottomlands of the Fort Hall Reservation.

She was also eager for the appointment of a qualified Indian to the Indian Claims Commission—"Nixon promised and has done this."

She has had some opposition from non-Indians. One in Washington was heard to say, "Things were just fine till that old squaw started shooting off her mouth." She is able to laugh about this sort of unpleasantness.

NATIONAL BUSINESS WOMEN'S WEEK

HON. BEN REIFEL

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. REIFEL. Mr. Speaker, October 19 through 25 is National Business Women's Week. During this time it is fitting to salute the achievements of all business and professional women in America.

Women are increasingly becoming more involved in setting the direction of the country. Through continued persistence they are achieving their goal to become an integral part of the business and professional world.

The working women, who were once a small minority in this country, organized

and promoted the value of their resources to America. They were not satisfied with mediocre employment or token job opportunities. They sought and achieved performance, not merely pledges or platforms.

The efforts of the business and professional women are not limited to pecuniary gain. They seek involvement in the community, assist with charitable activities, and debate social issues.

Every woman is a professional. Some bear the burden of the office. Some accept the responsibilities of being wife and mother. Some do both.

To salute professional women is not to applaud the female commuter only. It is a salute to all women who do their job and do it well.

AMERICAN CAN CO. OFFERS NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR BLACK AMERICANS

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, a striking example of the way black Americans may benefit in our private enterprise system is presented in Bellamy, Ala. This community, which was purchased in 1960 by American Can Co., has experienced many improvements in physical appearance. I have been particularly impressed by the many human advantages which have been gained by its citizens through the cooperation and initiative of American Can Co.

In a recent article, which appeared in the October 1969 issue of News for Farmer Cooperatives, published by the Farmer Cooperative Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, a part of the success story is dramatically and graphically described. In addition to recounting the benefits to citizens in the form of improved homes, jobs, and community advantages, the author describes the establishment of a new modern retail store promoted and financed principally by American Can Co.

Too often, American industry is the object of unjust criticism. Even in the area of Bellamy, it has been popular for some both in private and public positions to ascribe conditions of want and discrimination to actions by American Can Co.

Mr. Speaker, in my opinion, the American Can Co., as a benefactor of black Americans, is cast in its true light in this article. Operating in a community where 80 percent of the population is black, American Can Co. has spurred economic and social progress—and has been a vital force in promoting human equality. The leadership which has been demonstrated by William F. May, chairman of American Can Co., in promoting equal rights and job opportunities for all Americans, is translated into effective action in American Can Co.'s activities in Bellamy, Ala.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the following

article to the attention of my colleagues and to the citizens of the Nation:

A COMPANY TOWN GOES CO-OP

(By Bert W. Kenyon, Farmer Cooperative Service)

From company town to cooperative complex is the transition now going on in Bellamy, Alabama—an unincorporated village on the Western edge of the Alabama black belt populated largely by blacks—hard by the Mississippi border.

And the transition is being accomplished by a triple play in cooperation!

—The people themselves who have set up a cooperative to provide housing and other supplies.

—The American Can Company, former owner of the town, for its help to the village people in taking over their own business affairs.

—The Farmer Cooperative Service, USDA, for guidance on setting up and operating the cooperative complex.

Today the people have their own cooperative general store, air conditioned and modern, and a service station, and they are organizing a credit union.

Not all is easy during this transition period, of course, nor have all the problems of assuming greater responsibilities been solved by the people.

But some long strides have been taken—a brief recap of the town's history will show.

HOW IT WAS

Located in Sumter County, Bellamy dates back to the 19th century. It was then the headquarters town of a family-owned and operated sawmill and lumber enterprise, the Allison Lumber Company.

Before the days of telephones and other modern communications media, automobiles and other transportation developments, the town had to be self-sustaining. Workers were well cared for but on a paternalistic family-like basis.

In keeping with tradition, the lumber company laid out streets, erected homes, built a hotel, a hospital, and a moving picture house.

It rented homes to families of individual workers for nominal sums. It saw that medical care was available—frequently on credit or no fee. A store operated by the lumber company provided groceries and other family supplies, including clothing, hardware, and durable and semi-durable items.

As times changed, some homes were provided modern plumbing, all homes were furnished electricity, and lights were installed on the busy streets. Recent years saw the closing of the movie house and the hospital. However, the operating company continued to maintain an infirmary with a registered nurse on duty during all working hours.

In 1960, American Can Company purchased Bellamy—along with other selected Allison interests. American Can Company continued to operate the company store until 1963. In that year it leased the store, including the service station, to independent operators. The company continued to deduct from wages of sawmill and other employees for purchases at the store until early 1968. As could be expected, sales at the franchised store and service station then declined precipitously. About the same time, the company discontinued furnishing heating gas on credit to local residents.

HOW COOPERATIVE COMPLEX BEGAN

On July 10, 1968, representatives of the Bellamy citizens committee (12 persons elected by workers from each of the 12 operating departments of the sawmill) formally requested Farmer Cooperative Service (FCS) to explore the feasibility of converting the grocery, drygoods, and service station operation into a cooperative.

About the same time, officers of the American Can Company approached FCS with a

similar request. As the study progressed, the can company people were working to improve the lot of Bellamy people. They sold individual dwellings to worker-occupants for \$1 each.

In addition, the company provided each family a \$500 tax-free grant to upgrade the family housing. This involved payment by the company of nearly \$50,000 of Federal income taxes to cover taxes on the income of workers occupying the newly owned homes.

When FCS completed its study, it found that converting the various merchandising facilities into a cooperative showed promise. FCS worked with the Bellamy people to get this done and the cooperative officially started March 1, 1968, under the name Bellamy Enterprises, Incorporated.

The can company subscribed to \$25,000 of non-voting preferred stocks as a cornerstone for financing the cooperative. It also underwrote a substantial loan at a local commercial bank to carry on operations and provide air conditioned, modern, up-to-date facilities at an annual rental of \$1 a year. The cooperative owns the inventory and fixtures.

It obtained additional financing by selling membership shares for \$10 a share. Each shareholder has one vote regardless of how much stock he might own. Dividends will be paid on the basis of patronage rather than on a basis of investment. Sheerer Brothers, former owners of the franchise store, also provided some of the initial financing to help the cooperative start operations.

Their confidence in the people of Bellamy was such that not even a note was signed by the officers of the newly formed cooperative or any other persons. From its inception, all phases of the cooperative have shown a small margin each week. Sales have gradually increased.

The seven man board of directors of the cooperative did not attempt to operate a sophisticated business with projected volume of nearly half a million dollars by themselves. Instead, they wisely chose to hire competent professional management.

Pride of Bellamy citizens in their new cooperative and in their newly owned homes is evident on every side. Highly polished wooden floors are the rule rather than the exception, and Bellamy citizens are eating well, favoring high quality brand-named foods from their store.

PLANS AND PROBLEMS

The board of directors in cooperation with State and county officials is endeavoring to get additional paving around the cooperative complex facilities.

The cooperative members are also exploring the possibilities for forming a credit union. They see need for an organization where they can save on a regular basis and get loans.

Efforts are also being made to get additional industry into the Bellamy area.

Bellamy has an abundant supply of water. It is probable that some day a cooperative water and sewer system will be added.

The income in Bellamy is above average for many southern communities. With a stabilized population of approximately 1,000 people and 200 wage earners, the town is, with one or two exceptions, inhabited by employees of the sawmill.

Over 80 percent of the employers are black, with the town population in the same proportion. Most have lived in the Bellamy area most of their lives. Median income in 1968 exceeded \$4,000 a year, with workers earning an average hourly rate of \$1.85.

Most sawmill employees are men. It is anticipated, therefore, that efforts will be made to attract additional industry into Bellamy requiring the high degree of manual dexterity found in women. This would further increase the income in Bellamy.

Bellamy still has problems, of course. The main one was succinctly summed up by a

substantial black citizen, prominent in the affairs of the town and of the citizens' committee.

He said: "The major problem is not one of race. It is one of getting the citizens of Bellamy to realize that while they have gained substantial amounts of income and rights and privileges, they now have new responsibilities."

For generations, Bellamy citizens always found groceries, clothing, heat, housing, medical attention and, if necessary, cash (at no interest to the employee) available, regardless of how much work time the individual employee might be due from the company.

Now, the workers net more money per hour and more income per week. But it is no longer possible for them to go to the company store and get their groceries, clothing, television, refrigerator, automobiles, gasoline, and other items on credit. Neither can they go to the company hospital and get medical attention at low cost, or in many instances, at no cost at all.

It is believed that the new cooperative complex can substantially help members learn how to shoulder the responsibilities which must of necessity in present society go along with increased earnings and rights and privileges.

Thus, hopefully, the cooperative complex will not only meet an economic need for these people, but will provide a training ground for greater self-sufficiency.

ADMINISTRATION'S MARINE SCIENCE PROGRAM

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, I want to call attention to the Vice President's recent announcement that the administration has chosen five priority marine science projects for immediate emphasis. The announcement spells out the administration's efforts toward coastal zone management, establishment of coastal laboratories, Great Lakes restoration, Arctic environmental research, and the International Decade of Ocean Exploration.

This emphasis placed on the oceanic environment is to be applauded. Each day that passes brings us new reminders of the need to take immediate steps to preserve our natural environment as a heritage for coming generations. The oceans, which covers 71 percent of our globe, are by far the largest area of that environment. The global waters of the earth significantly influence and are correspondingly influenced by man's actions. While we have done great harm to our land, through wise and urgent action we can still preserve most of our oceanic environment.

The program's initiatives would assist the State governments in their ability to manage their coastal resources. They would broaden our scientific understanding of the coastal zone through establishment of marine laboratories. They provide for a pilot study to guide restoration of the Great Lakes. And they will expand our knowledge for preserving the oceanic environment as part of the International Decade of Ocean Exploration. These are all important and praiseworthy steps.

I applaud this breakthrough in our na-

tional marine science program to preserve our oceanic resources, and I look forward to additional measures in this direction in the future.

#### RAPE OF A RIVER

### HON. ROBERT T. STAFFORD

OF VERMONT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, when the House acted recently upon the public works appropriation bill for fiscal year 1970, I opposed the inclusion therein of \$500,000 for planning and design work in connection with construction of a flood control dam at Gaysville, Vt.

I offered an amendment to strike the money in question from the bill, but it was defeated on a division vote.

I have since been encouraged to note that a very perceptive editorial supporting the position taken by me has been printed in the North Adams Transcript of North Adams, Mass.

Since the Commonwealth of Massachusetts would be one of the principal beneficiaries of flood control construction in Vermont, I am particularly pleased to note that the North Adams, Mass., Transcript, in its editorial, comes out strongly in opposition to construction of the Gaysville Dam.

The editorial follows, appropriately titled "Rape of a River":

#### RAPE OF A RIVER

"They're killing me with kindness," sadly observed Congressman Robert Stafford of Vermont last week.

His remark was prompted by his failure to convince the House of Representatives that it should not give the Corps of Army Engineers \$500,000 for the planning of a mammoth flood control dam at Gaysville on the lovely White River in Vermont.

Rep. Stafford pleaded with his conferees in the House to withhold the funds which will transform the White River, beloved of trout fishermen and lovers of unspoiled Vermont beauty, into a vast reservoir by damming the stream at Gaysville.

He reported that residents of the towns which lie upstream from the proposed dam—Stockbridge, Pittsfield and Rochester—are overwhelmingly against the dam, despite the rosy picture of a speedboat and water ski-filled resort lake that the army engineers see as the principal by-product of their sentence of death on one of the most beautiful streams in New England.

Thousands of acres of Vermont farmland will disappear forever as the waters of the proposed manmade lake rise, hundreds of people who live on these farms will lose their homes.

But area protests against the heartless technicians who want to dam the river are supplemented by the agonized cries of the countless number of non-Vermonters who look on the White River valley as a heritage that should be preserved not only for Vermont residents but for all people who love Vermont as it is.

The economic folly of pouring \$27 million—the estimated final cost of the dam—into this sparsely settled area of Vermont is obvious. Nothing that the dam will save from occasional high water can equal the cost of the dam.

And in the process of stemming the rushing river, with its sparkling water and silvery rainbow trout, the government will be

drowning a natural asset that every year attracts many tourists and fishermen, all of whom spend money in the area.

True, the resulting lake will become a sort of attraction—a sizable lake upon which boating and allied water sports can be enjoyed.

But if the engineers are not stopped, a shameful violation of what nature intended the White River Valley to be will have been committed by men.

Books have been written about the beauty and the joys of the White River. Artists have painted unforgettable scenes of the river coursing through its lovely valley.

The people of Vermont do not want the kind of protection the single-minded army engineers offer.

It should not be forced on them by Congress.

Perhaps the Senate or the White House will undo the damage done by the House and kill this unwanted and unneeded project now, once and for all.

### JAMES ANDREW McDONALD, DETECTIVE

### HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the older we grow the more friends we bury. The older our friendships the sadder are our partings.

J. A. McDonald, chief investigator of the sheriff's office in Dougherty County, Ga., was a true friend of mine, but in addition, he was the kind of police officer who brought credit to the much-abused profession.

Mac and I worked closely together for many years and on hundreds of cases while he served as detective and I as district attorney. In this relationship you get to know one another mighty well. Perhaps you even get to know the other fellow better than you know yourself.

The long association with Mac intensified my respect for his character, his courage, his devotion to duty, his fairness and astuteness in dealing with violators, and his tirelessness in protecting the public.

It was a shock to me to read of his death, but a consolation to read the editorial in the Albany Herald that stated so well what those who knew him best would like to say. A news account of the funeral from the same newspaper reflects the community's reaction to Mac's untimely death.

The editorial and news item follow:

#### JAMES ANDREW McDONALD, DETECTIVE

Those of us who have spent a great deal of time on the police beats (and what reporter worth his salt has not?) are aware of the fact that there are a great many good and earnest men in policing. Just occasionally, from their ranks, will rise a man who is so extremely talented that he becomes the pride of his profession, a man of merit recognized throughout the community.

Such a man was James Andrew McDonald—policeman, detective, Dougherty County chief investigator, to cite the rungs on the ladder of his career.

It pains us, who so many times, in so many stories, have written of "Mac" in the present tense, to be compelled to employ the past tense. For "Mac" was an activist. Crime worried him. Not crime in general,

but crime in particular. And, most particularly, the cases that were assigned him, first at the Albany Police Department at old City Hall, and later as the chief investigator for his boss and old friend, Sheriff D. Lamar Stewart, who also (it all seems so long ago now) knows from experience the tedium of patrolling beats and endless interrogations.

In investigatory work, J. A. McDonald was a bulldog. He never quit. If no solution were impending, he probed, he prodded, he penetrated into every aspect of the matter at hand. He drove himself, not because his superiors were heartless but because he could not rest until he had met the challenge before him. Not once, in all the years that we knew him, did we ever hear "Mac" admit there was even the faintest possibility that a case could remain unsolved. His sole concession, and this only rarely, was that it might be "tough."

Because of his dedication, because of his excellence, Investigator J. A. McDonald had few of these. His average of successful prosecutions was fantastically high because he prepared his cases meticulously.

Detectives of his stamp are never really replaced. Let us hope, for the sake of the community, that his colleagues among the peace officers will pay him the ultimate final tribute of emulation.

#### FOR "MAC"—TOUGH COPS SHED TEARS AT FUNERAL

Lawmen are not the insensitive clods that they are depicted by their enemies.

Sunday, when they gathered to pay tribute to one of their own, Dougherty County Chief Investigator James Andrew McDonald, dead of a heart attack at the grievously young age of 51, tears flowed from the eyes of tough cops.

The chapel of Kimbrell-Stern Funeral Directors was jammed with mourners. So was all other available space. And the cortege to Floral Memory Gardens contained more than 200 automobiles.

That was what his friends and his colleagues thought of "Mac," generally recognized as a "tough cop" but an eminently fair one—and beyond that, a compassionate cop.

When the conductors of the funeral service, the Rev. J. Clyde Harvard, pastor of Avalon United Methodist Church, and the Rev. Louis E. Ghoison of Americus referred to Investigator McDonald as "a man's man who could be as iron-fisted as necessary, but yet a kind and compassionate man," the lawmen in the chapel nodded in recognition of a large truth.

And so, they laid Chief Investigator James Andrew McDonald to rest yesterday. And when they had done, the skies joined his family and friends to weep.

#### PRAISE FOR PRESIDENT NIXON

### HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I am today in receipt of a letter from an individual in my district whose sentiments I applaud. While I do not know whether or not he may object to the use of his name, I shall not take advantage of it, but I wish to insert in the RECORD his letter which is as follows:

Hon. E. Y. BERRY,  
Congressman,  
House Office,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Now that the United States has experienced the recent Moratorium, and since there seems to be more in the future, I wish to comment on this.

Our President deserves much praise in the statesmanship way he dealt with this situation, in standing steadfast while huge crowds gathered around his office building. I wish to say that I for one agree wholeheartedly with Mr. Nixon's conduct of each and every situation. Our great Nation is being subjected to the actions of many agitators, who are trying to influence the people for subversive reasons or for private gain.

All true Americans must show that they are behind our President in the successful termination of the current Vietnam situation. All Senators, Congressman and individuals alike, have a great responsibility to keep our Nation strong by complete unity.

Will you, Honorable Congressman, please see that Mr. Nixon receives a copy of this letter.

A MARINE SPEAKS OUT

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Robertson Page, formerly of New Hampshire, presently of Douglaston, N.Y., and a U.S. marine, has written eloquently of recent incidents on the domestic scene. In this day of mixed-up values I commend Mr. Page's message to the thoughtful reflection of all citizens.

The message follows:

A MARINE SPEAKS OUT

(By Robertson Page)

Hey you!

Yes, you with the beard and long hair and marijuana!

Sorry, I didn't know they called it "grass" these days.

You see, I just haven't been around much lately. Not since I was killed more than twenty-five years ago at a place called Wake Island.

You might say I'm on temporary leave from my grave. I've heard a lot of things about you and I wanted to see you for myself.

For example, I understand you accuse my generation of hypocrisy. Therefore, I assume you mean me.

Could be, Long Hair, I really don't know.

What I do know is that I was plenty scared when that Jap lunged at me with a fixed bayonet. Because that was end of everything for me.

I also admit to being a little scared when I enlisted in the Marine Corps in wartime. But I did enlist—because I loved my country.

Now I learn that you don't care much for my country! I hear you have a demeaning word for it—something about "the Establishment". And that some of our newspapers support you in your infamy.

Fifteen thousand tides have washed over my sandy grave at Wake, and twenty five years is a long time. But I never expected this. Not in America!

I further understand that you burned your draft card and ran for the sanctuary of a church. That others fled to Toronto to escape the draft.

All in the name of Idealism!

It also has come to my attention that some of your bearded friends burned the American Flag in Central Park. That must have been a real blow at hypocrisy!

Perhaps I'm too severe on you. It just so happens that my grave is quite shallow and I hear many things.

For one, I understand you have led violent demonstrations for the right to use four-

letter words. That's a joke, pal! We Marines invented them! But, I'll tell you one thing Beardo. We never regarded them as a constitutional right.

And I hear you demanded a voice in running the universities. Gosh! I guess you must be plenty smart to know more than the professional educators!

I also hear that in the summer of 1969 more than 400,000 of you went to a "rock festival" in the Catskills living off narcotics and group sex and having a real ball, while your peers were getting killed fighting Communists in Vietnam.

You know, it used to be that people back home rolled bandages for the men up front.

What were you Idealists doing in the Catskills?

You want to know something, Long Hair? I don't think I like you very much. But forget that. I knew so many dedicated, wonderful guys who died for their country at Wake—and at Anzio and Iwo Jima and Omaha Beach and Bastogne—that I can't get very upset over a draft card burner like you.

But I'll tell you one thing that I find repulsive.

In all of the disruptive protests you have fomented on the campus, you have consistently tried to destroy those institutions that have made the United States strong against its enemies—R.O.T.C., military recruitment and research to strengthen our national security.

It makes me wonder about you, Long Hair. Are you an unwitting pawn of the enemy? or just a plain *Stinker*?

That's for someone else to decide. Right now, my moment is up and I must get back to Wake Island . . . this time forever.

In parting, I like to think that my death was not a waste . . . that in supporting my country on this narrow strip of sand I defended something worthwhile for a new and better generation of Americans.

But now that I've seen you, I begin to wonder. Perhaps I should have fled to Toronto!

On second thought, I'm glad death came when it did.

You see, Long Hair, when I left this world I held a special belief, something you idealists would call square. It consisted of a deep-seated reverence for my God, for my heritage, for my parents . . . and for my country.

No one can take this from me. Not even in death. I pity the fact you choose not to share this belief, to express this simple faith in America.

*Oh, how I pity this fact.*

FOREIGN AID PROGRAM

Hon. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, when a constituent urges me to support a cut in foreign aid appropriations, I try to find out why. I ask him whether he knows that the trend in foreign aid costs has been sharply downward in recent years. He usually does not. I ask him what his estimate is of the foreign aid share of the Federal budget. His estimate, more often than not, is many times what it actually is.

It surprises most people to learn that the AID appropriation represents about nine-tenths of 1 percent of the Federal budget—as against 11 percent of the Federal budget during the Marshall plan aid

in 1949. They are no less surprised to know that the aid program proposed for 1970 will come to one-fifth of 1 percent of the gross national product, whereas 20 years ago it was 2.78 percent.

The President's request for the fiscal year 1970 foreign aid program reflects his concern for economy in Government operations. The total \$2.7 billion he seeks is the lowest ever requested under the Foreign Assistance Act or any of its antecedent legislation. The \$2.21 billion intended for economic assistance programs of AID is less by some \$138 million than the appropriation requested by President Johnson.

This is a modest budget for an effort that the President feels is "vitaly needed to maintain our relationship with the developing countries." We may not feel able to afford more. We cannot afford to provide less.

POINT REYES NATIONAL SEASHORE

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to bring to the attention of my colleagues a series of resolutions I recently received from several different cities and civic associations in California urging the completion of Point Reyes National Seashore.

These resolutions are indicative of the broad-based support for this project. They represent just one more bit of evidence that the administration and the Congress should act and should act now on this project. The resolutions follow:

RESOLUTION BY ALAMEDA COUNTY, CALIF., TO URGE COMPLETION OF ACQUISITION OF POINT REYES NATIONAL SEASHORE

Whereas, the Point Reyes National Seashore is the only such facility on the West Coast of the United States; and

Whereas, although the Point Reyes National Seashore was authorized by the Congress of the United States in 1962, only 22,540 acres out of a total 53,480 acres have been acquired for park purposes to date; and

Whereas, the present park ownership within the boundary is hopelessly disjointed and inoperable as a park unit; and

Whereas, the remaining private lands within the Park's authorized boundary are unduly burdened by uncertain Federal intentions of future acquisition and by rising prices, and also have been subject to constant trespassing by park visitors; and

Whereas, existing large privately owned parcels including some of the most valuable potential park land are in imminent danger of being divided into smaller ownership and developed; and

Whereas, the people of the United States have been promised the use of this great national resource, and its preservation is vital to present and future generations of Americans; and

Whereas, the present and potential recreational value of the Point Reyes National Seashore may be best measured by the more than 600,000 visitors which visit the Seashore each year;

Now, therefore, be it resolved that this Board of Supervisors of the County of Alameda, California, urges the President of the United States and the current administration to do everything within their power to

complete this acquisition project at the earliest possible opportunity; and

Be it further resolved that the Clerk of this Board is hereby directed to send certified copies of the within Resolution to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States; the Honorable Ronald Reagan, Governor of California; the Honorable Walter J. Hickel, Secretary of the Interior; Mr. George B. Hartzog, Director of the National Park Service; Mr. Robert P. Mayo, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, and the California Congressional delegation.

Attest:

JACK K. POOL,  
Clerk of the Board of Supervisors.  
CAROL S. DALTON.

SAN RAFAEL, CALIF.,  
October 13, 1969.

Re Point Reyes National Seashore.

HON. JEFFREY COHELAN,  
Rayburn Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: The Board of Directors of the Strawberry Recreation District, a public agency, in the County of Marin, State of California, deeply concerned with the present status of land acquisition in the Point Reyes National Seashore, at its last regular meeting adopted its Resolution No. 139 urgently requesting your good offices for the completion of the land acquisition in the seashore.

At the request of the Board of Directors of the Strawberry Recreation District, I am enclosing herewith a certified copy of the District's Resolution seeking your personal assistance.

Respectfully yours,

STEPHEN H. KAUFMAN,  
Counsel, Strawberry Recreation District.

RESOLUTION No. 139 BY THE STRAWBERRY  
RECREATION DISTRICT  
(Resolution urging completion of acquisition  
of Point Reyes National Seashore)

Whereas, the Pt. Reyes National Seashore is a unique facility on the West Coast of the United States and located in the County of Marin; and

Whereas, only 22,540 acres have been acquired since 1962 out of a total authorized purchase of 53,480 acres; and

Whereas, existing privately held parcels are in imminent danger of being subdivided and developed into residential developments; and

Whereas, the completed Pt. Reyes National Seashore will represent a material recreational asset not only for the residents of the Strawberry Recreation District, the County of Marin and the State of California, but also to all of the citizens of the United States to whom such seashore has been promised; and

Whereas, the preservation of the seashore is vital to the protection of present and future generations of Americans;

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the Board of Directors of the Strawberry Recreation District, a Recreation and Park District, Marin County, California, urges the President of the United States and the current administration to make every effort within their power to complete the acquisition of the remaining lands to complete the Pt. Reyes National Seashore at the earliest possible moment.

Resolved further, that the Secretary of this Board is hereby directed to send certified copies of the within Resolution to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States; to the Honorable Ronald Reagan, Governor of the State of California, the Honorable Walter J. Hickel, Secretary of the Interior of the United States, Mr. George B. Hartzog, Director of the National Parks Service, Mr. Robert P. Mayo, Director of the Bureau of the Budget and also to the California Congressional Delegation.

Passed and adopted at a regular meeting of the Board of Directors of the Strawberry Recreation District on the 1st day of October, 1969.

A. R. SENTER,  
Chairman of the Board of Directors.

Attest:  
J. K. GARNER,  
Secretary of the Board of Directors.

RESOLUTION No. 1332, CITY OF BELVEDERE  
(Resolution of the City Council of the City of Belvedere urging completion of acquisition of Point Reyes National Seashore)

Whereas: The Point Reyes National Seashore is the only such facility on the West Coast of the United States; and

Whereas: Although the Point Reyes National Seashore was authorized by the Congress of the United States in 1962, only 22,540 acres out of a total 53,480 acres have been acquired for park purposes to date; and

Whereas: The present park ownership within the boundary is hopelessly disjointed and inoperable as a park unit; and

Whereas: The remaining private lands within the Park's authorized boundary are unduly burdened by uncertain Federal intentions of future acquisition and by rising prices, and also have been subject to constant trespassing by park visitors; and

Whereas: Existing large privately owned parcels including some of the most valuable potential park land are in imminent danger of being divided into smaller ownerships and developed; and

Whereas: The people of the United States have been promised the use of this great national resource, and its preservation is vital to present and future generations of Americans; and

Whereas: The present and potential recreational value of the Point Reyes National Seashore may be best measured by the more than 600,000 visitors which visit the Seashore each year.

Now, therefore, Be it resolved that the City Council of the City of Belvedere, California, urges the President of the United States and the current administration to do everything within their power to complete this acquisition project at the earlier possible opportunity.

Be it further resolved that the City Clerk is hereby directed to send certified copies of the within resolution to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States; the Honorable Ronald Reagan, Governor of California; the Honorable Walter J. Hickel, Secretary of the Interior; Mr. George B. Hartzog, Director of the National Park Service; Mr. Robert P. Mayo, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, and the California Congressional Delegation.

THOMAS S. PRICE,  
Mayor of Belvedere.

RESOLUTION No. 505

(Resolution of the city council of the City of Saratoga urging completion of acquisition of Point Reyes National Seashore)

Whereas, the Point Reyes National Seashore is the only such facility on the West Coast of the United States; and

Whereas, although the Point Reyes National Seashore was authorized by the Congress of the United States in 1962, only 22,540 acres out of a total 53,480 acres have been acquired for park purposes to date; and

Whereas, the present park ownership within the boundary is hopelessly disjointed and inoperable as a park unit; and

Whereas, the remaining private lands within the Park's authorized boundary are unduly burdened by uncertain Federal intentions of future acquisition and by rising prices, and also have been subject to constant trespassing by park visitors; and

Whereas, existing large privately owned

parcels including some of the most valuable potential park land are in imminent danger of being divided into smaller ownerships and developed; and

Whereas, the people of the United States have been promised the use of this great national resource, and its preservation is vital to present and future generations of Americans; and

Whereas, the present and potential recreational value of the Point Reyes National Seashore may be best measured by the more than 600,000 visitors which visit the Seashore each year.

Now, therefore, be it resolved that this City Council of the City of Saratoga, California, urges the President of the United States and the current administration to do everything within their power to complete this acquisition project at the earliest possible opportunity.

Be it further resolved that the Clerk of this city and ex-officio clerk of the City Council is hereby directed to send certified copies of the within resolution to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States; the Honorable Ronald Reagan, Governor of California; the Honorable Walter J. Hickel, Secretary of the Interior; Mr. George B. Hartzog, Director of the National Park Service; Mr. Robert P. Mayo, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, and the California Congressional delegation.

Passed and adopted at a regular meeting of the City Council of the City of Saratoga, State of California, held on the 1st day of October, 1969.

SAMUEL L. TYLER,  
Mayor.

Attest:

J. R. HUFF,  
City Clerk.

PERALTA COLLEGES,  
Oakland, Calif., October 15, 1969.  
HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, Jr.,  
Cannon Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BROWN: The attached Resolution 69/70-26 expresses the concern of the Board of Trustees of the Peralta Junior College District in connection with early acquisition of the additional 31,940 acres of land for Point Reyes National Seashore.

It is urgently requested that these lands be acquired as authorized by the Congress in 1962.

Sincerely,

JOHN W. DUNN,  
Secretary, Board of Trustees.

RESOLUTION No. 69/70-26; PERALTA JUNIOR  
COLLEGE DISTRICT

Whereas, the Point Reyes National Seashore is the only such facility on the West Coast of the United States; and

Whereas, although the Point Reyes National Seashore was authorized by the Congress of the United States in 1962, only 22,540 acres out of a total 53,480 acres have been acquired for park purposes to date; and

Whereas, the present park ownership within the boundary is hopelessly disjointed and inoperable as a park unit; and

Whereas, the remaining private lands within the Park's authorized boundary are unduly burdened by uncertain Federal intentions of future acquisition and by rising prices, and also have been subject to constant trespassing by park visitors; and

Whereas, existing large privately owned parcels including some of the most valuable potential park land are in imminent danger of being divided into smaller ownerships and developed; and

Whereas, the people of the United States have been promised the use of this great national resource, and its preservation is vital to present and future generations of Americans; and

Whereas, the present and potential recreational value of the Point Reyes National Seashore may be best measured by the more than 600,000 visitors who visit the Seashore each year.

Now, therefore, be it resolved that this Board of Trustees of the Peralta Junior College District, Oakland, California, urges the President of the United States and the current administration to do everything within their power to complete this acquisition project at the earliest possible opportunity.

Be it further resolved that the Secretary of this Board is hereby directed to send certified copies of the within Resolution to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States; the Honorable Ronald Reagan, Governor of California; the Honorable Walter J. Hickel, Secretary of the Interior; Mr. George B. Hartzog, Director of the National Park Service, Mr. Robert P. Mayo, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, and the California Congressional delegation.

Passed and adopted on this 6th day of October, 1969.

JOHN W. DUNN,  
Secretary, Board of Trustees.

**RESOLUTION No. 3-69-70, WHISMAN SCHOOL DISTRICT, MOUNTAIN VIEW, CALIF.**

(Resolution of the board of trustees urging completion of acquisition of Point Reyes National Seashore)

Whereas the Point Reyes National Seashore is the only such facility on the West Coast of the United States; and

Whereas, although the Point Reyes National Seashore was authorized by the Congress of the United States in 1962, only 22,540 acres out of a total 53,480 acres have been acquired for park purposes to date; and

Whereas the present park ownership within the boundary is hopelessly disjointed and inoperable as a park unit; and

Whereas the remaining private lands within the Park's authorized boundary are unduly burdened by uncertain Federal intentions of future acquisition and by rising prices, and also have been subject to constant trespassing by park visitors; and

Whereas existing large privately owned parcels including some of the most valuable potential park land are in imminent danger of being divided into smaller ownerships and developed; and

Whereas the people of the United States have been promised the use of this great national resource, and its preservation is vital to present and future generations of Americans; and

Whereas the present and potential recreational value of the Point Reyes National Seashore may be best measured by the more than 600,000 visitors which visit the Seashore each year: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Board of Trustees of the Whisman School District of Mountain View, California, urges the President of the United States and the current administration to do everything within their power to complete this acquisition project at the earliest possible opportunity.

Be it further resolved, That the Secretary of this Board is hereby directed to send certified copies of the within Resolution to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States; the Honorable Ronald Reagan, Governor of California; the Honorable Walter J. Hickel, Secretary of the Interior; Mr. George B. Hartzog, Director of the National Park Service; Mr. Robert P. Mayo, Director of the Bureau of the Budget; and the California Congressional delegation.

Passed and adopted at a regular meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Whisman School District, held on the 25th day of September, 1969.

ROSS M. CARTER,  
Secretary.

**AIR POLLUTION IS KILLING TREES**

**HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the need for alleviating air pollution grows with each day. Much discussion is being exchanged about the harmful effects air pollution has on our health and on its adverse, long-range effects to animal and plant life. Two articles, one appearing in the Friday, October 17, issue of the Los Angeles Times, and the other from the Sunday, October 19, issue of the Washington Post, indicate that even tree life, on both the east and west coasts, is being killed and threatened by smog caused by air pollution. The articles show how widely the problems of pollution have spread and indicate the urgent need for action that will clear our skies. Both articles are well worth reading and I urge my colleagues to do so.

The articles follow:

[From the Los Angeles Times, Oct. 17, 1969]

**SMOG KILLING 1.3 MILLION FOREST TREES, UNITED STATES SAYS—SURVEY DISCLOSES THAT MOST ARE LOCATED IN AREA NEAR LAKE ARROWHEAD, CRESTLINE**

(By Lee Dye)

Nearly 1.3 million trees in the San Bernardino National Forest are dying from the effects of smog, according to a study by a division of the U.S. Forest Service.

Most of the trees are in the lush areas around Lake Arrowhead and Crestline, among the most frequented mountain resort regions in Southern California.

Some ailing trees also were found in the Angeles National Forest.

Results of the survey were announced Thursday in Ann Arbor, Mich., during the sixth International Symposium on Remote Sensing of Environment.

Dr. Robert Bega, a plant pathologist with the Pacific Southwest Forest and Range Experiment Station in Berkeley, which conducted the survey, said the trees are scattered over 161,000 acres in the San Bernardino Mountains.

**FOUR TIMES GREATER**

Bega said 46,000 acres of ponderosa and Jeffrey pines showed heavy damage, and 115,000 acres showed light to moderate damage. Of nearly 1.3 million trees which he said are "dying from the effects of smog," 82% were moderately damaged, 15% were severely damaged and 3% were dead.

The number of acres where the trees were affected is four times greater than forestry experts had estimated just one year ago, according to Steven L. Wert, research forester who discussed the survey during the Ann Arbor meeting.

Bega told The Times during an interview that many of the trees that are dying are more than a century old.

He said topography is probably the main reason for the "major problem" in the San Bernardino Mountains. The mountains form the eastern rim of the Los Angeles Basin. Much of the smog originating in the basin is trapped against the mountains by winds from the coast.

In effect, the smog is "suffocating" the trees, Bega said.

"The ozone breaks down the chlorophyll (the green coloring matter in the plants which converts carbon dioxide and water into

carbohydrates), and it destroys the food producing systems," he said.

One of the first indications, he said, is a yellowing of the needles, which is already apparent in many of the trees.

"They stand out quite prominently among the healthier trees," he said.

Officials are not certain why some trees are bothered and others aren't.

"There is evidence of greater tolerance among some trees, but we don't know why," Bega said. "It could be genetics, but that's probably a simplified answer."

In their weakened condition, trees affected by the the smog also are less resistant to insects—a growing problem in the San Bernardino National Forest.

**TAKE 5 YEARS**

"The insects thrive on the weaker trees and then move on to the healthier trees," he added.

Bega estimated that it takes about five years for the smog to kill a tree once the process begins.

Thus, he said, it is possible at least 1.3 million trees in the San Bernardino National Forest will die within the next five years.

Bega said the only hope is that enough trees will be able to resist the smog.

"But that's not very realistic," he said. "Some of those trees have been there for more than 100 years. They will be missed."

The survey, most of which was conducted during June and July, was done primarily by aerial and ground survey teams, plus remote-controlled electronic sensors. This was the first time sensors have been used to detect forest damage, he said.

This also was the first survey of this magnitude in California, although one of similar scope is under way in North Carolina to determine the effects of industrial air pollution.

"But our problem is greater than theirs," Bega said, "because this land is used for recreation in a heavily populated area."

"These aren't lumber trees," he added, "they're people trees."

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 19, 1969]

**POLLUTION BLAMED FOR CAUSING TREE ILLS**

"Acute sulfur dioxide damage" has been found by two government air pollution scientists who examined Christmas trees that allegedly were stunted by emissions from a generating plant in West Virginia near the Maryland line in Garrett County.

Leighton Price, director of the Office of Educational Information of the Air Pollution Control Administration, said the investigation by two department scientists confirmed earlier findings.

Dr. Francis Gouin, a horticulture specialist at the University of Maryland, brought the situation to light after two Christmas tree growers complained about the Virginia Electric Power Co. plant at Mount Storm, W. Va.

Gouin said he told the men to sell as many trees as soon as possible because he was "convinced that your trees could only be suffering from having grown in a polluted atmosphere."

The company has hired an air pollution specialist from Pennsylvania State University to look into the charges, which also are being examined by air pollution officials in Maryland and the West Virginia Department of Natural Resources.

Virgil Steyer and Dr. F. D. Custer, both of Oakland, Md., said they have a total of about 300,000 trees on six farms threatened by the blight. The trees are worth about \$1.50 each "on the stump," they said.

The damage began to show up when the first unit of the generating plant went into operation in 1966, they said, adding that the situation has grown worse as the plant expanded.

## UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES

## HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the recent news from the Department of Labor concerning the jump in the rate of unemployment from 3.5 to 4 percent, has been met with a variety of reactions. This is not unusual since Labor Department figures have traditionally been misunderstood and misinterpreted.

Milton Friedman, writing in the October 20 edition of Newsweek magazine, has offered an interesting and revealing analysis of just what the 4-percent unemployment figure really signifies.

The article follows:

## UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES

(By Milton Friedman)

Few figures are watched with more fear and trembling than those reported each month on the percentage of the labor force unemployed. The jump from 3.5 to 4 percent reported last week has been seized on by some as the first real sign of success in the battle against inflation, by others, as a portent of economic collapse.

Yet few figures are more misunderstood and misinterpreted.

The unemployment percentage is currently 4 per cent. This corresponds to roughly 3.2 million unemployed. Does this mean, as one might suppose from most news stories on unemployment that more than 3 million families are wondering where the next paycheck is coming from?

## WHO ARE THE UNEMPLOYED?

Not at all. Roughly 1 million unemployed are teen-agers, about half of whom are looking for their first job. Of the remaining unemployed, half are females, many of whom are not regular earners. Of the million unemployed males 20 years and older, only about half are married men.

More important, unemployment is mostly a brief period between jobs—or between school or housework and a job. Nearly two-thirds were either working in the prior month, or not looking for a job. Only slightly more than a million were unemployed.

Put differently, fewer than half of the currently unemployed have been unemployed for as long as five weeks; only 5 per cent—about 150,000—for as long as six months. This is the hard-core group that leaps to mind when we talk about "the unemployed." Their plight is certainly serious—but 150,000 persons in that position is a far cry from 3 million.

Many persons are unemployed by choice. Some quit one job to look for a better job—more than a third of those who leave jobs in any week do so voluntarily; others have refused a job offered in the belief that a better one will be along; still others left an earlier job some time ago to go to school, or to make a home for their husbands, or to have or raise children and have only just re-entered the labor force. A rise in unemployment may be a good thing as well as a bad thing—if it means that people have so much confidence in finding another job that they do not hesitate to leave one they do not like.

In some ways, a more meaningful figure than the number of persons unemployed at any one date is the average length of time that persons who become unemployed remain unemployed—the average time between jobs for those who change from one job to another, or the average time it takes to get

a job for those who go from school or home to the unemployment rolls. Until the most recent jump in the unemployment rate, that average has been about five and a half weeks—hardly a period long enough to cause acute distress.

What this meant was that each week about 530,000 people started to look for work—because they left or lost a job or because they had just entered or re-entered the labor force. Simultaneously, about 530,000 people each week found jobs or stopped looking. Of the 530,000 people who started to look for jobs each week, about one-fifth found a job within a week; about three-quarters, within a month; and all but about 1 per cent, within six months. During a year as a whole, not 3 million people but around 20 million separate individuals were unemployed at some time or other—the bulk for trivial periods.

## TIME BETWEEN JOBS

Cries of horror go up when it is suggested that the slowing down of the economy as a by-product of policies to stop inflation may mean a rise from 3.5 per cent to around 4.5 per cent in the unemployment percentage. What, it is said, throw more than a million additional people out of work?

In fact, the number who each week start to look for work would be raised very little—from 530,000 to perhaps 560,000. But these job-seekers would spend on the average an extra week or so finding an acceptable job—the average duration of unemployment would go from about five and a half to about six and a half weeks. The most serious effect would be to raise the number of persons unemployed at any time for more than six months from 180,000 to perhaps 300,000.

These changes are not desirable. But they are not a major catastrophe. They do not spell acute distress. And their avoidance does not justify letting inflation run rampant—which would in any event only postpone higher unemployment temporarily. We badly need less hysteria and dogmatism and more perspective, proportion and balance in judging these matters.

## THE FUTURE ISN'T WHAT IT USED TO BE

## HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, one of California's leading educators, Dr. A. Robert DeHart, president of De Anza College in my congressional district, recently addressed the college faculty. I believe Dr. DeHart's comments will prove valuable and interesting to readers of the RECORD, and am submitting the text of his address for insertion at this time:

THE FUTURE ISN'T WHAT IT USED TO BE—  
A PAPER ON INSTITUTIONAL PURPOSES

(By A. Robert DeHart)

It is not often that I have the opportunity to talk to all of you at one time. Usually it happens when we are faced with a crisis that needs discussing, so I welcome these infrequent occasions when we have an open agenda, and I prepare carefully for them. I won't waste a lot of time by reminding us how good we are, how much we have accomplished, or how many nitty-gritty problems still lie ahead. You know that we are a very good college, that we have accomplished an enormous amount and that face almost insurmountable problems that can be solved only by the keen, analytical minds that all of us De Anzans possess in such abundance.

What I find myself wanting to do at times

like this is talk about what we *should* be doing, what we *should* be like, and how we *should* be organized. Last year you may remember that I talked to you about Theory X and Theory Y organizations and how I feel we *should* be organized. (And I might add parenthetically that I am pleased with most of our movement towards a Theory Y organization and the accompanying build-up of open communications, mutual trust, and mutual support during a tough year when these characteristics might have diminished rather than increased.) Today you will find a great many *shoulds* in my talk. I will discuss something that has bothered me for a long time, mainly because I feel it is of overriding importance and has received so little attention from me or anyone else. I will present to you what I believe the goals—or as some would say, institutional purpose at De Anza—and to some degree all education—*should* be.

I have put off getting myself together on this topic for several reasons: in the first place, there has been no pressure from anyone to do it—a going concern like ours, with many forces working to keep it alive, tends to be very means oriented and avoids the task of defining purposes; secondly, I think I have been unconsciously evading the conflicts with those in and out of the college who would be threatened by a sharp definition of purpose and the attendant responsibility of practicing what we preach; and, lastly, it is just plain hard intellectual labor that most of us find so easy to evade.

While there has been no external pressure, I must confess that as President of the college I have felt a lot of internal pressure to clarify—if not the mission of our college—then at least *my* mission for the college. I often find that I am running very hard, but don't know where I am running to, and don't know who is running with me. This may be alright for a jogger (like Crampton) but for someone who is supposed to be leading the pack at least most of the time, this can be a most uncomfortable feeling. So the time I have put into clarifying for myself what the purposes of De Anza College should be have been very worthwhile. But the main practical import in asking the staff to consider this topic with me is that I hope desired ends and means will be sustained and furthered, not through continuous command, but as a free expression by the staff of truly accepted principles.

## SOME BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

At the outset, let me make it clear that what we call "The Objectives of De Anza College" as listed on Page 8 of our current catalog, are, in my opinion, not objectives at all but *functions* we perform. Let me remind you what they are:

1. The counseling function.
2. The general education function.
3. The transfer function.
4. The vocational training.
5. The developmental (remedial) function.
6. The co-curricular function.
7. The community service function.

I have no quarrel with these as functions of the college—indeed, I think every college should be performing them in varying degrees. The engineering student who enters Cal is not going to need remedial arithmetic as do some junior college students, but he may need some remedial humanities which the University has come to recognize. I also think we recognize that the junior college auto tech major and the university dentistry major are both taking terminal vocational training. One simply takes longer than the other. Where my quarrel does lie is in calling these functions "objectives." They are means and not ends and we should not confuse the two even though they are interrelated. I should add that I think we often treat these

functions as isolated identities where ideally they should operate together with each function gathering a strength from the other. I know this would result in a whole greater than the sum of its parts.

So let us return to the goals, rather than the functions of De Anza College. I know you will recognize that I am really thinking about my goals for De Anza. I have spent a good deal of time working with some groups on the campus in discussions that would hopefully lead to consensus about institutional purposes. But I have backed off from that approach for I have found that I was looking for my own personal answer through the group when what I really needed to do was clarify my own position first before I could effectively work with groups. I recognize now what seems so obvious, but I only dimly saw before: it is *individuals* who have guiding philosophies and purposes—not *institutions*. I know we can reach some form of consensus, but I do not expect, or want, some watered-down statement that might achieve universal agreement. I consider some diversity a strength, not a weakness.

I plan to start with my fundamental assumptions, expand on those to reach my basic philosophy of education, and then develop some guiding principles that I hold for De Anza College. I clearly recognize that my thought on these matters is grounded on assumptions and beliefs. It is necessary to make these as a framework for my thought. I think you will find me humble about my assumptions—because they may be wrong. Most of them are not presently subject to proof. But if what I say lacks as much precision and elegance as you and I might like, I do hope that by placing my philosophy and goals for the institution on the dissecting table and opening them up for your examination, you will recognize "what makes Bobby run" and where he hopes to run to.

I have done a lot of homework attempting to find statements that might already exist. Actually the field abounds with them. It seems that everyone pays lip service to the importance of education, but, in my estimation, very few seem to get at the very basic—rather than superficial—rationale for education. At any rate, I haven't found a ready-made statement that fits me. The closest I have come to, I have found in the writing of Charles Collins, a California junior college educator. Some of you may know him and I commend his work to you.

#### SOME FUNDAMENTALS

So let me begin at the beginning and explore some very basic beliefs and assumptions on which I build not only a personal philosophy but one that carries into education. First, I will sum up my assumptions and then give a brief rationale for each of them:

1. All behavior is caused.
2. The cause of behavior depends on the way a person perceives the world around him.
3. Appropriate behavior will depend on the accuracy of the individual's perception.
4. The determinants of perception are:  
A person's sensory equipment and the complex neural connections to the brain;  
Stored knowledge accessible through memory;

Emotional coloration caused by interests, prejudices, attitudes, temperament;  
Conscious and unconscious values;  
A philosophy or world view.

Now let me expand a little on that brief summary:

1. *Behavior is caused.* This is, of course, a basic assumption for me, but it seems obvious enough when behavior is simple: a child runs away from a snarling dog. But behavior is not too apparent when it is complex: an upper class young man goes hippie and rejects all material advantages because of a father he hates. To assume that behavior does not always carry its own internal

causation is to assume that behavior can be random—pure chance—or that some external force—gods or devils—intervene and use the behavior's body to work their good or evil purposes. I prefer my assumption here—as indeed all of those must who believe a science of human behavior is possible.

2. *Cause is determined by perception.* A fundamental distinction should be drawn between what the sense organs bring in and what is perceived. Perception is the meaning which is attributed to the neural impulses brought to the brain. The brain is not a tape recorder or a camera which, with great fidelity, records the sounds and sights of the external world, or the sensations and emotions of the internal self. The brain is an interpreter; it strives to make sense out of the welter of sensations which it experiences. It has no built-in lie detector. As a matter of fact, it will often distort sensation to see what it wants to see, hear what it wants to hear, feel what it wants to feel. Thus, the shimmering heat waves on the desert are perceived by a thirsty man as a watery oasis. A paranoid personality hears people whispering and perceives that they are plotting against him. A sexual response to the sight of the contours of a girl's body is perceived by a young man as true love.

The whole perception process is analogous to a radar system. The sensory organs record the blips on the screen but the blips take on meaning only when they are interpreted. Perception is the meaning which total consciousness interprets from the blips which the sensory system brings to the internal radar screen. The moron with 20:20 vision may get a better blip than the astigmatic genius, yet the genius will perceive much more accurately than the moron.

3. *Appropriateness of behavior will depend on the accuracy of perception.* I have said that each person will behave in the way in which he sees his world. I want to make that statement stronger: each person can *only* act on the basis of how he perceives reality. A person has no alternative but to rely on reality as he perceives it, and the reality he perceives may or may not correspond to what is objective reality. And when we talk of objective reality, we cannot do that in any absolute sense that is independent of man. It is only the consensus of those best qualified to judge. What is consciously experienced seems so vivid to the perceiver, he is inclined to view it as absolute reality and to react accordingly. That is understandable. The meaning that his mind makes of all the sensations coming from the external world is the only reality he can possibly know. Each person has to depend on his own perception of reality for he has no other basis on which to act.

4. *The major determinants of perception.* So far, my argument has said: all behavior is caused; the cause of behavior has to lie in perception of reality; appropriate behavior depends on the accuracy of perception. It is crucial then that we know as much as possible about what the determinants of perceptions are. Each of the determinants I discuss below could easily fill a book in itself, but I can only give them a cursory treatment here.

*Sensory equipment and its complex connections with the brain* are obviously very important. Blind eyes and deaf ears connected to an idiotic brain will only constitute a non-perceiving mass of protoplasm. But the most psychological evidence today points to only a fractional use of the astounding capacity of the human brain by most people. If *optimum* conditions prevailed, the person with average brain power would be able to perceive, comprehend, and remember almost any subject now taught in undergraduate college courses. There have been many cases of people with average mentality earning Phi Beta Kappa honors.

*Stored knowledge* recoverable through

memory has a great influence on the richness, vividness, and the accuracy of perception. Those who have taken the trouble to learn something about music and have listened to a great deal of it will actually hear sounds that others do not hear and will be moved to laughter or melancholy or joy while the musically untrained are experiencing nothing but confused noise. The sight of a digital computer would evoke only the foggiest perception in the mind of an aboriginal Australian. Those with a knowledge of Elizabethan England will find the perception of the plays of Shakespeare infinitely enhanced. The accrual of knowledge greatly enhances a person's perceptions.

*Emotionally weightings* that each person gives to that which he perceives is a third major factor influencing perception. Interests, prejudices, attitudes, temperament are mostly learned in childhood and so incorporated into the unconscious, that the adult is hardly aware of the subtle—even distorting—influence they have on his perception. The son, whose beloved mother was fair, finds he prefers blondes. The daughter, whose immigrant parents worked hard for their middle-class status, cannot see why there should be welfare programs.

*The conscious and unconscious values* which a person may or may not be able to spell out are a fourth major factor which tends to shape every and any perception a person has. Values are the priorities which are given to traits, qualities, ideas, things, events. They are the weightings given to all that crosses the perceptual field. Those with materialistic values will be attuned to any prospect for material reward. They are able to smell money as the hungry animal smells his dinner. People with aesthetic values will tune in on these sensations which will bring them the pleasure of beauty. Persons with strong humanitarian values will see their personal welfare as part and parcel of the general welfare, and their behavior will reflect their concern for the other guy, and by progression, concern for mankind.

*Philosophy or world view* is the last determinant I will discuss. The philosophical frame organizes and, to a large extent, predetermines how the person will perceive his own life, his relationship to others, and his relationship to the world. If such philosophical projections prevade a society, the child growing up within that culture will take philosophic premises as given, as immutable truths, as unconscious assumptions. Nazi youth had little alternative but to have Nazi perceptions. A believer in racial superiorities sees the Negro riots as a Communist conspiracy. The Black Nationalities see the intransigency of the Whites as proof of the White men are congenital devils. It takes a pluralistic society with real academic freedom in its educational system to avoid built-in distortions in its perceptions.

To summarize: I have said that all behavior is caused; that the cause depends on perception; appropriate behavior depends on accurate perception of reality; accurate perception, in turn, is determined by a person's physical and mental health, his accrued knowledge, his conscious and unconscious values, and his philosophy or world view. Now I can hear you say, "That's fine, Mr. President, as a personal outlook, but what does it have to do with education?"

The carryover of my personal philosophy to an educational philosophy goes something like this: education should perform the most important role in developing the individual's ability to perceive reality. Most of us today recognize physical health, emotional health and stored knowledge as legitimate educational objectives—and so do I. But I *would place my emphasis* on exploring values, formulating a philosophy, and making the concept of self congruent with the reality of self. The outcome of this kind of emphasis should result in an individual who would not only

follow the Socratic dictum to "know thyself" but could "choose thyself." Education becomes crucial because it provides the best process by which an individual can learn alternative courses of action open to him in choosing what he will become. If a man is physically enslaved, he has little choice to act. If a man is economically, socially, or psychologically enslaved, he has little choice to act. If a man has no knowledge, or only vague knowledge, of the alternative courses of action open to him and the consequences of each alternative, his freedom (choice to act) has been grossly abridged. Man is not born free; he is made free by the process of education and by his own insistence. He has to learn the choices which are open to him and what the consequences of these choices will be, and by character development he must learn to make the mature judgments and to accept the consequences. Education, formal and informal, gives the individual an element of control over what he is and what he will be. Whether through reading, through counseling, or through thinking, if a person gains insight into the values which are motivating his behavior, he can achieve self-conscious choice. Higher education provides the opportunity to see the options which are open and should force the person to be a choice-maker. In such a way, a person can, in considerable measure, create himself out of his life experiences and the thought he gives to those experiences. Hopefully, continued education will provide him with the background, knowledge, the thinking process, the insights, and the intergrated value structure by which he can best profit from his experience.

But if we are to reach our students effectively at the value level, if we hope to gain their trust in what we say and what we stand for, then we faculty must stand before them as whole men, who know who we are. They must know us emotionally as well as intellectually. We can no longer successfully assert that our discipline justifies itself alone, nor that the culture that surrounds us unites teacher and student, parent and child in an unstated but accepted set of values. What we offer the young, if it is to be trusted and valued, must come from us in a personal way, as our own unique expression of ideas, knowledge, feelings, and beliefs. Only through such honesty can we hope to reach our students. If this sounds a little too liberal to you, let me quote President Nixon in a speech he gave just last June when he said we must "... pay more heed to one of the great cries of the young today, I speak now of their demand for honesty: intellectual honesty, personal honesty, public honesty. Much of what seems to be revolt is really little more than this: an attempt to strip away sham and pretense, to puncture illusion, to get down to the basic nub of truth. We should welcome this." (Emphasis mine).

I have emphasized the importance of the development of a person's potential and his ability to make value judgments, but I don't want to emphasize it to the exclusion of everything else. I would not want our graduate to feel that his only duty was to himself. In the past, higher education has been seen largely as a means of improving the graduate's position in life: one went to college to "get ahead." That is still true but I believe there is an emerging awareness that one person can't "get ahead" unless the whole society "gets ahead." When a student asks me, "Who am I?" I have to answer, "You are a unique creature—but tied by a Gordian knot to your fellow man." When a student asks me, "What am I doing here?" I have to answer, "You are trying to better yourself—but you will find you cannot without working for the betterment of others." And when the student asks, "What is worth studying?" I have to answer, "Those things that enhance you as a unique creature—but in the

context of those things that will enhance the world of which we are a part."

#### GUIDING PRINCIPLES

As I have attempted to summarize and condense this long discussion into Goal I, II, III, . . . for De Anza College, I find such a list sterile and my rhetoric of little use in guiding specific behavior. But there is no question in my mind as to where my priority for us lies: we should be producing choice-makers—people who know themselves and their society and can then, in effect, choose and develop the kind of person they would be and the society they would live in. But rather than expand on this, I would rather turn to guiding principles that I believe will be of more help in giving us direction. These "guiding principles" could be called goals I know, but I find guiding principles more helpful in evaluating existing and proposed programs.

#### I. Each student should be accepted and treated as an individual

All staff members, in whatever function they are performing for the college should recognize the worth and dignity of the individual and his activity. We should strive to provide real educational opportunity where each person has some hope of becoming "whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him." Opportunity does not consist in merely allowing the student to enter; it means matching the student with a suitable pattern of learning and other developmental experiences. If that pattern does not exist, or the means for assisting the student into that pattern does not exist, then the opportunity does not exist, even if the student is officially enrolled. Exploring values, formulating philosophy, and development of a concept of self congruent with the reality of self should be striven for with all students, no matter what other goals the student may have.

#### II. The primary focus of the college should be on learning

Please note: learning, not teaching. The two, of course, are closely related, but it is important to place the emphasis in the right place. We want directors of learning who produce as well as perform. Individual student learning and growth then would become the measure of success of our college. We must strive to produce that environment for learning where there is active student involvement in the process, an up-to-date, relevant curriculum, and a flexibility in meeting student needs. Teachers and counselors—as directors of learning—should always be key participants in the policy-making process that shapes this "place of learning."

#### III. Academic freedom should be a right of faculty and students that is diligently defended by all

I have heard some students and restive faculty accuse our college of being careful in the minutest detail of our public image, unwilling to indulge in any conversation, gesture, or nuance of behavior learned later than 1900. On the other hand, some have accused our alma mater as being a wanton of the most indifferent character who seduces the youth of our community to strange and unhealthy practices and heedlessly sows disorders in a hitherto orderly society. Of course, neither of these positions describes us accurately.

One of the early milestones established by the Foothill District was a policy on academic freedom adopted jointly by the faculty and the Trustees. It stresses the right of faculty and students to pursue teaching and learning with full freedom of inquiry bound only by the responsibility to avoid bias and to respect the opinions and conclusions of others in the academic community. I recommend you read again Policy 4141—I would find it difficult to improve on that statement.

#### IV. Education should be a right not a privilege

For each individual the most important life, the only life he can sense directly, is his own. There is no way ethically, and only questionable ways pragmatically (our ACT tests included), to judge that one man's life is more important than another's. The white, Anglo-Saxon, upper-class, male child has no more inherent right to the achievement of personal potential than the daughter of a Black Alabama sharecropper. Socio-economic class, ethnic origin, level of aspiration, and previous performance should not close our door to students. And once inside, the student should meet only those barriers to courses and programs that have been well-tested for their validity.

#### V. Responsibility to his society as well as himself should be a characteristic of our graduate

Our college shares, along with other educational institutions, a responsibility both to the individual and to society. We can provide the means by which the individual strives to realize his potential and at the same time provide a means by which society can perpetuate and improve itself. We must do this in a democratic society because these two responsibilities ideally become one. For upon the standards and achievements of the individual, all our organizations and institutions are based; upon his character rests the quality of our society. I want our graduate to be socially, economically, and esthetically competent, but more than that, to be sensitive to his responsibilities to himself and to his society. He should feel his education is never complete but that he is engaging in a continuing process that co-extends with his duty as a human being and as a citizen.

#### VI. Governing rather than administering should be emphasized

In our relations among ourselves and with our students, consent of the governed should be sought whenever possible. The quality of human relationships among faculty, administration, staff, and students will to a major extent determine the quality of the college. Open communications, mutual trust, mutual support, and management of conflict—rather than its suppression—should be the values observed in the interaction of people at this college. The example we set for young people in the way we operate our college should serve as a model for other institutions of our society.

#### VII. Change with a purpose should be a commitment of this college

Continuous planning, development, and evaluation should permeate our activities. Institutional criticism should be sought and considered as an ongoing means of improving. Imaginative and creative approaches to the many problems facing higher education in the years ahead should be encouraged.

#### VIII. Community outreach should be one of our services

Some two-year colleges have become the most important single means for improvement of their communities. They seem most effective when they reach out to people, involve them, and identify with them. While I believe we should not blunt our main thrust of meeting the educational needs of our community, I want us to remain flexible enough to explore many avenues of service to the people of our area. As we develop, I hope we will remain sensitive to the several ways in which our capabilities can be uniquely utilized by our community.

Are we presently being guided by these principles? I don't want to put us down, for by any measure of a traditional college program we do better than most. In fact, I've never read a more complimentary accreditation report than the one we just received last spring. But I wish I could say that our

college did embody all of the principles and purposes I have enumerated. Those of us in this room know how great the educators' shortcomings are. And when I look at us in the terms of what we could be, I am struck by the long way we have to go in measuring up to the principles and purposes I hold for a good college.

But we are moving, and I think we are gaining momentum. Let me briefly describe some of the projects for next year which I think will make a difference.

#### PROJECTS FOR 1969-70

1. The further development of the *Ethnic Studies Division and the Multicultural Program* will continue to receive a high priority with us. We laid the groundwork for a major thrust last year and I expect to see the effort reach maturity this year.

2. The *Mini-College Project* is in a feasibility stage of study under the leadership of Sandy Hay, Jim Luotto, and Walt Travis. There are several directions such a plan can take, but the basic idea is to associate a small number of students and faculty in a continuing and close relationship for as much as a year or two studying under a new curriculum plan. A counselor and a librarian will probably also work with the group. If such a plan proves successful, we might well find several mini-colleges evolving.

3. *Off-campus programs* of several kinds are going now and we are studying some others. We presently offer courses at local business and industrial plants, we teach a calculus class at Homestead High School to advanced students, we offer a credit class that goes to the Shakespeare Festival in Ashland, Oregon for several days, we have a drama appreciation class that travels to several plays throughout the Peninsula, and we have several special field trip courses. We are planning to expand off-campus programs, especially during the summer. We are thinking about the purchase or lease of a lodge in the Sierra where we can hold many kinds of credit and non-credit classes ranging from music camps to recreation program classes, to botany classes, to philosophy classes. We want De Anza to go to Mexico, Europe, Africa, South America, Japan, with classes for credit. We are working with several Bay Area junior colleges for the combined use of Channel 14 at the College of San Mateo. By the winter quarter, we should be offering some Evening College Classes as an experiment in community outreach. You should be hearing more from Dick Wright, Florin Caldwell, and Marj Hinson about all of these off-campus programs.

4. *Some new approaches for us in our instructional program* are being tried under the direction of Don Fraser and Dick Kent:

The Independent Study Program now has a new home and we plan to put more faculty development time into this than we have been able to do up until now.

EROS is a project now underway and on the schedule for the fall quarter. A counselor, a reading instructor, a composition instructor, and a philosophy instructor will be working with about 25 students who have been identified as having acute learning difficulties. We hope to find out if this kind of concentrated and coordinated effort will pay off for students.

The Total Immersion Programs in Spanish and History 17ABC were very successful this summer. We plan to try this same idea during the regular quarter to see if this approach should be tried in other disciplines.

Teacher Aides are something we feel we owe to ourselves and we want to develop a program for them. We feel that if we can provide paraprofessionals for so many other professions, then why not develop a curriculum to produce that same help for our own profession?

5. *New faculty evaluation procedures* are

being tried by the Language Arts Division and by the counseling staff. These two groups will be placing more emphasis on improvement of instruction and counseling—with evaluation as a by-product. More colleague involvement is proposed in both their new plans.

6. *There are two projects underway that directly affect students* that I know you will be interested in. We are expanding our Financial Aids Office. We presently administer large sums of money available to needy students through National Defense Student Loans, Work Study Funds, Educational Opportunity Grants, and from several other specialized sources. We plan to better coordinate that kind of financial aid, as well as develop a Job Placement Office on-campus. I know Mr. Javid, our new Financial Aids Officer, will be seeking faculty advice in the development of this new office. The other student project is the development of a student Bill of Rights. We have done some developmental work in this area and you will be hearing more about it during the year.

There are some other projects of importance but of less wide-spread interest that I won't go into. You will have a chance to discuss them in those areas where you might have special interest.

#### WHAT CAN YOU DO?

Probably all of you will be participating in one or more of these projects in one way or another. But regardless of the extent of your involvement in these, I hope each of you will examine his own values and goals and hopes for this college as a special individual project for the year. We are not going to take any big strides forward unless teachers are stimulated and excited, and that won't happen until each of us become involved in what and why—I repeat—why we're teaching and what we teach.

I don't know how much of what I've said here today you buy; my guess is that most of us think a great deal alike on these basic ideas. I have had copies of this speech made and I invite you to read it again and give me some feedback either in writing or over coffee someday for I really do want to sharpen up my own thinking on these matters, as well as sharpen institutional purpose. And where we don't agree, I hope you have developed your rationale for why you are doing it your way and that your beliefs are based on personal convictions. The time is past when our actions can be based solely on something that is happening at a university or a high school. In my experience they know less about what they are doing—and especially why—than we in the community college do. Not only must we become our own men, but we must unite in becoming our own college.

#### THE FUTURE ISN'T WHAT IT USED TO BE

One of the greatest advantages of education as a profession lies in the definite way in which our working year has an ending and a beginning, with a few weeks in between when we can think about last year and plan for the new ahead. At times like these I feel both satisfactions and disappointments with what I have accomplished. But even in the midst of these conflicting feelings, there is an important one that has never wavered—my satisfaction with the profession I am in. There is no more important way to spend one's life if we will but bring to it the dedication it deserves.

I am 45 years old and I have just completed 20 years as a professional educator—presumably I have another 20 years to go. I have reached middle life and have watched the previous generation pass. I have learned much from that generation—most of it is good and a lot I intend to forget. I have explored many blind alleys searching for purpose and meaning in my life, I have been disabused of the notion that the world revolves around me, I have futilely sought some

great and mystical reason for living. I have come to the simple and stark realization that for me the life process carries its own intrinsic reward. Not to live it fully is the worst kind of folly. To deny another the fullest and richest life possible is to deny him a portion of his life potential and, therefore, to commit a most grievous act, I believe a quality education is crucial in living the full and rich life, and, indeed, becomes a human right that cannot be limited to a few. In my remaining years as a professional educator, I want not only to live up to my own potential, but to help education realize its great potential.

A few short years ago I would have thought that the future I am experiencing today could hardly be improved upon, but the future isn't what it used to be. There are so many things happening in our society that point to the need for evaluating our traditional approaches and searching for more viable means for accomplishing our ends. Each of us in our work, experience some small victories with some of our students and they are very satisfying to us, but when I look at the potential that exists in this room here today and the possibilities that might be realized if we but had the purpose and the will, then I can't help feel that the really significant victories still lie ahead. And so I leave you with the words of Horace Mann in an address he made to the last graduating class he spoke to as president of Antioch College—and others must have been as touched by them as I for they are inscribed on a monument there on the campus—his words to these young people were: "Be Ashamed of Dying Until You Win Some Victory for Humanity."

#### SACRIFICE NOT MADE IN VAIN

### HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, at the time last week when the names of our servicemen who have lost their lives in Vietnam were being read aloud at many sites throughout the country, the name of one of my constituents who gave his life appeared in the "View of Our Readers" column of the Newport News Daily Press, our hometown newspaper. His name appeared there through the proud efforts of his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Harvey A. Oxendine, who wrote a letter to the editor of the newspaper.

Harvey and Alice Oxendine have been good friends of mine for years. They are typically wonderful American people. They have produced four sons, three of whom respectively are veterans of the Navy, the Air Force, and the Marines. Their youngest son was Army Pfc. Rodney G. Oxendine about whom his parents wrote.

The letter is far more eloquent than would be any words of mine. I am proud to include it in the RECORD so that it may speak for itself and that Americans everywhere may benefit:

#### SACRIFICE NOT MADE IN VAIN

EDITOR, DAILY PRESS:

Recently we suffered the greatest loss a parent can experience—the loss of a child. Our son, Private First Class Rodney G. Oxendine, was killed in combat in Vietnam. Prior to Rodney's death and like many American parents we had never felt any great commitment to the struggle in Southeast Asia or

really given the issues involved serious thought and consideration. It would perhaps be accurate to say that prior to his service in the Republic of Vietnam Rodney hadn't thought seriously about what is involved in this far away war.

It is the purpose of this letter to share with you, my fellow citizens, our belief that our son has not given his life in vain. Our purpose is to try in some small way to help clear up the confusion which plagues our country today as to the validity of our country's efforts in Vietnam. If with this message, we can reach some of our fellow Americans and bring about the realization of the necessity of this struggle and its successful conclusion then our sacrifice will not have been made in vain.

The change in our own attitudes toward the War in Vietnam began to take place after Rodney via letters shared with us his conviction and reasons why he felt that the job the American Armed Forces are doing in Vietnam is necessary and in the interest of freedom and justice of men everywhere—why he felt that the job he personally was doing in Vietnam was worth risking his life—that he was proud to be part of this fight for freedom.

The sincerity of our son's convictions is pointed up in his last letter written a few days before his death. We should like to quote from it.

"Mother and Dad, I guess you're wondering what I'm doing, etc. Well you know I'm infantry, and that's the M. O. S., that does the fighting, believe it or not I'm proud of it, and also what I'm doing here. What we're doing now is pacification, i.e., help the people help themselves, give them weapons, teach them how to use them, build their schools, trying to get them on our side. Some of the people we give the weapons to are our enemy, so you always have to watch yourself. The people at home, a lot are against this war, if they only knew how they're hurting the boys over here, after you get here you sorta forget your support of your country, there's no glory here.

I know I'm fighting for my country, and there's plenty of reason for being here, just as much so as any other war we have been in, and there's not a guy here that wouldn't give his life. What I'm doing is dangerous, but could be a lot worse, and I know I'm going to be safe, and return home, there's no worry in my mind. Here I'm not depressed as much as when I was in Germany. It's about fifty times worse here, but I believe it's just that I'm doing something with a purpose. Just remember I'm doing fine and like what I'm doing, but can't wait to come home."

Our son was not alone in his convictions as to the "rightness" of the cause for which he was fighting or that he felt that he was fighting for our country. As he stated in the excerpt quoted above from his last letter, "there's not a guy here that wouldn't give his life in the struggle going on in Vietnam." Our loss has been assuaged by a letter from his battalion commander who expresses so beautifully the dedication of the men in our armed forces in Vietnam and I quote:

"To those of us with whom your son served so closely and who will continue in this crusade after him, his loss has special implications. To us his death is not simply a tragic fact of war, nor do we view it as a fateful concession to a cause of doubtful virtue. We have witnessed the plight of the Vietnamese people and having done so, it is difficult indeed, almost impossible, to withhold from completely dedicated, personal commitment to their deliverance. I cannot conceive of a cause more worthy of the precious gift of life."

To many Americans such as ourselves who have not seen or experienced the War in Vietnam first hand; to those of our fellow citizens who's loved ones have made the supreme sacrifice; and to the young people who may face military service in the defense of our country and our freedoms, we thought

we would like to share with you our belief that our son did not give his life in vain but rather in the service of his country and in the cause of freedom. We believe that all of us should unite behind our President and support our government and our armed forces in the war effort in Vietnam in the belief that such support will hasten the day of peace by convincing the Communists in Vietnam that we are a united people in our defense of freedom.

Mr. and Mrs. HARVEY A. OXENDINE,  
NEWPORT NEWS.

#### NATIONAL FAMILY HEALTH WEEK

### HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, October 20, 1969

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, on October 15, 1969, President Nixon signed a proclamation officially designating November 16 through 22 as National Family Health Week.

On May 12 of this year, I introduced House Joint Resolution 712 to authorize such a week. Identical legislation—Senate Joint Resolution 46—was introduced in the other body by the late senior Senator from Illinois, Mr. Dirksen.

The passage of this legislation focuses national attention on one of the most meaningful developments to take place within our health care structure in recent years, the recognition of the role played by the family doctor in the delivery of health care services to the American public.

In February of 1969, the advisory board for medical specialties and the council of medical education of the American Medical Association approved family practice as the 20th primary medical specialty. At that time, the American Board of Family Practice was created and empowered to conduct examinations and grant certification to family physicians who met its qualifications and passed its examinations.

During the past months we have also witnessed the development of new programs in medical schools and hospitals throughout the Nation to train young doctors to become family physicians.

The medical community looks to this new type of doctor as a primary contact between the public and the increasing complex of medical specialties, clinics, and hospitals that comprise our growing medical system.

I strongly feel that the family physician, by combining the warmth and humanity of the time honored general practitioner, with the highly sophisticated training of modern medicine, will contribute to better health for American families from every walk of life.

This special observance, supported by the American Academy of General Practice, should receive the attention and interest of all Americans concerned with the health and welfare of our citizens.

At this time, on behalf of the thousands of family physicians and general practitioners who serve the American public so faithfully, I thank my colleagues in this body and my colleagues in the other body for their support in making National Family Health Week a reality.

#### COHOES MODEL CITY STRATEGY

### HON. DANIEL E. BUTTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 22, 1969

Mr. BUTTON. Mr. Speaker, I have strongly expressed my support in the past for the model cities approach to solving the problems of our cities, and would like to underscore that commitment once again. Model cities encourages and requires a strong local alliance between citizen, city government, and business to get the job done. I feel the city of Cohoes, in my district, exemplifies these key ingredients in its strategy for implementing the model cities program.

I recently received from Mrs. Virginia B. McDonald, vice chairman of the Model Cities Social Service Planning Committee, a letter informing me of the progress of the Cohoes model cities program. Cohoes is one of 150 cities that has completed its model cities plan. Mrs. McDonald, widow of the late mayor of Cohoes, Mayor James E. McDonald, under whose guidance the model cities program got its start, also enclosed a copy of the program strategy statement which I feel gives an excellent example of how one model city is doing.

Because this program strategy statement makes such good sense, and because it raises questions critical to the direction our country is taking in facing up to the problems of our older, core cities, I am inserting Mrs. McDonald's letter and the accompanying statement in the RECORD at this point and commend it to the close attention of all Members of this House:

OCTOBER 10, 1969.

HON. DANIEL E. BUTTON,  
Longworth House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BUTTON: In keeping with your request to keep you informed of the progress and activities of the Cohoes Model Cities Program, the Director, Paul Van Buskirk, has asked me as Vice-Chairman of the Social Services Planning Committee, to forward to you a copy of the Program Strategy Statement.

This statement will give a brief, but concise, insight to the approach which the City of Cohoes wishes to use in implementing the program. We would appreciate your review and comments, and opinion as to whether the statement is in general agreement with the policies of Congress and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Yours truly,

VIRGINIA B. McDONALD,  
Vice Chairman, Social Services Planning Committee.

#### STRATEGY STATEMENT

The CDA Planning Committees, Planning Board and Governing Body, as a result of the Workshops, Pilot and Comprehensive Survey and background studies, selected five program components in which the long range goals are addressed to the following five categories listed in order of strategy sequence:

1. Human Resources
2. Relocation
3. Housing
4. Economic Development
5. Physical Environment

The program components were selected for a number of reasons: they provide convenient "packages" for specific identified prob-

lems (see Part I); they form reasonable bases for the development of overall strategies and approaches to problem-solving; and they are easily translated into statements of long-range goals as formulated by the CDA committees and boards.

Because of strong interrelationships and interdependencies among selected program components, the CDA planning committees and boards found it very difficult to arrange goals strictly according to problem severity. (Each of the broad program components contains specific high-priority problem areas.) Hence, strategy programming or sequencing of activities, as reflected in the order of the above listing, became a very significant and sensitive undertaking.

The reason for the selection of the order of long-range goals was:

Since the development of MNA human resources is considered without question to be the most important objective of the entire program, it would be necessary to provide MNA residents with improved social and health services, educational opportunities, counseling, etc. These resources will provide the MNA residents with necessary services and assistance which is needed to improve their quality of living. This program will enable MNA residents to call upon the many resources which are needed to support and maintain the physical improvements they desire in their neighborhoods; such as housing, open spaces and employment opportunities. A secondary benefit of the Human Resources Component is that MNA residents could rely on their resources for assistance to protect their investments, and community investments, of money for physical improvements and prevent the recurring deterioration, which would require further investments for corrections in the future.

Another reason for giving primary attention to development of human resources is to allow an alternate approach to solving MNA problems, should financing or other problems preclude other needed programs. In other words, since human resources can be improved independently of other planned improvements, residents would be given the necessary social tools to instill initiative, and create the ability, desire, and awareness of a decent quality of living. An objective of the program is to develop human resources for a resident who may have to rely on his resources to improve his neighborhood regardless of the success or failure of other planned programs.

The reason for selecting relocation as the second item in the sequence of Model Cities activities is the demonstrated necessity to have a well-established relocation program functioning before critically needed physical programs (which require displacement) are undertaken. The relocation program would be carefully coordinated with the social services cited above and would provide sensitive and efficient relocation services for MNA families, individuals, and businesses. To build new houses and rehabilitate existing housing units without properly planned and coordinated relocation services could result in a completely ineffective overall program. The object of the Cohoes Model Cities Plan is to look upon relocation not as a necessary evil but as an opportunity to serve MNA residents, provide social services, and upgrade the quality of living.

Housing was chosen as the third item in the strategy sequence. Once the human resources and relocation programs are formulated and delivering services, relocation could commence with the assurance that new or rehabilitated housing is decent, safe, and sanitary and that it meets residents needs and preferences. Furthermore, as a result of the human resources development program, residents would have available financial assistance and services needed to acquire, or rent and maintain, decent and safe housing. The housing program is viewed as

a logical extension of both the human resources and relocation activities.

Economic Development is placed fourth in the sequential order of activities. In order to obtain adequate housing, provide physical improvements and enjoy the benefits of improved health, education, etc., there must be sufficient economic activity to increase individual income levels and to broaden and reinforce the city's tax base. This program would help provide future revenues as well as the industrial and commercial facilities and services necessary to sustain residents.

It seemed logical to the CDA planning committees that the physical environment can be maintained and upgraded only after proper social services are provided, relocation services are firmly established, housing is available, and activity in the economic sector has been stimulated. Specific physical improvements which would support each of the other strategic activities would include additional and improved parks and open spaces, better streets (including sidewalks, street trees, lighting, etc.), a reduced level of structural and environmental blight, and major improvements in sewage and waste collection, treatment, and disposal.

#### STRATEGY AMONG GOALS

Housing, especially for low and moderate income families, was ranked by the CDA Workshops as the Model Areas most serious problem and the CDA attaches greatest importance to this goal.

The objective of the Housing Goal is to provide 1,000 new housing units, to rehab 500 substandard houses, to remove 600 dilapidated units, and to increase homeownership in the MNA by 428 families. In order to achieve this goal, it will be necessary to accomplish the objectives of the following goals:

Human Resources Goal: To have in effect the necessary home management and home maintenance programs and other social programs related to housing.

Relocation Goal: To have the Central Relocation Agency established and a Relocation Plan formulated.

Economic Development Goal: To have programs formulated to raise income levels above the Cohoes CPIC.

Physical Environment Goal: To begin to establish and administer an effective system of regulatory controls and to demolish "dilapidated" housing units (vacant ones first).

One of the greatest concerns of the MNA residents is in the area of economic development. This was brought out in the CDA Workshops, Comprehensive Survey and Pilot Survey. The Economic Development Goal would be of greatest concern, next to the Housing Goal.

The objectives of the Economic Development Goal are to implement a comprehensive employment program, to bring all MNA households above the CPIC income level, to rehabilitate non-residential structures, redevelop and develop land for industrial expansion and to have in effect, a long range industrial and commercial development program. In order to reach this goal, it would be necessary to develop the following:

Human Resources Goal: To have effective education programs; such as vocational and skill training, adult basic education and adult education.

Relocation Goal: To have, in operation, a Central Relocation agency and relocation plan for industries and businesses.

Physical Environment Goal: To redevelop 26 acres of industrial land.

#### STRATEGY AMONG PROGRAM APPROACHES AND CHANGES WITHIN A GOAL

Human Resources: The strategy among program approaches within the Human Resources Goal will be described according to the sub-components for the sake of clarity. With reference to related program approaches among the sub-components, the program ap-

proaches of the Human Resource Component are geared to the family as a unit. Programs, projects and activities have their objectives formulated to the family.

Social Services: The activity for this program approach would provide for the development of social services under a "single roof" concept (Human Resources Center) for delivery to identifiable families. The initial action would be to commence a Comprehensive Social Services Study to identify MNA families, their characteristics and need and to evaluate existing social services, gaps and program development. While the study is being undertaken, the recruiting of the initial core-staff of the Human Resources shall be underway. This core-staff's purpose will be to develop the administrative structure and work program, as well as program activities for operation in the second year, when the Human Resource facility will be leased or purchased and then occupied. The core-staff shall develop a recording system (IBM data processing) of services needed and rendered identified families. Programs that are directly geared to family management, such as home management, will commence early in the program.

Health: The lack, or disorganization of, health data shall be corrected by developing a collecting and reporting system on health statistics. The delivery of existing health services to MNA residents shall be accomplished in the first year by training project aides. The approach for needed health facilities will be accelerated by the fact that the local hospital has developed plans for expansion and need financial assistance for carrying this out. Construction of these facilities can convene in the first year with financial assistance from the CDA, and be completed by year two. Necessary changes, site selection, etc., will be completed in the first year for construction of a nursing home to begin in the second year and be completed by the third year. Recruitment for needed professional medical personnel will be formulated and concluded the first year for results in year two.

Education: The program approaches under this sub-component revolve around three basic areas; pre-K, adult education and reinforcing the academic program by beefing up the guidance counseling, curriculum and remedial reading. The first year would consist of developing and conducting a head-start program. In conjunction with the employment program, a day-care center will be developed. An effective adult and basic education program, leading to a high school equivalency, will be established and closely coordinated with the comprehensive employment program. Curriculum gaps, such as remedial reading for elementary students, will be filled in the first year. Special activities, such as the development of new curriculum and a comprehensive guidance counseling program for secondary school students, will be initiated during the first year and be fully established by the second and third years.

This will complete the thread of educational programs beginning with pre-K thru to adult basic education.

A study will be completed in the first year for needed educational facilities in the MNA and a program to maximize the availability and uses of existing school facilities for education, recreation and cultural purposes.

Recreation and Culture: To expend MNA acreage to meet national standards would be the first objective. This would be done by developing, approving and implementing new park and recreational areas to meet the needs of all MNA age groups especially focusing on specialized "social nodules" or areas of activity. On-going planning and action would take place over the five year period for the gradual requisition of land and establishment of more specialized recreational and

cultural areas culminating in the Old Erie Canal Trail Parkway following the historic canal route. However, recreational activities for all age groups must be developed and conducted as physical facilities are completed.

The development and implementation of new programs and facilities would be carried out the first year with the immediate erection of the Cohoes Community Center providing social, cultural and recreational services and programs to MNA families. In addition, innovative plans have been submitted for a joint historic preservation, educational, recreational and cultural venture which would restore the Old Opera House and connect it into two greatly needed facilities; namely, a theatre and a library.

**Crime and Delinquency:** To combat adult crime, a comprehensive survey will be made the first year for the purpose of improving systems for maximizing the security of residents regarding their persons and property and developing new programs to meet these ends during the second and succeeding program years. Juvenile delinquency will immediately be attacked by supporting community youth programs and facilities while developing improved and innovative systems and programs. The Juvenile Aid Bureau will be established and the Youth Bureau expanded through supplemental funds during the first year. A police and community relations will be developed in the first year, including the conducting of police training programs.

**Relocation:** First program approach would be to initiate a Comprehensive Housing and Relocation Study to determine specific relocation needs by characteristics of households. This approach would also include the monitoring of the Economic Base Study to determine specific relocation needs of industry and business.

While this study is under way, the city should then create, through new legislation, a Central Relocation Agency; recruitment of a staff to administer an effective city-wide program and provide supplemental funds to organize the agency.

Relocation standards and policies should be adopted by the City government and the administrative machinery would go into full operation.

**Housing:** First program to be initiated would be the Comprehensive Housing and Relocation Study, cited in the Relocation Goal. Next, the development of open sites by installing needed utilities and the establishment of a Housing Development Corporation. This would be followed by development of programs for construction of new housing on open developed sites or redevelopment sites.

Vacant dilapidated units would be demolished early in the program.

Rehabilitation of sub-standard housing could take place that would not cause major dislocation. Upon completion of new housing units, families and individuals from dilapidated housing, major rehabilitation projects

and those dislocated from major improvement projects could be relocated. Simultaneously the program for assistance toward homeownership could be in effect.

**Economic Development:** The immediate need under this component is to provide redevelopment land (land that is currently occupied by vacant, obsolete, and deteriorated structures) for existing industries whose facilities have become obsolete for the construction of new facilities. Therefore, the program approach to develop blighted land and install facilities would be of first priority.

While this action is being initiated under an NDP program, a Comprehensive Economic Base Study would begin which would include an employment study, an update of the 1965 economic base study, and long range industrial and commercial development plans.

A Comprehensive Employment Program would be organized and implemented. This would be followed shortly by the program to identify characteristics of MNA households below the CPIC, and the development programs, according to household needs, to boost incomes above the CPIC.

The demolition of dilapidated non-residential buildings would begin under the NDP program along with demolition under the Physical Environment Component.

Restoring of industrial and commercial buildings would begin with the reorganization of the Cohoes Industrial Development and Redevelopment Corporation as a Community Development Corporation.

A long range CBD plan and industrial development plan would begin to be implemented through a Community Development Corporation.

**Physical Environment:** The program approach to which the greatest attention should first be given is the adoption and enforcement of the necessary regulatory controls. This approach also serves as an alternate approach, in the event that sufficient financial resources are unavailable, or other problems arise, which might prevent the implementation of other program approaches under this component. The strategy behind this is that if an effective system of regulatory controls is established, individual, corporate or other organized initiative could be marshaled to correct deficiencies in the physical environment.

The execution of various planning studies under the above approach would begin early in the program. These studies are described throughout the plan and include historic preservation, thoroughfare plan, Erie Canal trail development, housing, and relocation, commercial and industrial development, etc.

During the first year of the program, engineering studies, drawings, specifications, etc., would be completed for the development of 60 acres of recreation and open public spaces.

The construction of sewer intercepts would begin in the first year to eliminate the open polluted canals, and would continue

through and be completed by the end of the five year period, including sewer treatment facilities.

The selection of alternate sites for solid waste disposal would be completed by the end of the first year with sites available by the second year for the removal and disposal of various solid wastes.

**Comprehensive Studies:** Several comprehensive studies will be conducted during the first year action program.

The following studies will be conducted under the "701" Program:

Housing and Relocation.

Open Spaces.

Historic Preservation.

Economic Base Study.

Thoroughfare Plan.

These studies are necessary for the following reasons:

1. To obtain detail and sufficient data, presently not available, for program planning and implementation.

2. To obtain data in order to establish proper measures for program evaluation.

3. To determine projects and activities, their priorities, feasibility, cost estimates, cost benefits, analyses required to properly achieve the long-range goals and five-year objectives of this plan submission.

However, projects and activities will be undertaken during the first year which are related to the comprehensive studies.

These projects have been selected because sufficient information is presently available to require completion of these programs, financial resources are available and the need is apparent.

Examples of such programs are the Neighborhood Development Program as part of the Economic Development Component, Restoration of the early American Theater, as part of Culture and Recreation of the Human Resources Component. As these studies are being conducted, other projects and activities will be formulated.

Other studies coinciding with the strategy herein described will be:

Social Services and Activities.

Health.

Police Services.

These studies will result in a sound program development for the entire community.

In conclusion, the overall strategy and goal of the Cohoes Model Cities Program, as visualized by the CDA, is the elimination of social and economic problems so common to our many cities, the elimination of physical blight and the sound development of the entire city. When we realize that the City of Cohoes is a small city of 20,000 people, and its problems can be defined and are controllable, this goal is not impractical or unrealistic. The attainment of this goal depends on the commitment of the community. The CDA believes that the people of the City of Cohoes will fully dedicate themselves to this goal and show the nation that the problems of the cities can be solved through total community effort.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Thursday, October 23, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. Baan Vitez, O.F.M., Holy Trinity Roman Catholic Church, Barberton, Ohio, offered the following prayer:

Lord God, grant us the courage, we pray, to love our heritage. This is the day when Your children lit the flame of freedom on the streets of Budapest, Hungary, in 1956.

The fire they lighted, if kept alive, will spell the doom of any oppressors' enforced darkness. The fire within them, and thanks to Your graciousness, within us, is a fire that brightens and warms all men of good will.

May the flames of love of God and national consciousness leap forever in our hearts till we leap with joy into lasting freedom and peace. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Leonard, one

of his secretaries, who also informed the House that on the following dates the President approved and signed bills and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles:

On October 17, 1969:

H.R. 3165. An act for the relief of Martin H. Loeffler;

H.R. 3560. An act for the relief of Arle Rudolf Busch (also known as Harry Bush);

H.R. 11249. An act to amend the John F. Kennedy Center Act to authorize additional funds for such Center; and

H.J. Res. 851. Joint resolution requesting the President of the United States to issue a