

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## THE GULF INTRACOASTAL WATERWAY—THE SOUTH'S HIGHWAY TO PROGRESS

## HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, one of the most energetic young men in my district is Mr. Charles Steiner III. He has for some time been involved in a study of the waterways of the gulf coast area. He has traveled on tugboats and barges; he has studied statistics as well as the waterways themselves. He has written several articles concerning the waterways, the most recent of which appeared in the Mobile Press Register on September 28, 1969. At my request he has summarized this article so that all Members may have the benefit of his work. I include Mr. Steiner's summary at this point in the RECORD:

THE GULF INTRACOASTAL WATERWAY—THE SOUTH'S HIGHWAY TO PROGRESS  
AMERICA'S WATERWAYS

The influence of the waterway industry on national transportation and on the economy of the United States grows each year as tonnage mounts over our country's 25,260 miles of commercially navigable rivers, canals, bays and harbors. Over 10 percent of the nation's freight is transported over these waterways. In 1967, the last year that we have complete commercial tonnage statistics, the grand total of all waterborne commerce shipped in the United States was 1,336,606,078 tons; of this, iron and concentrates accounted for 123,265,800 tons; crude petroleum for 179,670,885 tons; coal for 214,153,740 tons and marine shells for 23,365,232 tons.

The record total of 281.4 billion ton-miles were shipped along our waterways. This included 114.6 billion ton-miles on the Mississippi River System and 60.0 billion ton-miles on the coastal waterways of which the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway accounted for 13,926 billion ton-miles. This is proof, to our nation's industries and to the general public, of the valuable economical asset that they have in their waterways and reason why they should continue to be developed and improved. Due to improved navigation and modern facilities on our waterways built since 1940, the total domestic freight carried on our nation's waterways rose from 496.6 million tons of cargo to \$870.6 million tons in 1967; of this, the total barge traffic amounted to 502.4 million tons.

You have to travel these waterways to really see just what has taken place in the last 20 years. There is a fantastic growth of new industries, hydro-electric power plants, and building growth taking place along the canals, industrial parks and ports along our waterways. Our nation benefits also from man-made lakes for boating, fishing and other water recreation sports; modern locks, dams, and improved navigation channels for faster shipping, flood control and electric power; and better irrigated pasture and farm lands for cattle raising and agriculture; and the revitalization of old cities along the rivers and coasts due to better national and domestic use of our valuable waterways.

## BUSINESS BOOMS

One of the most important segments of these waterways and one that can be described as being the Gulf Coast's own high-

way of progress is the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway which has almost doubled its tonnage in the last 10 years from 46,007,718 tons to 87,850,332 tons. This massive and continuous movement of basic raw materials for production of fuel oil, gasoline, building materials and steel products along this waterway has resulted in the construction of new and modern terminals for the handling of freight and bulk cargoes. The river and channel improvements by the Corp of Engineers combined with a modern interstate highway system, the spread of jet airports and a more competitive rail rates gives this Gulf Coast area exceptional transportation advantages for industry. This development and increased shipment of materials to all ports of the nation and the world is helping the growing South to become the new industrial and financial center of our nation through the tremendous activity and growth that has taken place on this particular waterway and its connecting river systems.

Rapid growth of this waterway extends all the way from the Gulf Coast areas of Texas and Louisiana up the lower Mississippi River region eastward through Alabama and Georgia and down into Florida. Serving this area of growth and expansion is the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway, a water highway of progress and profit that extends 1113 miles from its eastern terminal at Carrabella, Florida on the St. Marks River to Brownsville, Texas across the Rio Grande River from Mexico. Eventually this waterway will be international in scope. The Mexican government plans a protected intercoastal waterway from Tampico to the terminal of the Intracoastal Canal at the Texas Border. Plans are under way to complete the missing link in the waterway from St. Marks, Fla., to Fort Myers. Also the Cross Florida Barge Canal, when completed, will provide an even shorter protected link between the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway and Atlantic Coast waterways systems. The GIWW has the most active ports in the nation.

New Orleans is rivaling New York for the nation's number one shipping center with 111,491,062 tons shipped through its 125 mile long port area; Houston is the financial and trade center of the Southwest with 58,305,362 tons of products mostly grain, marine shells, petroleum, gasoline and Sulphuric acid shipped through its Ship Channel with over three-fourths of this to foreign countries; Galveston with 41,137,933 tons of cotton, sugar, wheat, grain and fertilizer shipped through this Southwestern agricultural center's Galveston Wharves; and the petroleum centers of the West such as Beaumont with 31,001,800 tons and Port Arthur, Texas with 23,104,204 tons of cargo with over half of that tonnage being petroleum oil and its by-products; and Mobile, which is at the crossroads of this dynamic waterway and a future hub for the interchange of traffic on the Ohio, Tennessee and Mississippi River Systems once the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway is built, had 22,326,318 tons of cargo pass through its port area.

This waterway is by far one of the most important links in America's network of navigable channels because it connects the industrial and agricultural heart of the nation and South with the growing ports and cities along the Gulf and with the abundant sources of raw materials that this area offers. A wide variety of mineral resources including coal, iron ore, limestone, marine shell, clam shells, gravel, sand, marble, clays, natural gas, and oil has been responsible for the immense growth of water-front industry that has settled here in the South and for the continued growth of the barge and tow industry that travels day and night along the 1100 mile long waterway and connecting

waterways serving industries and households with tremendous savings from low-cost and efficient barge transportation.

Mid-west grain is barged down the Mississippi River and from Texas ports to overseas markets; from the coast comes oyster shells and from the rivers and bays comes sand, gravel and clam shells for building and highway construction; timber from the forest of Mississippi, Alabama and Florida for the South's large pulp and paper mills; coal barged down the Warrior-Tombigbee Waterway of Alabama for the steam generating plants of the South; iron and bauxite for the steel and aluminum mills of Birmingham, Alabama and Baton Rouge, Louisiana and other steel mills in the South; limestone, sand and gravel from Alabama for the highway construction along the Gulf Coast; phosphate from Florida for local plants and overseas markets; sulfur and salt from the mines of Louisiana for the upstream Mississippi River ports and large volumes of oil from the Gulf and Southwest oilfields for the petrochemical industry of the nation.

Along the Gulf Coast is the nation's largest petrochemical industry with hundreds of plants that are linked together by both a 1100 mile network of pipes and the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway. It is an industry that involves 6 billion dollars of investments and that contributed 40.2 percent of domestic commerce and shipped 33,770,009 tons of crude petroleum on the GIWW out of the national tonnage of 179,670,885 tons on our waterways. Millions of gallons of gasoline, fuel oil and jet fuel are moved by barge annually from coastal refineries in Texas, Louisiana, and Alabama to canning plants in the nation. Because of the low-cost barge transportation and the competition of the many independent distributors who have been attracted to this area—the farmer, the motorist, the householder and the industries are greatly benefited.

This water-borne commerce and the rapid industrialization of the Gulf Coast is a true indicator of the strength of America's economic future. For example; along the GIWW, the internal freight traffic between Apalachee, Florida and Mobile, Alabama covered gasoline, asphalt, iron pipe, marine shells and jet fuels. From Apalachee Bay to Panama City, Fla., the tonnage for the last 11 years rose from 1,377,549 to 1,418,936 tons; between Panama City and Pensacola, Fla., the tonnage rose from 2,839,511 to 4,136,342 tons and between Pensacola and Mobile, the tonnage rose from 3,156,867 to 4,989,500 tons.

From the Mexican Border eastward to New Orleans, the principal commodities shipped along the waterway covered crude petroleum, marine shells, basic chemicals, gasoline and grains. From the Mexican border to Corpus Christi, Texas, the tonnage rose from 1,025,268 to 1,671,623 tons. Between Corpus Christi and Galveston, Texas, the tonnage rose from 7,830,234 to 15,462,366 tons; from Galveston and Sabine River, Texas, the tonnage rose from 20,698,161 to 38,332,179 tons and from Sabine River to the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway, Mississippi River, the tonnage increased from 31,200,435 to 58,722,476 tons.

Between the Port of Mobile and New Orleans the tonnage for the last 11 years over this 134 mile stretch of the GIWW rose from 7,068,648 to 16,240,764 tons covering 583,861 oceangoing tons mostly phosphate rock. Internal tonnage shipped on this route amounted to 14,679,390 tons covering 3,360,238 tons of gasoline, 1,285,414 tons of coal, 907,605 tons of corn, 737,065 tons of marine shells and 627,914 tons of basic chemicals plus many other products.

With this growth, the future expansion of the South and increased usage of water

transportation as the cheapest form of transportation for bulk cargoes and the development of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway, the Port of Mobile will become a second and most vital defense and commercial interchange route for the water highway system of America. The advantages offered by the Tenn-Tom would more than triple the tonnage on the Gulf and provide a more stable and economic growth to America. Its completion will shorten the route of industrial goods from the American heartland to the Gulf Intracoastal Waterway and its ports by 500 to 1000 miles benefiting everyone including our governments missile program.

SHASTA COUNTY LONG WILL  
REMEMBER C. FRED SMITH

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, it was with great sadness that I learned of the passing of an old friend, a man who has contributed greatly to the development of the counties which I represent here in Congress. C. Fred Smith was born in Shasta County nearly 80 years ago.

During those eight decades the contributions which he made to his community through his outstanding public service will be remembered for many decades to come. Shasta County is a better place for his having been with us.

Fred Smith's hometown newspaper, the Redding Record Searchlight, told the story of his efforts for his community in the following report which I would like to share with my colleagues:

C. FRED SMITH

"The dean of active Democrats in Shasta County" is dead at 79.

C. (for Charles) Fred Smith died early today in Mercy Hospital.

Born Jan. 29, 1890, to a pioneer Shasta County family, Smith's involvement in civic and political activities began at an early age and continued throughout his long life.

He was graduated from Shasta County High School in 1909 and became secretary-manager of the Redding Chamber of Commerce and secretary-manager of the Shasta County promotion and development agency in 1915.

He left the position to enlist in the armed forces during World War I.

For 21 years after the war Smith was a deputy in the U.S. Internal Revenue Service. For 16 years he headed the far Northern California office of the IRS in Redding.

After retiring from government service, he was appointed an inheritance tax appraiser by then State Controller Alan Cranston. Real estate and accounting work also kept him busy in recent years.

Long active in politics, Smith was honored at a fund-raising Democratic dinner in 1966. At the dinner he heard himself described as "the dean of active Democrats in Shasta County" for his years of service in the Democratic Club and county central committee.

He was a long and staunch supporter of the formation of the Bella Vista Water District.

Smith's interests weren't only political. He served as co-chairman of the final drive for building funds for Mercy Hospital. He also headed an organization that raised

\$6,500 to bring the Salvation Army to Redding.

He was selected as an outstanding citizen of 1950 by the Record-Searchlight and by the Eagles Lodge.

Smith served as chairman of the March of Dimes from 1949 to 1951. He was also a member of the organizing committee to form the Shasta County Senior Citizens group and served as the group's first and second-term president.

He listed memberships in the American Legion, Redding Elks' Lodge 1073 and Knights of Columbus.

NAVY DAY—1969

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, this past Monday, October 27, was Navy Day—a day commemorating our Navy and her personnel. On this day in 1775, a bill was sent to the Continental Congress requesting the creation of a U.S. Navy. This day is also celebrated because it is the birthday of the father of our modern Navy, Theodore Roosevelt.

The Navy has been instrumental in preserving the peace and in maintaining our national security. Its diverse and unique functions have served the Nation well. The following article in the October 27, 1969, South Bay, Calif., Daily Breeze illustrates the potential uses of our Navy in this era of uncertainty.

The article follows:

[From the South Bay (Calif.) Daily Breeze, Oct. 27, 1969]

THE NAVY'S IMPORTANT ROLE

Rarely since the United States of America abandoned a policy of isolationism in 1914 have the pressures upon our national leaders been so great to reduce our military presence in the world.

We hear a clamor for precipitate withdrawal from Vietnam.

There is pressure in the Senate to reduce our commitments to other nations in Southeast Asia.

A critical national eye is being cast upon the presence of more than 50,000 American troops in South Korea.

Libya has said it will not renew our contract for Wheelus Air Force Base, our only military installation on the north coast of Africa.

Our bases in The Philippines are constantly under scrutiny. We have given up Iwo Jima and Japan is pressing for reduction of our presence on Okinawa.

Even in Japan itself the physical presence of the United States has been slowly eroded, and the beneficial use to which we put existing bases there is circumscribed.

And in Europe where we have withdrawn thousands of troops and supporting hardware—voices are being raised in Congress to continue the trend.

We cannot ignore some realities. There is an intense demand to remove the military and physical presence of the United States from strategic areas throughout the world. The pressures come from hostile governments, friendly rulers and even result from our own budgetary agonies.

As this occurs, the United States is faced with two choices.

We could retreat from our land bases over-

seas to the isolationism that dominated our foreign policy for the century before 1914.

Or we can continue the type of international cosmopolitanism that has given us world leadership and all the benefits this brings.

Isolationism would be a national economic disaster. Militarily it would leave the United States with only the option of nuclear response. It was isolationism that led to two world wars.

Clearly we must retain our world leadership and the balance of power which that connotes. The effects of our physical withdrawal from land bases will not be moderated if we realize the value of the oceans and our Navy.

The high seas comprise a vast area in which no single nation has sovereignty. We do not have to pay rent for use of the oceans. Base rights, concessions to others or the behavior of petty rulers are of no consequence.

And on the high seas the United States Navy is an extension of our sovereignty and our muscle. With a strong Navy we can quickly bring land forces, missiles, air power and firepower to wherever our national interest dictates for whatever length of time these are needed.

As we observe Navy Day it would be appropriate to remember this, and the fact that as a two-ocean nation we have always had the need for a great Navy. World conditions today dictate the need for not only a great Navy, but also for the most powerful Navy we ever have had.

HALL OF FAME AWARD FOR BATES

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, at page 23897 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 13, I called attention to the Reserve Officers Association having awarded its coveted Minuteman Hall of Fame Award to our late beloved colleague, the Honorable William H. Bates of Massachusetts. At that time I did not have the details about this special award but said I would present them in due course. I am now able to do so.

On October 18 the Reserve Officers Association, holding its 47th anniversary banquet at St. Louis, devoted its entire program in paying tribute to Congressman Bates, for nearly 20 years a Member of the House of Representatives. This tribute was made before military reserve leaders from throughout the United States, with ROA president, Maj. Gen. Ray D. Free, presiding. It was a warm and highly merited honor to the memory of our esteemed friend, who throughout a lifetime of service to his country had been an inspiration to all who knew him.

The brief address of presentation was made by Brig. Gen. Homer I. Lewis, of Eagle Pass, Tex., the immediate past president of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, and the response was given by the widow of Congressman Bates, Mrs. Jean Dreyer Bates.

The presentation of this Minuteman Hall of Fame Award to Congressman Bates is in a real sense a tribute to this entire body. The address of General

Lewis and the response of Mrs. Bates are included in the RECORD at this point, because of the occasion's significance to the life of our country:

## ADDRESS OF GENERAL LEWIS

This is an evening on which we share pride in the record of our association and its 47 years of service to the cause of national security. Traditionally, we also honor on this occasion an outstanding citizen who, in a real sense, has helped us to advance our programs. We had looked forward to sharing this evening with our good friend—that great citizen, statesman, and officer—Congressman William Henry Bates, of Massachusetts. The hand of the Lord removed him, however, and we are tonight honoring his memory and giving recognition due him and to his great career. We are honored that his widow is here with us, along with her sister and the Congressman's niece and nephew.

The Reserve Officers Association of the United States, since the tragedy of unpreparedness of this country was demonstrated by the experience of World War I, has worked to keep our Nation secure, safe and at peace.

Congressman Bates, for the past quarter century himself was a part of this great movement in America. In 1940, noting the war clouds on the horizon and having a love for the sea from his life in a seafaring community, enlisted in the Navy and served throughout World War II. His outstanding leadership qualities earned him a direct commission and by the end of the war he had risen through the ranks to the grade of Lieutenant Commander. After his election to Congress, he remained in the Naval Reserve—ready to serve if again called into uniform—and at the time of his passing had been for some years a Captain in the United States Naval Reserve.

Captain Bates loved the Navy and had expected to make a career therein, but in 1949, after his statesman father died in a plane crash, he was drafted to occupy a seat in the Congress which had been occupied by his father.

Bill Bates served on the Armed Services Committee for 20 years. During the past several years he was the senior Republican on this committee and he shared in the enactment of the many sound laws governing the military service and providing for our national security. He helped with laws which were dictated by the lessons of experience of World War II and Korea. He believed strongly in the military services and himself had been ready to respond to a call to service from his position as a ready reservist. Those who know him are fully aware that had America's deterrents to World War III proved ineffective, that he would have given up his seat in the Congress to serve again in the active Navy.

Congressman Bates was a man of vision . . . a man of dedication . . . a man of deep loyalties. He was a man who believed in his country . . . believed in the causes to which he devoted his tremendous energies and talents. No man ever served in the Congress who was more genuinely beloved by his colleagues, and by those of us in all walks of life who had the privilege of knowing him personally. No man has ever merited more genuinely the place we now claim for him in the Nation's Minuteman Hall of Fame.

Mrs. Bates, I know that you share with us a feeling of satisfaction over the great and inspiring career of Bill Bates, whose example of courage, selfless devotion to duty and great work, has made this country richer in character, more safe and secure, and a finer nation for all time to come.

It is my privilege—and honor—on behalf of our association to present this citation:

Recognizing that the Honorable William Henry Bates through a long and inspiring career in the Congress, as a private citizen, and an officer of the United States Navy, has sacrificially devoted his genius and leadership

to the cause of national security, and both in war and peace, has given meaning, substance, and effectiveness to the citizen-soldier tradition, vital to the safety and welfare of the United States of America, this association claims for him a place in this Nation's Minuteman Hall of Fame and this citation is awarded to him posthumously to remind other citizens of their obligation of service to country.

Approved:

The National Convention, June 1969.

Presented by Army, Air Force, Navy-Marine Corps-Coast Guard Sections, 47th Anniversary Banquet, St. Louis, Missouri, October 18, 1969.

RAY D. FREE,

Major General, USAR, National President.

JOHN T. CARLTON,

Colonel, USAR, Executive Director.

## RESPONSE OF MRS. BATES

General Free, General Lewis, Distinguished Head Table Guests, Members of the Military: I feel very much at home with you tonight. I was born in Missouri, as was our daughter, Susan, during the days of Iwo Jima. The uniform has always had my love, and respect. As a Navy bride, and the wife of a Congressman during the 20 challenging years he served on the House Armed Services Committee, a significant part and purpose of my life with Bill Bates was characterized by a solemn respect for, and genuine love of our country.

I am deeply touched by the splendid tribute—in your joint salute to the memory of my husband, in recognition of his interest in, and devotion to, the military—and for his earnest and untiring efforts toward the security of our country.

During the happenings of the past week, I dwelled upon the many gatherings when I had heard my husband's pleas: "We must keep our country militarily strong in order to preserve our liberties—or become second rate—and there is no prize for second place in military struggles of world affairs today" and "We are called the leader of the free world, the mightiest force for peace, and you and I should pledge we will keep it that way".

I can still hear his voice saying: "We must deal from a position of strength, not weakness. We must not allow events of past years in Southeast Asia to blur our vision when looking at our military posture. If we err in our preparedness, it must be on the side of strength, not weakness" and "The unpopular Viet Nam war has set the peace pulse of the Nation running high. We are at a dangerous point in time when we must face the stark reality that the price of security comes high, and we must be willing to pay the bill if this country is to survive."

As a Congressman, and as my husband, Bill would be pleased to have me here tonight among such fine Americans who proudly carry their patriotism on their shoulders and in their hearts, and who strongly support our Commander in Chief in his efforts to bring an end to the war in Viet Nam to assure his survival of our great Nation. And he would be humbly proud of the honor you accord his name. I want you to know that our daughter and I, and the Bates family, thank you for this Minute Man Hall of Fame Award.

Only a few days ago, I noticed among my husband's papers, some lines which would perhaps best express a proper response, and in his own handwriting I read: "I am extremely grateful to you for the signal honor you have bestowed upon me this evening. I particularly treasure this citation because, as in your own life, in uniform or not, the military security of our beloved country has represented a very full measure of my efforts." Personally, I know that to him those efforts were very meaningful and a necessary fulfillment in his life. In his untimely passing, did it not seem almost ordained that if, on that quiet Sunday morning in June at the Bethesda Naval Medical Center, he had to

slip away from life, it was during the flag raising ceremony to the strains of our National Anthem?

As for me, this occasion will stand out as a heartwarming addition to the memories I cherish of my husband, who lived his life so well. If, now, I can momentarily ignore the pain of personal loss, to sense a pride in and gratification for his dedication and those contributions he made to our country, then it is you tonight whom I must salute for making this moment a reality. Thank you.

## TREATED PAPER—A NEW IDEA TO REDUCE THE HAZARDS OF SMOKING

HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, American Safety Equipment Corp. of New York has been conducting some interesting experiments, some of which are in laboratories, located in the Seventh Congressional District which I represent. The results of these experiments were recently released and included the following findings:

Cigarette paper treated with ammonium sulfamate reduces tumor and cancer production by cigarette smoke on the skin of mice by approximately one-third, and produces no adverse toxicological effects. These conclusions issued by ASE Corporation warrant the attention of Public Health officials because although they have urged the public to discontinue smoking, the majority of smokers have continued. In addition, the number of deaths from lung cancer, which show a statistical association with smoking, continues to rise each year.

The research findings to date on the relationship between smoking and lung cancer has not produced agreement on whether the basic problem relates to the tobacco, the paper, or a combination of these factors. To my knowledge little Government research has been directed to cigarette paper or the treatment of the paper to reduce health hazards.

According to the ASE Corp. reports the particular treatment developed by the corporation has no effect on the taste, flavor, ash, or appearance of cigarettes; and indications are that processing cost increases would be insignificant. Since the process does not result in a reduction of tar or nicotine content, the treatment of the paper has had some unknown effect on the nature of the smoke. Experts have not yet been able to define the causes of the biological activity of smoke and for that reason there are differences of opinion on the question of whether tobacco or paper produce the hazardous elements of smoking.

To date the experiments referred to above have been conducted on animals and ASE Corp. is now ready to test the product on humans. Even those who most strenuously object to smoking will admit that a large number of people will simply not give up the habit. For this reason alone it is important to research and experiment with any method of producing a less hazardous cigarette.

I urge the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to conduct research

in this area which until now has not received adequate attention. As ASE pointed out when the study was released:

Even if we cannot prove whether human lung cancer is caused by cigarette smoke, or whether the animal test results described above apply to man, the alternative must be faced: Not using such treated-paper cigarettes will leave the death rate from cancer increasing each year, whereas using such cigarettes may possibly reduce lung cancer in man substantially, and ignoring this possibility would constitute serious negligence in an urgent matter of public health.

Mr. Speaker, we have emphasized the need for people to stop smoking but I believe we should place importance on research to reduce the health hazards of smoking to those who will not stop.

#### SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM CHANGE CONSIDERED

**HON. MARTIN B. McKNEALLY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. McKNEALLY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I am pleased to include the following letter from the chairman of Local Board 13, Rockland County, N.Y., Mr. Garry Onderdonk, who has vast experience with the Selective Service System, having been on the job for 26 years. What Mr. Onderdonk has to say is must reading for all Members of the House as they consider changes to be made in the Selective Service law and as they seek to advise the President in connection with his Executive order affecting the drafting of men for the Armed Forces.

The letter follows:

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM,  
ROCKLAND COUNTY, N.Y.,  
October 28, 1969.

HON. MARTIN B. McKNEALLY,  
Longworth House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MARTIN: It has come to my attention that not only the general public, but also the local boards have become increasingly confused regarding the Selective Service System.

All of the news articles being put out by the news medias, though most of them are confusing in themselves, seem to be interpreted by the public as new regulations and rules. This, of course, does the local board no good. It only adds to their tasks.

After twenty-six years on this assignment I have come to some definite conclusions as to some of the things I would like to see changed in the present rules, regulations and manner of enforcement of the same by the government.

It would take far longer than I have time to enumerate them all. However I will enumerate some of them for your consideration when and if the government contemplates changes.

It seems to me that this service is in need of some better public relations. The image which they have created to the public is not one to be desired by them or the government. First of all, members should be made aware of the fact that their job is dual. One to supply the armed forces with the necessary manpower and secondly to make equally sure

that all of the registrants rights and privileges are definitely observed. There is too much time elapsing between the period of processing the men and induction. I believe that the first thing to be done should be to make sure these men are physically fit before the classifications are started.

There should be a strict balance on the Boards; one Catholic, one Jew, one Protestant and one Negro on all Boards. There should be fewer classifications which would allow long deferments.

I feel that all young men should be called into service after finishing high school or reaching the age of twenty. It has been my observation that as it is now, after they reach the age of twenty-four, or complete four years of college they become far less subservient to discipline. Of course this would make available far more manpower than we have ever needed. Therefore a just and equitable form of lottery must be invoked. A much clearer guide line must be set down by the government regarding conscientious objectors.

A system must be developed whereby those who break the law are brought to trial and either convicted or acquitted. (This is one point which is thrown up to us all the time.)

The present system which can keep a young man out on a limb for long periods of time is not good for either him or the nation. He can't get work with a classification which may make him available at any time and in most cases right here is when he gets in trouble with the law.

As it is right now, the allowing of post graduate work to only those in the medical profession or those allied to it is wrong. You can't run our nation with just doctors.

I feel that regardless of any reasons to the contrary married men with children should not be drafted unless a real state of emergency exists. Those classified as 1Y should be made available for limited duty if only to replace the women civilians attached to the armed forces.

That if we are to become involved in a conflict that a state of war be declared so that those who are hurting their nation by their actions and speech could be stopped. That if we are in a war such as we are now, for Gods sake lets try and win it, not expend 40,000 lives and have over 200,000 wounded in a police action!

That a much closer relationship should be maintained between local boards and their state and national headquarters.

That an efficient alarm system be installed between local boards offices of Selective Service and that these terminate in police headquarters.

That microfilm records be kept on all records and that they be kept in a safe place in headquarters.

That all members of the Selective Service System be advised that no one comes before a local board unless he is in trouble and that this must be kept uppermost in their minds.

I believe the system of local boards is good and should be maintained.

I do not believe that a professional army would work and I am against it.

I believe that the law regarding interference and trying to change the determinations of the board is a good one and should be strictly enforced for the good of all.

The age limit of seventy-five for members of Selective Service is too high. I think the age of sixty-five should be the limit or twenty years of service whichever comes first.

I will not go into the physical operation of the Boards, however there are numerous changes here that I would like to see made.

I hope that you do not feel that I am too presumptuous in contacting you with these unrequested suggestions. I feel they may be

of some help to you in coming to a determination regarding these proposed changes in the law.

Respectfully yours,  
GARRY ONDERDONK,  
Chairman Local Board 13.

#### THE COMMUNISTS CAN BE DEFEATED

**Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY**

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

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

BAO LOC, VIETNAM,  
October 19, 1969.

HON. G. V. MONTGOMERY,  
House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I and many others have patiently waited a long time for results for America from all the compromising to the enemy in Vietnam. The elimination of air raids has just enabled more men and materiel to come south to kill more Americans, Allies and civilians. Everyone can now see that the Paris talks have just been used by the Communists as an extension of the battlefield. The pull-out of our troops adversely affects the war, both directly and morale-wise—particularly in the largely VC-held Delta region. Also, why are we pulling vital troops from here when we still have combat units in the Dominican Republic? (Why are they there?)

The Administration's consideration of anti-military proposals by the "peace-niks" and their supporters has just cost us more lives, time and money. We cannot just tell the ARVNs to take over the war because the South Vietnamese simply are not capable, either now or in the near future. Korea showed you can't turn a mass of Asian peasantry into a modern military machine quickly, or even in several years: It has taken two decades to make the Korean Army as competent and battlewise as it is today.

The American people are rightly disgusted by the present handling of the war and a "No-Win" policy. However, it is just a vocal few (including the American Communists) who want us to pull out unilaterally. I hope you are not being influenced by the few rabble-rousers conducting the current anti-war riots in U.S. cities. I'm sure the great majority of our loyal citizens want a successful solution to the war: a great many of us want to win. War without victory is still un-American.

Our military leaders must be allowed to use the full potential of our tremendous air and sea power and other weaponry as needed to put an end to this endless war. Who is the Administration afraid of? The subversive peace-niks? Red China? The Soviet Union? None of the Communist powers could do any more in Vietnam than they already are doing. Atomic weaponry is not needed. For example, the enemy is mostly dependent on the port of Haiphong which can be easily blockaded or destroyed.

Dictator Ho Chi Minh's recent death automatically leaves a large power vacuum in North Vietnam. The time to win the war is now. The enemy is losing the war and we must now press on for total victory and not surrender any Vietnamese to the evil Communists. The Communists can be defeated: the civil wars in Malaya, Bolivia, Greece and Korea are examples.

I am vitally concerned for the future of Southeast Asia: a great mass of the world's population is here. What are you doing to help win the war? Are you going to casually let the Communists win Vietnam? (Remember how the U.S. Government, through the influences of just a few subversives, wrongfully permitted the Red takeover of mainland China?)

Sincerely yours,

Sp.6 DAVID C. CAVANESS,  
APO San Francisco, Calif.

P.S.—I thought you'd like a copy of this I'm sending to entire Congress. I still remember your earlier visit to the Engineer Battalion here at Bao Loc. Keep up the good work, Sonny.

#### BLOOD FOR PEACE

### HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, the October 15 antiwar moratorium received a great deal of publicity in all news media across the country.

I would imagine the impression of the moratorium in the minds of many Americans centers about the highly vocal minority who used the occasion to berate everything from the establishment to the draft to the war in South Vietnam. I am not one of those who condemns all those young people who took part in expressing dissent, because that oversimplification can be just as damaging to the Nation's future and as unrealistic as the empty mouthings of the extreme radicals on the far left fringe who ingrain themselves into legitimate forms of peaceful protest so they can ultimately subvert and discredit them.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to report to this body that October 15, the antiwar moratorium day was generally a day of moderate, peaceful demonstrations on the college and university campuses in Florida. In my own district, some students at Florida Technological University, located between Orlando and Cape Kennedy, sponsored a "Blood for Peace" drive. The drive, which is continuing and will last at least until the end of November, is being coordinated through the Central Florida Blood Bank at Orlando.

To date, 40 pints of blood have been donated by faculty, staff, and students to the blood bank. In fact, it is already being put to good use.

A Vietnam veteran in a hospital in Brevard County, Fla., has already received some of this lifesaving FTU blood from the blood for peace drive. Two FTU students, John Davis and Darryl Bannister, originated the drive and have interested student leaders at other Florida colleges and universities in expanding the drive throughout the State.

I am very proud of these students at Florida Technological University, as I am of all the responsible, dedicated students in Florida and on the campuses visited by those of us who were members of a special factfinding team earlier in the session. They represent the great

majority of American students who are intelligent, responsible, and mature beyond their years.

#### CONGRESSMAN WHALEN PAYS TRIBUTE TO GEN. GLEN J. McCLERNON

### HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to one of the finest Air Force officers I ever have been privileged to know.

He is Brig. Gen. Glen J. McClernon, who today retires from active duty after a career of devoted service to the Nation.

Military officers are officers and gentlemen by act of Congress. In my humble opinion, General "Mac" is the epitome of what that statement represents.

Yet, lurking barely below the surface of the hard-working, efficient executive is a rapidfire wit of astounding range and variety. General "Mac," with a lightning quip, can lessen the tension of a complex discussion in an instant.

He leaves the stewardship of the Defense Electronics Supply Center in Dayton after an enviable record of accomplishment. The center has been accorded high marks under his leadership for meeting the demands placed upon it by the military services and for performing its function at the least possible expense to the Federal Government.

Speaking as a former supply officer, I know that there is virtually no glamor to be found in logistics. Thus, the enthusiasm and efficiency of the personnel of the Defense Electronics Supply Center represent the best kind of testimonial to the performance of a commander.

General "Mac" took on the assignment of directing DESC after service at nearby Wright-Patterson Air Force Base. There, he was the base commander, running the 2750th Air Base Unit, or, as he so inimitably phrased it "in charge of roads and commodes."

At a massive installation like Wright-Patterson, the responsibilities of the base commander easily can lead to a premature case of ulcers and other ills. But General "Mac" took to it with a relish and earned for himself the unprecedented accolade from the civilian community of "mayor of Wright-Patterson."

A burly man—a "large leprachaun" might be the best description—General "Mac" was indefatigable in confronting the many problems that came across his desk as the base commander. He also exhibited understanding and concern for the civilian community to a degree rarely found in, or required of, officers in such posts. A notable example was his decision to speak out frankly about the possibility of increased density around the base ultimately threatening its flight operations and perhaps its very existence.

He did not have to become involved. He could have let the matter go and thereby spared himself the rigors of the embroilment that was certain to follow. But he did become involved. And although the matter is today not yet resolved, the fact that he alerted the public when he did may be central to ultimate resolution.

The Nation is indebted to intelligent, dedicated military men like Gen. Glen J. McClernon. We have been most fortunate to have him as one of the leaders of the Air Force during this critical phase of our history.

We in the Greater Dayton area, in losing an esteemed military man, have gained another citizen since General "Mac" and his family have elected to reside in our community in retirement.

Mr. Speaker, I commend General McClernon to the Members of the House of Representatives. Further, I insert herewith an illuminating perspective of this good man as written by Jim Fain, the editor of the Dayton Daily News:

General Glen J. McClernon who is stepping down as Commander of the DESC out on Wilmington Pike has more one-liners than any stand-up comedian who works for money.

They call him the Air Force's Bob Hope—and with reason. Long on material, he is often bluer than Hope, sometimes it's off in the wild blue yonder.

When Mac took over at Dessie, the Chamber of Commerce threw one of its infrequent fish fries for the home grown military industrial complex. It honored both Mac and Admiral Bob Northwood who was retiring as Dessie's skipper who now lives here and works for the Mead Corporation.

The events that the Chamber has have never been starchy with protocol despite the black tie bit. But there usually have been a few little speeches by nice guys who clear their throats a lot and make a couple of "ers" in every sentence.

These soirees have not been billed as having variety and action packed entertainments. Mac and Bob changed that by coming up with gracious little speeches that didn't say they owed it all to their wives and families and their fine teams who supported them on their jobs. They danced on stage wearing blazers and straw boaters and went into a soft-shoe routine. John Torley, the Chamber's President, was saying things with an irreverent slide introduction, showing all the unflattering pictures of Mac from the time Mac was born on a farm near Springfield, Missouri. Then Mac had the microphone, on the balls of his feet like a Pro has with timing. "That was on Labor Day, the day I was born," he told Torley. "I didn't think anything about it—shucks, I thought everybody was born on Labor Day."

Then he pointed his comments to the Master of Ceremonies. "Torley is pretty skinny," he said. "He's the male Twiggy. You can't tell which way he's facing, unless you look at his feet."

There was more, not all printable. Almost everybody there was the target of an individual thrust.

When Mac first came here as base commander at Wright-Patterson he attracted attention, mainly with such exploits as putting a two-seater outhouse on the front lawn of four-star General Mark Bradley on Halloween. But all the while he was streamlining the base commander's job.

From the beginning he operated like the mayor of a big city—which is pretty much the job of a base commander at Wright-

Patterson. He developed liaison with surrounding communities, township trustees, city council members, and county commissioners. He helped Wright State University get off the ground and worked with area officials on devising a highway system for the complex.

He is a good man as well as a fun guy and it is well to know that he will be around.

#### THE MURPHY AMENDMENT TO THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT

**HON. JOHN N. ERLBORN**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to contribute my thoughts to the considerable discussion that has been taking place about the effect that the Murphy amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act would have on the legal services program of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

As you know, a Governor now may veto an entire legal services program if he sees fit. The Director of OEO may, however, override that veto. It is his duty to assure the poor man the same range of legal services that are available to you and me.

The Murphy amendment would allow State Governors to veto legal services programs in whole or in part and would eliminate the existing power of the OEO Director to override the veto. By inhibiting, as this amendment would, these citizens' access to the law to seek redress for their grievances, I believe we would be closing the door to the court and inviting redress in the streets.

If this program is to protect the legal interests of its beneficiaries, and thus promote the interest of this Nation as a whole, I hope we in this House will act to retain the legal services program as presently prescribed by Congress.

In the event that my colleagues did not happen to hear a recent WMAL editorial on this subject, I submit the text of that message for inclusion in the RECORD, as follows:

[A WMAL editorial, Oct. 22, 1969]

#### LEAVE LEGAL SERVICES ALONE

The Senate's recent vote to give governors veto power over Neighborhood Legal Services projects is an amazing overreaction against a smattering of abuses. The House should restore the present system, which gives only the Director of Economic Opportunity the power to eliminate Legal Services programs. In this case, we believe control of the programs should be centralized at the Federal level for the sake of equal justice.

Legal Services is the anti-poverty project that provides free legal services to the poor. As OEO Director Donald Rumsfeld has said, this project gives the poor the opportunity to take their grievances to court rather than to the streets.

The symbolic figure of Justice wears a blindfold. The Senate's vote lifts that blindfold so that Justice can take a peek. Such an action can eliminate a poor person from equal justice before the courts. This vote is unworthy of the Senate.

#### TEXTILES AND OKINAWA

**HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN**

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, a very timely and excellent editorial recently appeared in the Greenville News, Greenville, S.C., along with an equally splendid article from the San Diego, Calif., Union.

I commend these two articles to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress and to our friends and allies throughout the world:

[From the Greenville (S.C.) News]

#### TEXTILES AND OKINAWA

Awhile back an editorial discussing the textile imports situation wound up with a suggestion that the United States tie the issue of Japanese imports to the question of changing the status of American occupation of Okinawa.

And now word is drifting down from Washington, via correspondents quoting reliable sources, that the Nixon administration is considering doing exactly that. If so, it's only about time this country got "hard nosed" with the Japanese on textiles.

Commerce Secretary Stans recently asked textile area congressmen for a little more time before kicking off imports quota legislation. He said the United States and Japan would discuss imports in September.

Well and good, but time is beginning to run out on getting Japan to agree to voluntary restrictions on textile goods shipped into this country. Foreign textiles are flooding American markets this year, running 13 per cent higher than in 1968. Japan is the key to solution of the problem.

The Japanese are being both tough and one-way. They have refused point blank so far to even consider voluntary controls. At the same time they enforce one of the world's toughest import control systems on items allowed into Japan.

At the bottom of today's page is an excellent, concise appraisal of American-Japanese relations by the San Diego, Calif., Union, outlining the strategic, economic and political complexities. The textile problem has to be considered in context with all of these, especially the balance of trade question.

But of all the economic matters between the United States and Japan, textiles probably is the most critical for this country.

Something has to give in this situation, and give soon. Continued flooding of American markets and uncertainty for the domestic textile industry can play havoc with the economies of several states in the immediate future.

A textile slump later this fiscal year could wreck South Carolina's high, tight budget, financed by tax increases. The whole state could experience a recession, crippling many new programs designed to raise living, health and educational standards for all South Carolina.

A textile slump also would slow down, if not stop, the textile industry's continuing efforts to provide employment for members of minority groups trying to climb the economic ladder.

President Nixon promised in his campaign to alleviate the textile situation. His administration has to deliver, not only because of politics, but because the textile industry is vital to the economic and sociological health of America.

The fact is that the nation cannot put off much longer giving relief and protection to an industry whose geographic location, skill

requirement level and ability to train unskilled people make it peculiarly valuable in the national effort to raise people from poverty and wipe out racial job problems.

The textile industry is every bit as important to America as Okinawa is to Japan—if not more so. Linking the two may be the way to obtain a solution to a pressing problem.

Meanwhile, textile area congressmen should keep their quota bills handy just in case all else fails. If the Japanese have shown no sign of cooperation by October, both the administration and Congress should move to take unilateral American action.

[From the San Diego (Calif.) Union]

#### AMERICAN-JAPANESE RELATIONS

The signs are unmistakable that relations between the United States of America and Japan are approaching a serious climax.

Best known of the problems is the issue of Okinawa. The Japanese have made a major case out of regaining full control of the strategic island—insisting, in some cases, upon having the final decision as to its military use.

The United States has indicated its willingness to relinquish some civil authority of the island. But under the present volatile conditions in Asia, the security of Japan, as well as of the United States, requires that we have full military flexibility in the use of our strategic defense bases on Okinawa.

Looming equally large as a source of major difference between Japan and the United States also, are economic problems that have reached emergency proportions.

The efficiency of Japanese industry, the quality of its goods, its labor advantages, coupled with inflation in the United States—and Japan's protectionism—are visible symptoms of a condition under which the United States last year spent \$1.5 billion more in buying Japanese goods than Japan spent in the United States.

In another area of concern there appears to be a slowly maturing atmosphere of understanding. Japan is living in growing fear of the ominous shadow of a developing Communist Chinese atomic capability.

As a result, her relations with the United States now are colored less and less by radical student rioting and spurious leftist clamor. The Japanese see clearly the stabilizing nature of a United States presence in the area and, conversely, fear the vacuum that our departure will create.

Our discussions are thus down to the bedrock issues of economics and defense. And we are holding them at the highest levels. Two American cabinet members have met in Tokyo recently with their Japanese counterparts.

The high level conferences will continue in Washington next month. Prime Minister Eisaku Sato has scheduled a meeting with President Nixon later this year.

In addition to Okinawa defense and trade, Mr. Sato and Mr. Nixon will have before them the important question of Japan's role in Asia after the Vietnam War ends, and the possible renewal of the defense treaty.

No small part of Japan's economic advantage lies in the fact that she spends less per capita for defense than any major nation. On the other hand, Japan is a bridge between the United States and Asia. Her well-being is vital to the United States which spends billions for Pacific security.

It is plain that the mutual interests of the two powers are many, the problems between them are not insoluble. Now is the time, as President Nixon's Asian policy is in the emerging state, for the two great nations to drive forward to an enduring accord which will enhance the security of the entire Pacific basin.

PRAYER AGAINST POVERTY  
WEEKEND

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, the conditions of poverty are becoming more acute for many disadvantaged members of our society. Recently, a number of States decided to cut back on welfare, health, and education payments. Unfortunately, my own State, New York, was one of these. The Governor and the State legislature saw fit to reduce the payments while increasing expenditures for relatively insignificant programs. The result of such an ordering of priorities is all too easily predictable. Our problems stemming from widespread poverty will only be aggravated.

On October 23, in the National Conference for Christians and Jews national headquarters, 43 West 57th Street, I met with a group of concerned clergymen of all faiths to protest the decision of the Governor and Legislature of New York State. The occasion was moving and memorable. My colleagues, especially those on the Ways and Means Committee, will find the following statement of the Prayer Against Poverty Weekend most helpful:

PRAYER AGAINST POVERTY WEEKEND

As clergymen representing the three major religious faiths of New York City, we are compelled by conscience and faith to speak out in one voice regarding the suffering inflicted upon so many of our citizens—children, the disabled, the elderly and the poor—as a result of State budget cutbacks.

We feel that it is our moral obligation to communicate to our congregations our firsthand knowledge of the widespread suffering in New York City caused by the recent State budget cuts in health, education and social services. We are extremely concerned that too few New Yorkers recognize the intense hardship being experienced by low-income and welfare-recipient families as a result of these cutbacks in basic services.

For example, do most New Yorkers realize that each person on public assistance receives only 66¢ per day for food; that there is no provision for transportation, furniture and clothing, telephones, school supplies, or laundry and cleaning needs in the present State welfare budget?

Are most New Yorkers aware that by lowering eligibility levels the State eliminated 200,000 low-income persons from the Medicaid rolls? Or that low-income (non-welfare) families must pay the first 20% of their medical costs before they become eligible for Medicaid?

We believe that the funds to meet this crisis can be made available without additional taxation on the working man. Since 1959, Governor Rockefeller has imposed 43 new revenue tax measures, only one of which raised levies specifically on high income groups and only one of which increased taxes on business. All other taxes adopted since then hit hardest at middle-income families by raising sales, use, and excise taxes. As a concrete proposal, we suggest that perhaps some of the required funds could be derived from on-going non-essential programs, such as:

(1) *The Albany Mall*—the first estimate for its construction was \$600 million; the present estimate is \$1.5 billion.

- (2) The Golf Course at \$1.5 million.
- (3) The snow-making machine at \$35,000.
- (4) The hundreds of millions poured into the uncontrollably expanding State highway network.

We will be asking our congregations to respond to this "Prayer Against Poverty Weekend" because we are convinced that the people of New York City have a humanitarian and religious concern for their fellow man and will not stand idly by as millions of poor, aged and disabled suffer. We cannot afford to ignore the despair and the decay gripping the disadvantaged in our midst. We therefore call upon all men of good will to pray, in their own way, for an end to the needless poverty and human indignities that exist in our affluent America of 1969.

Finally, we call upon all New Yorkers to commit themselves to taking positive steps to correct this situation by urging Governor Rockefeller and the State Legislature to convene a special session to reverse the budget cutbacks.

Participants at the announcement included Fathers John Drew and John Mortell, designated by Msgr. Gustav Schultheiss, Dean of the Bronx Catholic Clergy, to represent all of the Catholic priests in the Bronx; Father Donohue, Our Saviour Roman Catholic Church; Rabbi David Hollander, Mt. Eden Center of the Bronx, President of the Metropolitan Board of Orthodox Rabbis; Rev. Dr. Dan Potter, Executive Director, Council of Churches, City of New York; Rev. Roy Larsen, Executive Secretary, Bronx Division, Council of Churches of the City of New York; Rev. Robert Meyer, Bronx Presbyterian Church Program Counselor; Father David Wayne, St. Edmund's and St. Simeon's Episcopal Churches, Bronx; Rabbi Abraham Krantz, Tremont Temple; Jerome Levinrad, Director, Bronx Regional Office American Jewish Congress.

Also represented were leaders of the Bronx Alliance for Adequate Living, a coalition of social service agencies, social workers, community and neighborhood organizations, religious leaders and elected public officials allied to seek reversal of the State budget cuts. Miss Marjorie Mazel, Director of Forest Neighborhood House Service Center and Executive Secretary of the Bronx Alliance for Adequate Living, was also present.

AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

HON. WILLIAM V. ROTH, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, I believe that Veterans Day, November 11, will be an appropriate time for us to call on Hanoi once again to release the names of American prisoners of war. Accordingly, I would like to insert at this point in the RECORD a copy of a letter I sent to President Nixon earlier this week:

OCTOBER 30, 1969.

Hon. RICHARD M. NIXON,  
The White House,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In my letter to you of August 15, I expressed my concern for American troops who are currently being held prisoners of war in North Vietnam. I said then, and I believe now, that the very real tragedy is that Hanoi's obstinate refusal to release the names of prisoners of war and abide by the Geneva Convention, has left families of missing servicemen without any idea whether their loved ones

are even alive. I thank your office for the thoughtful reply I received on September 4, and I thank you, Mr. President, for the Administration's efforts on behalf of our soldiers who are prisoners of war.

Unfortunately, Hanoi's secrecy has not changed; unfortunately, families still live from day to day in uncertainty, refused information about their friends or loved ones, knowing nothing about the soldiers who may or may not have given their lives in the Vietnam conflict. It is for this reason that I willingly join my distinguished colleagues in urging you to declare this Veterans' Day, November 11, a "Day of National Concern" for missing servicemen and prisoners of war in Vietnam. I also urge that you make such a proclamation during the course of your planned address to the Nation on November 3.

I agree with you, Mr. President, that as a Nation we should lower our voices. I earnestly believe, however, that November 11 will be a time to raise all our voices—in unison.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM V. ROTH, JR.,  
Member of Congress.

COUNTRY MUSIC GROWS IN  
TIDEWATER

HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, Norfolk and the Tidewater area of Virginia are rapidly achieving national recognition as one of America's historic centers of country music.

This achievement of national recognition is due in large measure to the energetic efforts of one of Norfolk's native sons, Irvine B. Hill, the executive vice president of Norfolk's distinctive and highly regarded music station, WCMS, and to the imaginative leadership of the station's president, George A. Crump.

Mr. Hill discovered that the founder of the Grand Ol' Opry, Judge George Dewey Hay, was buried in Forest Lawn Cemetery in Norfolk. Mr. Crump and Mr. Hill felt it would be appropriate to build a memorial to the man who guided the Grand Ol' Opry's destiny for 30 years, from 1925 to 1955. As chairman of the Hay Memorial Fund, and from the contributions of country music lovers, including thousands of nickels and dimes, Mr. Hill fulfilled his dream for an appropriate memorial.

Mr. Speaker, I was honored to be present for the unveiling ceremonies of the Hay memorial, along with country music singing star Minnie Pearl, Mr. Hill, and many others.

On that occasion, I recall Mr. Hill said:

The memorial represents a public effort to give recognition to a man who had a great influence on the world of music.

Subsequent to the unveiling ceremonies, Mr. Hill has brought numerous country music stars, such as Johnny Cash, to Norfolk to pay tribute to Judge Hay.

During Johnny Cash's visit to Norfolk last month the singing star told why

country music had suddenly become so popular. Cash said:

More folks are realizing that this music is of the people and of our time . . . good country music, that is . . . Historians should be able to hear these songs 100 years from now and tell something about what we were like.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend George Crump and Irvine Hill for the excellent work they are doing to build and to expand the legend of country music, and more specifically, for what they are doing in the Tidewater area. Mr. Crump has developed WCMS from a small, local station into one of this country's finest proponents of country music, with the most able assistance of Mr. Hill.

The fact that they have accomplished this while directing the daily operations of radio station WCMS and at the same time providing excellent and versatile leadership to various civic groups, including Old Dominion University, makes their achievement all the more remarkable and commendable.

Country music lovers are indeed fortunate to have such effective and persuasive advocates as Tidewater's George Crump and Irvine Hill, and Mr. Crump and Mr. Hill, in turn, are fortunate to have such picturesque and worthy music to inspire them.

#### WRITE YOUR LAWMAKERS

### HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, the enclosed article gives some advice on how our constituents can help us to reflect their sentiments most accurately.

[From the Pasadena (Calif.) Star-News]

#### WRITE YOUR LAWMAKERS

Under the United States' form of representative government it is imperative that each member of Congress truly represent his constituents. The whole system breaks down if he fails to understand the wishes of the "folks back home."

It is the complaint of most congressmen that the average citizen doesn't take the trouble to let his representative know what he thinks or wants. On the other hand pressure organizations, when an issue is pending, flood senators and members of the House with letters, telegrams and phone calls, most of the messages identical, showing the organized form-letter pressure method. One senator said recently he had rather get a penciled note on a sheet of dime tablet paper than a thousand form letters. . . .

A letter beats a phone call because it constitutes a written record and requires a written reply. Reaching a member of Congress by telephone is difficult because he spends so much time in sessions and attending committee meetings. He will, however, read and initial nearly every piece of mail.

Don't write a long letter. Make it short and snappy and to the point. Make sure the name and address are legible.

Know your position and back it up with valid reasons.

Don't make threats. They're offensive and ineffective.

A personal letter is better than a form type, or even a petition.

However you feel, congressmen say, please write—and often. They want to hear from you.

If you don't write, then don't go around town orally blaming Congress for what happens.

#### BIG TRUCK BILL

### HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, my editorials for today are from the Trenton Evening Times; the Jersey Journal; and the Hudson Dispatch, in the State of New Jersey. The editorials follow:

[From the Trenton (N.J.) Evening Times, July 18, 1969]

#### TRUCK LOBBY NEVER QUITS

The big-truck lobby in Congress is at it again, trying to hog a larger share of the crowded public highway space.

Last year a bill permitting the operation of bigger and heavier trucks on the Interstate system passed the U.S. Senate but died in the House in the face of heavy opposition from the newspapers and from the American Automobile Association, no mean lobbyist itself.

But again this year a big-truck bill has been rolled out and is currently the subject of hearings before a House Public Works subcommittee.

The bill, H.R. 11870, would not of itself mandate the new size and weight limits. But it would permit the states to adopt them, thus enabling the truck lobby to turn its full attention to the legislatures, many of which are setups for the kind of pressure this industry can bring to bear.

Among other things, the bill increases single axle weights from 18,000 pounds to 20,000 pounds; increases tandem axle weights from 32,000 to 34,000 pounds; increases width limits from 8 to 8½ feet plus additional width for tire bulge and exterior mirrors and lights; sets length limits at 70 feet, and replaces the maximum gross weight limit of 73,280 pounds with a formula that would make it possible for a nine-axle monster to carry 108,500 pounds.

Trucks are already far too big and heavy. The sight of a full rig highballing down the highway is a frightening thing, and for good reason. A double-trailer combination requires 440 feet to stop at 60 m.p.h., compared to 182 feet for a passenger car. The trucking industry's own figures show that while heavy trucks comprise only 1.54 percent of total vehicle registrations and drive only 5.33 percent of vehicle miles, they are involved in 11.6 percent of fatal accidents—and in a collision between a truck and a passenger car, the occupant of the car is the one who gets killed.

What heavier trucks would do to highway pavements, shoulders and bridges is something else again. The Bureau of Public Roads says a 2,000-pound increase in tandem axle load limits on federal aid highways would require \$1.6 billion in road upgrading costs. The Interstate system's bridges aren't built to carry axle loads of more than 32,000 pounds tandem; state, county and city bridges, which the monsters would also use, were built to hold much less.

Passage of this incredible bill would open the way to the triple-trailer trucks and truck trains that are the industry's dream. If that happens, ordinary drivers might well consider

abandoning the highways altogether for the sake of life and limb.

[From the Jersey City (N.J.) Journal, July 22, 1969]

#### BIG TRUCK BILL BACK IN HOUSE

WASHINGTON.—To the motorist who shudders when he sees a big tractor-trailer truck pounding down a hill from behind or approaching a narrow road ahead, take heed.

The bill to permit even bigger trucks on the highways, which nearly slipped through Congress last year until public outcry killed it, is back again.

A House public works subcommittee headed by Rep. John C. Kluczynski (D-Ill.), a former truck driver and an enthusiastic sponsor, is conducting hearings on the measure to permit wider, longer and heavier trucks on the interstate highway system. The bill won committee approval last year, but some members now appear to be having second thoughts because of public criticism.

The bill was denounced as an "anti-safety bill" by the American Automobile Association.

It was defended by trucking interests as a means of enabling construction of safer trucks and as a long overdue unfreezing of truck size limits set by the 1956 Highway Act. For truckers, bigger vehicles mean bigger loads and more profits.

The bill would allow an increase in maximum width from 8 to 8½ feet (plus side mirrors and other outcroppings), and it contains a formula that would increase maximum loaded weight from 73,280 pounds to 108,500 pounds.

The bill contains a length limit—70 feet.

[From the Union City (N.J.) Hudson Dispatch, Sept. 20, 1969]

#### THE SKYWAY NO PLACE FOR TRUCKS

Two weeks ago this newspaper pointed out the dangers inherent in the federal moves to allow larger trucks to use our already overcrowded highways. Now, Hudson County is face to face with an equally dangerous proposition involving these behemoths of the roads; allowing them, along with buses, to use the Pulaski Skyway between Jersey City and Newark.

This is incredible when you realize the dangers and problems involved and we agree completely with Hudson County Police Chief Fred J. Kropke in standing firm, despite any state move, not to allow trucks and buses on the elevated highway as a "temporary" alternate to using a Newark pike bridge which has been declared unsafe for them because of their weight.

The skyway, a marvel when it opened in 1932 and still an engineering triumph, was not constructed with today's king-sized vehicles—both trucks and cars—in mind. It is a good road but not suitable for trucks and buses. It seems narrow enough when you're driving along and seeing those cars coming at you in the other direction with no high divider to separate traffic.

Can you imagine what it would mean to have slow-moving trucks crawling along the grades with their loads? And then buses trying to pass them on the two-lane road? This is no superhighway with three or four lanes in one direction—it just has two each way and that's it, no room for expansion unless you want to spend millions upon millions for another skyway.

After several bad fatal accidents on the skyway in the beginning involving trucks it was extreme pressure from the then Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City that brought the state ban on trucks and buses several years after the highway had been opened. This was a wise move and unquestionably has cut down on the number of potential tragedies. It should not suddenly be changed.

The state has acted unfairly with Hudson for many years as far as proper roads and safety installations. Just drive down to the shore, for instance, and note the nice, safe, wide highways—do we have that here in Hudson? So, in this case, New Jersey probably felt that any ukase to shift trucks and buses from Newark pike to the skyway should be accepted without question—it's only Hudson.

Fortunately, Chief Kropke after the story on the proposal appeared in Hudson Dispatch this week, took an immediate and firm stand: No trucks or buses on the skyway. He is right and we support him in his decision, primarily on the basis of safety. As he pointed out, if a multiple truck-car collision ever took place on the skyway how would help swiftly and effectively reach the crowded scene?

The chief meets on Monday with a representative of the state Department of Transportation on the impasse. It is to be hoped that he will not be forced to back down by more "promises" or orders from the state. The skyway is no place, whether "temporary" or not, for trucks. If the state doesn't care about the safety of the average driver, at least Chief Kropke does.

WHO IS THERE TO SPEAK FOR US?

**HON. JOHN M. ZWACH**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, "Who is there to speak for us?" is the question asked of me by one of my constituents, Mrs. G. A. Oberg. In my opinion the answer is Mrs. Oberg, and people like her. For she is part of the "silent majority" of Americans who are beginning to speak out.

Mrs. Oberg's letter is a welcome sight to my office as it gives me confidence in the American people that they are not just sitting idly, but are concerned for the Nation's future.

Mr. Speaker, so that my colleagues may share the wonderful feeling I received from Mrs. Oberg's letter, I hereby insert it in the RECORD:

DEAR MR. ZWACH: Who is there to speak for us? We are the simple, honest, decent tax-paying folks who spend our entire lives caring for families, working for them, reporting every penny of our incomes to the government and paying taxes asked of us, not involved with black markets or hidden bank accounts in Switzerland, not sitting in high places, letting hoods and hoodlums use our names or influence, not fleecing our own government right and left.

We are the folks who send our loved ones to fight wars not of our making—we are the ones who support the home town schools, welfare programs, fund drives, churches, and help our neighbors in time of sorrow or stress.

Who is there to speak for us?

Don't ever forget, that if there ever is a revolution in this country, we millions of simple, honest, tax-paying ordinary folks might decide that we have had enough of the sort of thing that seems to be going on in Washington these days.

We do not own oil wells nor large enterprises to use as tax-dodgers. We report every dime of our income and is it too much to ask that others do the same?

Who is there to speak for us? Our voices will be heard some day. Please, please—let it not be too late!

Mrs. GUST A. OBERG.

REJECTS REPARATIONS

**HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 30, 1969

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, a member of the militant Black United Front in Washington visited the National Baptist Memorial Church at the morning worship service on October 19, in order to read a statement and demand the sum of \$250,000 for "reparations."

The minister of the church, Dr. R. Stuart Grizzard, who is, I am proud to say, a resident of my congressional district, responded with a written statement in which he totally rejected the "reparations" concept.

As I believe Dr. Grizzard's remarks would be of interest not only to our colleagues, but to all who read this RECORD, I insert them in full at this point in the RECORD:

REPARATIONS, RESTITUTION AND REPENTANCE

(By Dr. Stuart Grizzard)

II Corinthians 5: 17—"If any man be in Christ he is a new creature . . . all things are become new." Revelation 21: 5—"Behold, I make all things new."

A. INTRODUCTION

Since the Black United Front has come to us and presented these demands for what they call reparations, it seems fitting that I, as Pastor, should make some reply to them.

We do appreciate the fact that they told us they were coming and that last Sunday, when they wanted to come, they were considerate enough to postpone their coming because we had a service of ordination for Mark Tracy, which involved six ministers, and it would have lengthened that already long service unnecessarily.

In time of revolution, as in war, the first casualty is truth. Revolution has a logic of its own but common sense, objectivity, reasonableness, is turned aside for passionate emotion, confrontation and change, whether it is purposeful or not. The voice of moderate progressiveness, which tries to keep the fabric of life from being torn apart during change, is not heard. Yet, I will be heard on this for I know that ultimately it is the voice of reason that will prevail.

I quite understand the emergency of black nationalism. It is a needed corrective for the intransigence of a stubborn racism that is inflexible in granting simple human rights to people. But that kind of separatism will only result in a polarization of society which will continue animosity that will perpetuate hostility forever. We are going to have to learn to accept one another and live with one another with mutual respect.

Evidently we have been selected because we are designated as the National Baptist Church and, therefore, representative of all Baptists. Perhaps through us you hope to reach other Baptists. We are not the oldest, richest, largest or most Caucasian of all Baptist churches, as I shall show in the course of these remarks.

A Baptist church, in structure, is a democracy. I cannot speak for the church, I can

only speak to it. This obtains not only for this occasion but for all. What I am to say does not officially represent a reply by this church or Baptists. It does represent the deep feelings of my own heart, given after prayer and study. The demands, as presented, will be received and acted upon by the church itself at a later meeting.

Evidently, those who composed these demands know little of this particular church. I would not, for anything, defend the past history of prejudice or inequities on the part of the white majority in this country in its relationship with ethnic minorities. It is writ in a record of shame that brings blushes to the cheek, and in this record the Church of Christ has not acquitted itself too well in trying to right these wrongs. Let it be said, however, that always there were those, laymen and ministers, who did speak out against the evils of racism and slavery. But these voices and examples were not heeded.

The indictment brought here today are not always correct as far as this church is concerned. A candor and a sense of fairness makes it necessary to set the record straight.

I do not want to be misunderstood in this. Our church is by no means perfect in its adjustment to these revolutionary days. We have not done a great deal but what we have done and are endeavoring to do should be set forth.

I fully realize that we are just beginning to get ready, to commence, to start. Most respectfully, I ask that you know of what we have done and are doing.

(1) *We are an open, inner city church.*—We have, for more than 7 years, gladly received all who will come into our fellowship and qualify for membership in our church, without concern for racial, cultural or national background. Our only concern is that they accept Jesus Christ as Saviour and pledge to serve Him as Lord of Life. Not only are there scores of black children in our Sunday School, there are about 100 people who are internationals from all over the world who have affiliated with our church. At least half of the people who now join our church are black. Many of these are now assuming places of leadership and responsibility. If you look around you today you will see that approximately one-third of this congregation is black. Here are some of the community involvements of our church.

(a) *The Columbia Heights Church Community Project.*—This is a structure of community churches to do community work in which we have put about \$15,000 in the last four years. For three years the director of it was a black woman of great charm, accomplishment, education and compassion. This project has concerned itself with clothing distribution, push-cart Bible program, teenage clubs, tiny tot clubs, and a day care center which meets in our church. During the riots in 1968, along with other churches of this area in the project, we attempted to alleviate suffering through the providing of food, clothing and housing.

During the Poor People's Campaign we made available a part of our property as a registration center and groups within the church ministered to the needs of the poor people.

(b) The five houses in the next block were purchased for the purpose of doing community work and the hope that we could help upgrade the community.

(c) Recently, part of our reserve money was placed in the *Change Credit Union*, a black-owned and -operated institution to provide blacks with business opportunities and capital.

(d) The church will consider soon our participation with responsible groups in the rebuilding of our burned out area.

(e) Last summer, two members of the staff of this church, one part-time and one full-time, were black ministerial students.

Of course, we have not done enough to minister in these difficult days. But we are open and we are earnestly trying to be relevant to our situation in the name and spirit of Christ.

More than this, there are other things that have to be said.

(1) *Reparations is not a Christian concept.*—It is a legalism which is antithetical to the teaching of Christ. It seems to say that the payment of money can make right the past. I must repudiate this concept because it becomes ridiculous in application.

If all the injustices of past centuries are to be dealt with in this way, we will never settle the score. Should the descendants of the Indians, who reputedly sold the Island of Manhattan to the Dutch for a measly \$24.00, be properly compensated now? Shall the descendants of the Union soldiers who were killed in the Civil War, fighting to free the slaves, be remunerated now? Shall women, white and black, until recently the most discriminated against group in society, be paid for their generations of servitude as the minions of man? I do not think this can be done.

If you are going to play this game, I have what seems to me to be a just complaint. My saintly father, the latchets of whose shoes I am not worthy to unlace, preached for 40 years for Baptists in Virginia, North Carolina, West Virginia, Kentucky and Indiana. Early in his sixties he had a stroke and was never able to function very well after that. There was no provision for his retirement, disability or support. I was forced to leave this city, interrupt my education, go home, work in the cotton mills in Danville, Virginia, and on an ice truck to support the family. This I was glad to do, but it shouldn't have been necessary. Baptists should have provided for that contingency. They could have and should have.

Reparations never catch up with injury. It cannot by its nature do so, and it heals nothing.

(2) *Restitution is a Christian concept.*—In this, by the requesting and granting of forgiveness, relationships are healed and one tries to make up to the injured for wrongs done him. This is accomplished by love, sympathy and perhaps by material things too. It is done to the person wronged and not to his descendants.

(3) *Repentance is a Christian concept.*—In fact, this is the beginning of forgiveness. One is genuinely sorry for his sins, for his acts that were wrong, for his hateful attitudes. In genuine contrition he turns from them, asks forgiveness of God and the people he has wronged. God's grace in healing power comes when we ask for it and repent. It is God's grace that makes it possible for there to be healing and a new beginning. His grace makes it possible to forgive each other.

(4) *Renewal.*—Renewal comes from repentance and forgiveness. "If any man be in Christ he is a new creature, all things are become new." (II Corinthians 5:17). Then we are told in Revelation 21:5, as God speaks, "Behold I make all things new."

The greatest injustices of all time, the cruelest also, was the rejection of Jesus Christ, God's Son, who, as a result of rejection by those he came to save, was crucified. In this foul act, God, through Christ, became completely identified with sinful man and, through the suffering of Christ on the cross, made possible man's redemption from his sinful nature. God vindicated Christ by raising him from the dead. Each of us by an act of faith may appropriate the salvation of our souls and lives through trust and acceptance of Christ.

There is a positive lesson that we in this church must not miss. Demands like these

should forever disabuse this and every church of the illusion that we can shut ourselves up behind our cloistered walls and lose ourselves in obscurantism while social change whirls around us. We are going to have to become more and more supportive of those forces that are trying to bring meaningful change into our world.

Racism is a rejection of persons as persons and is a grave sin against people and God. I am resolved, so help me God, to continue to stand out against racism of any kind, as I have endeavored to do for 30 years.

Here in this church we are dedicated to what is regarded by many militants as passe, but we believe in it. We are committed to a belief that in the local, parish church people of differing ethnic, social and national backgrounds can come together under the Lordship of Christ, accepting Him and each other on the basis of our hopes to serve Christ and our day as the community of the concerned. In this fellowship we will, ever, strive to change as led by the Holy Spirit of God to be God's instrument in this place for the betterment of all His people.

## SMOG AND OTHER POLLUTION

### HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, smog has raised the ire of America. The Justice Department decided to settle their case against the conspiracy of the auto manufacturers out of court. Thus, the judge of the district court in Los Angeles had to decide whether to accept the consent agreement or to conduct a public trial. I, along with many Members of the House, petitioned the judge to conduct a public trial to determine if the auto manufacturers had conspired to delay research, testing, development, and installation of effective air pollution control on motor vehicles.

In deciding to accept the consent decree, the court stated that "Smog simply isn't a legal problem. It's a governmental problem. It's simply not a problem the courts can deal with."

Be it governmental or legal, the problem is here and must be solved. We cannot continue to tolerate fish dying in our streams, and the dumping of pollutants into the atmosphere.

I would like to include in the RECORD two articles that, I believe, have merit and deserve my colleagues' attention:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 31, 1969]

#### SMOG TRIAL

(By Nicholas von Hoffman)

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.—Lawyers came from all over for the Smog Trial. They represented New York City, Connecticut, Maryland, Wisconsin, Ohio, Indiana and New Mexico. The Attorney General of Illinois showed up complaining that the air in Chicago is so foul the bears in the zoo are coming down with lung cancer.

Everywhere people are coughing, wheezing, gasping for air, straining their circulatory systems, grasping for something decent to breathe. This was going to be the trial that would begin curing our national case of black lung disease. This was going to be the case in which the automobile manufacturers would be tried for conspiring to prevent the development and installation of antipollu-

tion devices on their machines. Ralph Nader calls it "product fixing."

Some people would have preferred to see the tire manufacturers, the gas companies, and the freeway profiteers in court too, but this would be a beginning. The government might do something, and the country could sigh and breathe again.

No.

The first words the judge said when the hearing opened were, "It's apparent that the general public is aroused, and rightly so, but it may come as a shock that this isn't a hearing about smog. I wish there was some order I could make, some decree I could sign that would put an end to smog. Smog simply isn't a legal problem. It's a government problem. It's simply not a problem the courts can deal with."

As he spoke the smallest expression of approbation sneaked on and off the face of Lloyd N. Cutler, counsel for the Automobile Manufacturers Association. Mr. Cutler, of Washington's Wilmer, Cutler and Pickering, looked quintessentially Eastern in his dark suit with a vest. There were many other lawyers for the car companies, and they may charge equally high fees but Mr. Cutler was the boss. It was he who had negotiated the defendants out of antitrust conspiracy indictment and into a harmless consent agreement.

It was this agreement that the visiting lawyers had come to object to on the ground that it would exculpate the manufacturers for what they may have done in the past while making it unlikely they would do better in the future. The question hanging before the court was whether the agreement would be acceptable to the judge or whether there would be a trial with evidence and witnesses and a jury to determine if Ford, Chrysler, General Motors and the others had conspired to dirty the air. The judge's words were the tip-off Mr. Cutler had won. Not that he relaxed when he heard them. He sat tightly upright in his chair, making vigorous little whispers to his co-counsel, Eastern man, club man, genteel man, but sharp and combative for all his good manners and politeness.

When he got up to speak he was stiff as the lectern. His words were smooth and hard and quiet, silvery gray words, expensively fitted, made-to-order custom words. He rested his arms on the sides of the reading stand, but his hands wouldn't stay quiet. They have a life of their own, the way they slipped and flashed and twitched. "This is the first case that has ever been brought against an industry for trying to solve a public health problem," he said, and the hands floated limp and then flicked out in the air as though their function was to use up the excess competitive energy in the man.

He talked about how these big rich states with skillful lawyers only wanted the government to convict the car companies to make it easier for them to move in later and sue the blood out of the automobile manufacturers. But General Motors alone is richer than any state. In the esoteric field of antitrust law it could outbid any governmental body for the most skillful and devious attorneys. Mr. Cutler finished by saying, "I want to return to the importance of getting on with the job of making progress in pollution, the job of scientists achieving a major breakthrough," as if the bad air were not made by men, but was an act of nature like polio or multiple sclerosis.

This picture of the industry devoting great numbers of technicians and sums of money to pushing back the frontiers of knowledge is contradicted by Dr. John Goldsmith of the California State Department of Health at Berkeley. An expert in the physiological effects of smog on man, Dr. Goldsmith says, "They keep talking about research but no person identified with the motor vehicle in-

dustry has made a contribution to the field. They have very few researchers working for them." The truth of the matter was plainly stated by the representatives of the three biggest corporations in a 1967 Commerce Department report (Automobile Air Pollution: A Program for Progress): "There has been inadequate incentive for an individual automobile manufacturer to apply pollution control technology to the automobile in advance of its competitors."

But these considerations are froth; Mr. Cutler had the law with him. The lawyers for the smog shrouded cities and states tried to interest the Court in higher and broader consideration of public welfare, but privately they admitted the law was against them. Mr. Cutler had all the precedents; all the citations were over on his side because, for 70 years, all the money, all the most adept legal brains have gone into shaping and warping the law so the judge would say he was awfully sorry there was nothing he could do about the smog.

The bad air does not know about this. It kills without court orders. In the San Bernardino National Forest 46,000 acres of Ponderosa-Jeffrey pine trees have already suffered heavy damage from the killing air. Their needles turn yellow and they die, or their resistance is weakened and they can't fight the pine bark beetle which finishes them off. Of the forest's 1,298,000 trees, 82 per cent are now moderately damaged, 15 per cent severely injured and 3 per cent are dead. The experiments at the air pollution center of the University of California at Riverside (where these figures come from) show that smog reduces an orange tree's yield by about a half; a grapevine growing in good air produces 17 pounds of fruit, in bad air, only seven.

Some of the worst smog is invisible. It comes in the form of ozone and is particularly prevalent in sunny, warm climes like Los Angeles, but it will be an increasingly dangerous compound in the air over cities such as Phoenix, Dallas, New Orleans, Atlanta and Miami.

Ozone is oxygen with an extra, unstable molecule. It is created when sunlight hits certain automobile exhaust pollutants. Ozone weakens the cell membranes of the lungs and blood. It increases the obstruction of air flow to emphysema patients and cuts down the performance of athletes. When the ozone content of the air reaches .35 parts per million, doctors advise that children be restrained from strenuous play so that they don't breathe heavily, and therefore cut down on their ozone intake. Since July 3 of this year, Los Angeles has had to close its school playgrounds 39 times because the ozone content had gone over .35.

It's because air pollution is not a theoretical problem, but a real one that is killing and weakening people and animals and vegetation now that governmental bodies from everywhere tried to stop the Justice Department from settling this case out of court, but the law says they are wrong. The judge was even a little miffed that they had made the attempt. The politicians had endeavored he said, to "divert the fire and heat of their constituents onto this court."

[From American Bar Association Journal, October 1969]

#### POLLUTION CONTROL: WEY 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>

Footnotes at end of article.

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 the 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 one 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: Pollution 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 to 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 sewage 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 national 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 consideration 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 ma-

terialized,<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 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 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 of 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 & REINOW, *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 attributable 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 (1943).

<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, 568 (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 vary substantially. There are some estimates from COHN, *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); Ig-

lauer, *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).

## SOVIET SCENE 1969: RUSSIANS FEAR MAO BUT HATE GERMANS

## HON. TOM STEED

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. STEED. Mr. Speaker, in this article, Charles L. Bennett, managing editor of the *Daily Oklahoman*, continues his series on the Soviet Union today. He discusses the views expressed by Russian citizens on the current world political situation.

This is the fourth installment I have entered in the RECORD, and the series will be concluded:

RUSSIANS FEAR MAO BUT HATE GERMANS  
(By Charles L. Bennett)

"We don't think Mao has the rockets to reach us here," said a Soviet journalist in Novosibirsk, a Siberian city about 1,250 miles from the troubled border between the U.S.S.R. and Red China.

"There was absolutely nothing wrong with what we did in Czechoslovakia," said a man in Kazakhstan.

"Why should we help the U.S. to get out of Vietnam?" asked an official in Minsk. "After all, you didn't ask us about going in there in the first place."

A Soviet radioman, taping an interview with a U.S. newsman, asked a pointed question about why Americans were fighting in Vietnam. The American responded by saying he thought the U.S.S.R. was getting into the same kind of entanglements in the Middle East. The radioman later said he guessed he'd take all that part of the interview out of the tape "since my question on Vietnam wasn't a very good one."

"Won't you and the British and the French ever learn your lessons about the Germans?" asked a young woman in Leningrad. "They are very dangerous people."

Everyone in our group of touring editors had some idea of Soviet attitudes toward China, Vietnam, Czechoslovakia and the Middle East, before we started on our 16-day tour in the U.S.S.R. What most of us were not prepared for was the Soviet citizens' deep hate and abiding fear of the Germans—the Nazis of World War II and the West Germans of today. We heard this hate and fear from nearly everyone to whom we talked about today's questions of war and peace.

There is little question that the Chinese border incidents and the bad relations between the U.S.S.R. and Red China are the Soviet citizens' No. 1 concern at the moment.

Then, some officials obviously are bothered by the trouble they are having with their "difficult clients" in the Middle East—the Arab nations—in trying to get them to reach some kind of acceptable settlement with Israel.

Farther down the line, it appears, is worry over what the United States may do. This doesn't appear to be a fear of any direct attack against the U.S.S.R. Instead, it is the worrisome question of what the U.S. might do that would affect Soviet interests in some other part of the world or, worst of all, the possibility that the U.S. might join hands with Communist China against the U.S.S.R.

But we kept getting the impression that most Soviets were less worried by any of these problems than by the long-term danger of the military resurgence of an aggressive West Germany.

"The Chinese problem is very serious," said Gennady Novitsky, an English-speaking journalist in Minsk who once served in the U.S. with the Soviet diplomatic corps. "But it can't compare to West Germany. I can't explain what the Chinese leaders are after. We helped the Chinese for many years, even on their nuclear work. But they have Germans helping them now."

We heard this over and over. In Alma Ata, editor Feodor Mikhailov said: "They (the Chinese) are working now on the means of delivery of nuclear weapons . . . rockets. The bad thing is, someone is helping them—most probably West Germany.

"The Chinese have been mad at us for not helping them on nuclear development. They asked us for help but we didn't give help. (A contradiction of what we heard from other Soviet citizens.) The West Germans have been helping them for several years. Officially, West Germany denies this. But West German technicians are going to China and they are building up their trade."

"We hear they are selling arms to the Chinese," another Soviet citizen said of the Germans.

Even without the irritation of today's accusations that the Germans are helping the Chinese, the Soviet hate for Germans might be almost as strong. That's because of the emphasis continually put on the country's losses to the Nazi armies in World War II.

War memorials are everywhere. Trips are organized by school children to visit them. Each one we saw had some visitors and several were crowded. As reported earlier, one of the Soviet journalists commented that the lessons of World War II "are hammered into" the students every day.

"After all," was one comment, "twice without living memory Germany has almost wiped out Russia, and now two-thirds of Germany is the most powerful nation in Europe."

Soviet feeling about the death and destruction Germans caused in their country during World War II is deeply bitter, intense and purposely being kept alive.

"The Brest Fortress was surrounded in the first days. They fought three weeks and finally had no water or food. The garrison was killed off, from 3,000 down to 300."

"One out of every four people in Byelorussia died in the war."

"This diorama shows the Kostanetz death camp."

"I was wounded seven different times; I was in the Army seven years."

"All of the Jews who did not retreat with the Red Army were taken to the death camps and killed. Four million people died at Auschwitz."

"They destroyed 83 per cent of our city. All our houses were gone and people lived in earthen huts."

"Twenty-six of us left this school to go to the Army. Five returned."

"Our economy at the start of 1945 was back to the 1913 level."

"The German slogan was: 'The Russians must die, that we may live.'"

"They surrounded this village and herded all the women, children and old men into a hay barn. All the younger men were away fighting. Then they set the barn on fire. Three people out of the 149 managed to escape."

"This city had a population of 400,000 in 1939, but 10 per cent died in the war. That was 20 per cent of the men."

"Altogether, our country lost more than 20 million people killed during the war and these were the best of the people we had, mainly aged 21 to 35."

"Sixty-two thousand cities and villages were wiped off the face of the earth. The country lost one-third of its national worth."

All of these are direct quotes from people to whom we talked in the U.S.S.R. National officials, city officials, newsmen, ordinary citizens—it didn't matter to whom you were talking—there was an insistence that you hear the war toll and see whatever vestiges of it might be nearby and still visible.

Outside of Leningrad, the Piskarevskoe Cemetery holds the mass graves of two-thirds of the more than 600,000 people who died in the siege of Leningrad.

Carved on a wall of the cemetery, where the thousands of visitors each year will be certain to see them, are the words: "Let no one forget. Let nothing be forgotten."

Soviet citizens are not forgetting—or being allowed to forget—the tragedy and loss inflicted upon them by Germans. That flow of hatred is a quieter stream, at the moment, than the torrent of anger over the Red Chinese border incidents. But the feeling toward Germany and Germans appears, even if quieter, to be deeper, wider and much more powerful.

With all the trouble you're having with China, we asked an Alma Ata editor, "has the U.S.S.R. position changed as to supporting Red China for membership in the U.N.?"

"No, it hasn't changed," said Kurmanbek Sagindikov. "We are for their admission. China, as such, is not Mao. It is the people. Maos come and go; the people remain."

Some Soviets calmly say, "This thing with China is temporary. We do not relate it to the Chinese people, but to Mao's government. Eventually, they will come to their senses. After all, it is a Socialist country as is ours."

What really has been happening along the long borders between China and the U.S.S.R. is, of course, only partially known. We asked—in Moscow, again in Novosibirsk, again in Alma Ata—to go to one of the border areas to see for ourselves. We were not surprised at the answers. They were usually hinged on "There are no accommodations there," or "Transportation is very difficult to arrange," or "You might not see anything if you went; we never know where these things are going to happen, or when", and, finally, "It's not safe there." But the answers always added up to "No."

Without the opportunity to see for ourselves, we learned what we could about the border situation from the Soviet people to whom we talked. As might be expected, the versions we heard reflected the stories that had been printed in the Soviet press.

"I think our government leaders decided properly to give them a crushing rebuff so they wouldn't intrude on our peaceful life," said a mining engineer we found sunning on a beach at Sochi, far from his home in Komi, near the Arctic Circle.

"I doubt they'll actually resort to war," commented an official in Minsk. "Both the economic chaos and the political division they have won't allow them to mount a major effort."

"They are doing it to divert attention from their internal troubles," said a journalist in Alma Ata, only about 250 miles from the border with China.

"They have nuclear weapons, we know, said Uzak Bogaev, another editor in Alma Ata. "Their test area is not so very far away—at Lop Nor in the middle of Sinkiang province. They have about 74 nuclear units. They may not be very powerful or perfected, but they have them. They say the latest ones are hydrogen. But they are still working on their delivery systems."

Still another Alma Ata newsman added: "The main thing they are trying to do is to instill hatred of the U.S.S.R. in their people. I don't think they can do that with the older generations. They mostly are working

on the youth groups to brainwash them. We call them 'greenhorn hooligans' . . ."

A radio correspondent who had been at the border shortly after one of the fighting incidents, said: "At first the Chinese prisoners refused to say anything. Later, they admitted that they had brazenly come across the border. As usual, our border guards peacefully tried to talk them into going back across. They paid no attention. The Chinese came with movie cameras to take pictures, to be used in anti-Soviet propaganda. Two of our men were killed. That was published."

But when we asked how many Chinese were killed, no one seemed to know. Reports we had heard elsewhere indicated that perhaps as many as 5,000 Chinese were killed in one incident at Demansky Island in the Ussuri River.

"It happened this way," said Editor Mikhailov. "The island is uninhabited. There are no buildings of any kind on the island. According to official documents and maps, from the 19th Century, the island is U.S.S.R. territory. Chinese used to ask the border guards if they could cut hay on the island, or have fishermen use it. We let them do it. China doesn't need the island; it's a question of principle, for both sides. If peaceful negotiations were carried on and they asked us for the island, we'd most probably give it to them."

"But instead," he went on, "they used force and took the island and shot, point-blank, several men who had gone up to them to talk. The border guards then had to drive them away."

A March 8, 1969, article in the national newspaper, "Pravda," said of this incident: "This was a pre-planned attack on Soviet frontier guards . . . Peking authorities deliberately perpetrated this armed provocation with the aim of further aggravating Soviet-Chinese relations, once again raising a wave of violent anti-Sovietism in China, and kindling chauvinistic feelings to suit the adventurist great-power aspirations of Mao Tse-tung and his group. . . ."

The article continues with the official Soviet description of the incident—the honorable performance of the border guards, the Peking propaganda that the Chinese unit was attacked by the Soviets, and the apparent reasons for the Chinese provocation—internal dissension, "political flirting" with the imperialist states, "above all the USA and Federal Germany," and "treachery against the forces of world socialism."

Behind all the rhetoric of both sides in the border disputes, the facts of true ownership of much of the vast territory of central Asia—eastern Siberia and western China—are clouded in history.

When the Chinese Empire was at its height, much of the region was under its influence and China extracted tribute from those who lived there. But the Soviets base their claim on maps and documents which, they say, were formally adopted and approved in the 18th and 19th Century—giving them clear title to the disputed areas by treaty.

But as far back as 1964, the Soviets say, the Red Chinese started changing the maps and descriptions in their school textbooks—to make it appear that about 600,000 square miles of Soviet territory actually had been Chinese right along.

The Soviets say, in the words of Editor Sagindikov at Alma Ata, "There have been as many as 400 border violations in three or four years. It is a willful heightening of tensions with the U.S.S.R."

Reports since our editors' group left the U.S.S.R. have mentioned some lessening of tension between the Soviet and Red China but what we heard made it appear any real settlement would be unlikely, so long as Mao and his immediate group stay in power in Communist China.

Even more serious border incidents are predicted by one man knowledgeable about the Soviet scene—a man convinced that Red China considers the Soviet Union its real enemy, not the United States.

Is the real source of the trouble Chinese pressure for more and better land to support some of its 800 million people?

"Not really," says one Soviet editor. "Most of their people are crowded into the coastal areas, and that does cause problems. But they still have many areas that are underpopulated. The climate in those areas and the agricultural potential is as good as in our territory."

Is the dispute a sincere expression of something Red China believes it's legally entitled to?

An Alma Ata editor: "They claim their ancestors came into Kazakhstan as conquerors. They are claiming as far as 500 to 600 kilometers inside our borders. They never settled here. They were hit-and-run raiders, coming into our territory to rob."

"These raiders are the only things they can use to back up their claims. Some of the Khans, and the Mongols and Tartars all raided into this territory. But they were all kicked out. The Chinese have only these robber raiders to support their claims."

"When relations between our countries were good, the Chinese never mentioned the border."

Do the border disputes have their roots in the ideological split between Soviet and Chinese ideas of what communism should be?

This may be nearer the point. Stalin, one Soviet resident told us, really thought the future of China lay with Chiang Kai-shek—and urged Mao and his friends not to take over China. But they did, and based the future communism of their country on the peasants—rather than upon the "industrial proletariat" in the Soviet style (mainly because there was no industrial proletariat in China at the time).

"Khrushchev tolerated Mao longer than Stalin would have," this source said. "The real open break came in 1960 when the U.S.S.R. stopped admitting new Chinese students and withdrew the technicians who had been helping China."

Since then, relations have worsened rather steadily and, it would appear, the end of Soviet-China tensions is not yet in sight.

One Soviet journalist said his nation really wasn't worried about China and another added: "China has made 501 warnings to the United Nations about U.S. violations of its territory."

When we commented that those warnings apparently weren't worrying the United States, either, Anatoly Lisovsky said: "Don't think that an ocean is a barrier."

When an American suggested the Soviet Union could help with the Vietnam situation, and commented it was unfortunate the Soviet had not de-escalated its shipment of arms to Vietnam, a top Soviet official of the Journalists Union answered:

"You want to draw out of the Vietnam war and you don't know how to withdraw. You want to make us responsible to promote a method of withdrawal . . . Our advice is: Pull out. But we are not government leaders and cannot solve the destiny of Vietnam at this table."

"We can't tell the Vietnamese what to do," a Minsk editor said. "The people of the U.S.S.R. don't think the people of the United States want wars, but some of the things you do worry us."

"It's the same with us," one of the Americans replied, "Some of the things the U.S.S.R. does worry us, too."

A Minsk editor said: "The long-term interests of the U.S.S.R. and China will prevail. The long-term interests coincide."

What are China's long-term interests in Southeast Asia, then, we asked. "Would you like to see China take over Vietnam?"

"I can't imagine such a situation," Editor Novitsky said, "The Vietnamese people can stick up for themselves."

"The American people," we answered, "support South Vietnam because we felt China was about to swallow up Southeast Asia. In view of your current troubles (with China) it seems we would have a common interest in preventing China from taking over all of Southeast Asia."

"Our interest," said Fyodor Kletskov, head of the Byelorussian journalists, "is only in letting people determine for themselves. We support the 'five points' including self-determination."

"But what about Czechoslovakia?" interjected one of the American editors.

"There is nothing comparable between Czechoslovakia and Vietnam," said Kletskov. "Soviet forces liberated the Czechs. Late events show the Czechs can put their house in order without the use of force. We know who stands behind this . . ."

"Who?", we asked . . . "West Germany?"

"A newspaperman should not ask such a question," Kletskov snapped.

An American: "When the Germans marched into Czechoslovakia, they said they were doing the same thing you are now doing!"

Kletskov: "And U.S. Forces entered France, Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg and other countries."

American: "Yes, and we turned them all back to the people of those countries."

Kletskov: "And we will turn back Czechoslovakia . . .!"

American: "When?"

Kletskov: "Before the U.S. forces leave Europe."

I think you will sense that, by this time, the discussion had become an argument.

"Hey, wait a minute. You're all talking at once," shouted Joe Adamov, our intrepid interpreter. He pounded a glass on the table to restore order. It broke. One of the Americans pulled off his shoe, handed it to Joe and Joe pounded on the table with that.

The obvious recollection of the famous Khrushchev shoe-pounding at the U.N. broke the tension—and everyone laughed.

"Let us all drink to peace and friendship," said one of the Soviet hosts.

And we all did.

MINSHALL OPINION POLL

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to place my latest opinion poll in the RECORD:

MINSHALL OPINION POLL, NOVEMBER 1969

The 91st Congress has been in session 10 months and once again I seek your views. This poll is being sent to every home in the 23rd Congressional District. I welcome your additional comments, however I regret that time and staff limitations will not permit me to personally respond to each return. Results will be made known in my next "Washington Report". Please mail your completed questionnaire to Minshall Opinion Poll, 2243 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C., 20515. Let me know if you need additional copies.

1. Do you believe President Nixon is following the correct course to bring the war to an honorable end?

2. Did you approve the recent "Moratorium" demonstration?

3. Do you favor the President's proposal to replace Selective Service with a draft lottery?

4. To curb inflation, do you favor:

(a) Cut-backs in military spending?

(b) Public construction cut-backs?

(c) Greater efficiency, with resulting economy, in poverty programs?

(d) Wage and price controls?

5. Do you approve of my amendment to increase water pollution funds from \$600 million to \$1 billion for 1970?

6. Should Congress permit heavier, wider trucks to use interstate highways?

7. Do you think the Nixon Administration has done a good job during its first nine months?

8. Should penalties for sale and use of marijuana be made less severe?

9. Do you favor my bill H.R. 12555 to raise personal income tax exemption from \$600 to \$1,200?

10. What is the most critical problem facing the Nation today? (Comment.)

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, this past weekend we had a demonstration in my 20th congressional district. More than 1,000 youths took part. They carried signs and they marched. They marched not to destroy American ideals but to recreate American history. They were Boy Scouts of America not members of the SDS. Their signs were not of protest but of pride, denoting the many troops who took part.

They belonged to the Monogahela Valley Scout Council and they formally dedicated a 15-mile section of what officially now is the "General Braddock Trail," a 50-mile route which begins in Westmoreland County and ends at the scene of the General's famous defeat in the community of Braddock in the 20th district.

The new trail was carefully plotted for accuracy by leaders of the Scout council. It took them 2 years to research the line of march, map the trail and pinpoint campsites, and obtain necessary legal clearances.

On Saturday, October 25, more than 200 years after Braddock marched through the same hills and woodlands, 1,000 Scouts followed the flight of an arrow and began tracing his historical footprints. They stood in the gray light of a cloudy dawn, ignoring a chill wind and a drizzle, to listen to a synopsis of what befell the Braddock army of 1755.

They heard how Braddock and his troops, accompanied by a young colonel, George Washington, stopped at the site on which they stood on July 8, 1755. The next day the army, 1,600 strong, crossed the Monongahela River and moved on Fort Duquesne. Where they crossed the river the city of Duquesne now stands

and at the junction of the Monongahela, Ohio, and Allegheny Rivers, where the fort once stood, now rises the skyline of the city of Pittsburgh.

Braddock and his army never reached the fort. A much smaller force of French soldiers, supplemented by approximately 600 Indians, ambushed the general at what now is the Borough of Braddock. Utilizing the natural cover of the terrain, bushes, trees, and rocks, the French and Indians slashed at the column of redcoats. They annihilated approximately half of Braddock's men, mortally wounded the general, and routed the remainder of his troops. Braddock himself died 4 days later, July 13, and is buried at a site known as Great Meadows near Uniontown on U.S. Route 40.

The last campsite of Braddock before his defeat now is a part of White Oak Regional Park, one of several parks established by Allegheny County Commissioners to preserve the natural beauty of the Monongahela Valley's rolling, wooded hillsides.

It is appropriate, therefore, that special attention be given to preserving the Braddock trail as well. Such an idea was conceived primarily by two men—William Kearney, scoutmaster of Troop 9, and the late Robert Lewis, camp program director for the Monongahela Valley Scout Council. These men, aided by many others, including John MacLuskie and Thoms Hurrel, district commissioners; Philip Slaugh, scoutmaster; and J. Herbert Platts, council executive, spent long hours researching historical records in the interest of accuracy.

Scouts who made the dedication trek this past weekend, and those who will make it in the future, received a special patch in commemoration of their achievement. It is a colorful shield-shaped emblem designed by William Gaughan, a member of the council's executive board.

The patch is emblazoned with English and French flags of the period; a tomahawk representing the Indians who took part in the battle; a powder horn symbolizing the participation of Americans and a regimental drum signifying the Braddock march was a military expedition.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to say I took part in the dedication ceremonies and I take this opportunity to commend in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Boy Scouts of America, in general, and the Monongahela Valley Scout Council, in particular, for a true reflection of the spirit, character, and moral fiber of this Nation's youth.

#### DRAFT REFORM SHOULD NOT BE SHELVED

### HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, shortly after the House passed Thursday draft reform legislation, H.R. 14001, the Democrat majority leader in the other body

was quoted as saying the Senate will not act this year on this much-needed legislation requested by President Nixon.

So it is that draft reform apparently will take its place on the shelf with so many other important legislative proposals advanced to this Democrat-controlled Congress by the Nixon administration.

We all are aware of the disruptive impact which the draft poses to young American men under the present Selective Service System. Through this legislation Congress has the opportunity of minimizing as much as possible the uncertainty and disruptive impact of the draft on the individual lives of our young men.

Yesterday efforts were made here in the House to make extensive changes in the Selective Service System. Although they were not successful, it is obvious that the Democrat leadership in the other body would have shelved them anyway.

Unless there is a change of heart and priorities in the other body, I urge the President to follow through and implement these needed changes in the Selective Service System by Executive action. I hope the time soon will come that the draft no longer will be necessary. However, until that day arrives, it is essential that it be made as fair as possible now.

#### THE TREASURES OF VIRGINIA

### HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, generations of Virginians have known it, of course, but we of the Old Dominion take satisfaction from the confirmation by countless visitors that Virginia is "the State with everything."

In this connection, I take the liberty of inviting all Members of the House, and their constituents to visit our Commonwealth.

While I am confident they will include Thomas Jefferson's country, the Skyline Drive and the Shenandoah Valley in any itinerary, I am happy to acknowledge that there are many areas of historic and scenic interest outside the district I have the privilege of representing, and I include, under leave to extend my remarks, an article which appeared in the September issue of *Holiday* magazine, as follows:

#### VIRGINIA—THE STATE WITH EVERYTHING (By Charlton Ogburn, Jr.)

"Perfect travel, for me, demands two qualities of a country," says E. V. Lucas, "that it shall be full of beauty; and that it shall be full of ghosts." That there are states with more spectacular beauty than Virginia's, I am quite sure. There may even be some that are equally haunted. But I insist that no other state is at once so haunted and so consistently beautiful.

The part of Virginia I inhabit could hardly be expected to have beauty or ghosts, for in recent years it has become a province of Washington, a nesting ground of govern-

ment workers. After every hard rain a film of mud from construction work for a new subdivision or highway is deposited by Difficult Run on the flood plain in the woods below our house. But—brass buttons, a sword hilt, the rusted steel parts of a rifle, all from the 1860's, still turn up on Difficult Run; the shadowed banks still put forth purple fringed orchis, the deep and lofty woods—as they still are—still resound at night to the voodoo performance of barred owls; and this within thirty minutes of the huge new foreign-policy factory of the Department of State.

Virginia is tenacious. In Alexandria, a Colonial port city now swallowed up by Washington, blocks of Georgian and early Federal houses above the somnolent harbor (once busier than New York's) have been redeemed by those who love history. The blocks are bright and bursting with greenery in their alleyways and over their old walls; even Gadsby's Tavern, "the best house of entertainment in America" in the infancy of the Republic, has been brought back to flourishing life. Down the river at the end of a parkway as handsome as any in the nation, Mount Vernon commands a magnificent sweep of the Potomac's estuary. The vista is not greatly changed since Washington's day, thanks to a group of newcomers, notably former Congresswoman Frances P. Bolton of Ohio, who saved the opposite shore from an apartment house development. If from time to time, moreover, a bald eagle drifts by on prodigious wings like the totem of a proud and wild America that was, that is because another group fought and saved a promontory in the Potomac called Mason's Neck from the builders.

The promontory where the national bird still breeds is the site of George Mason's Gunston Hall. A third architectural treasure nearby is Woodlawn Plantation, where Nelly Custis—but once you embark on that road there is no end.

Beauty and ghosts: these are the properties of the old houses, early or late Georgian and antebellum, of mellowed brick or white clapboard, that are scattered all over Virginia except in the extreme west. Many still belong to the families that built them generations ago: "Keep it in the family" is a Virginian ideal. Others are now the property of well-to-do outsiders, captives of their charm. For these houses call to you insidiously to settle in one of them, anchoring your life in it, making it your abiding interest.

The new gentry have been drawn principally to the Piedmont and to the part of Virginia called the hunt country, which extends from Leesburg, Middleburg and Warrenton (all west of Washington and a bit beyond comfortable commuting distance) south to Charlottesville. Boldly rolling country, of meadowlands and woods with tree-lined streams, combines views of far hills that lift the spirit with a sense of space and closed-in dales that comfort it with a sense of home. The Virginia Piedmont comes as near as any landscape could to the Arcadian idyll that has touched men's dreams since the day of the Greek pastoral poets. Evidently it is just right for fox-hunting, and that has been its lure for many, including the Orange County Hunt Club of New York, which emigrated *en masse* around the turn of the century and still retains its name. Bill Grayson, who refers to his farm at Upperville as a horse motel, explains the appeal of foxhunting this way: "You scud over the landscape like part of a stream over rapids, carried along by a collective will, so that you sail over jumps both you and the horse would think twice about attempting by yourselves."

Recently I attended my first hunt meet, at Oatlands, near Leesburg. The events were point-to-point races in which the contestants in jockeylike attire, including a few young women riders, put their mounts over a gruel-

ing four-mile course around the grassy hills. What surprised me was the size and heterogeneity of the crowd that turned out to watch. Its garb comprised every garment that aristocratic eccentricity and the faddishness of youth could suggest. At the paddock where the thoroughbreds with their long, brittle legs, flaring nostrils and edgy deportment were being led about, I asked a young English woman if the atmosphere were anything like the equivalent in Britain. It turned out she was a riding instructor at Foxcroft School in Middleburg, where girls are taught what they will need to know in the society of this elegant countryside. She said it was exactly like, except that it wasn't as cold.

In dimensions, Virginia is hardly to be recognized as the colony that, according to its royal charter, extended from the Atlantic coast westward, and northwestward, widening progressively, "to the South Sea." But the Old Dominion still covers a fair amount of ground. From its eastern to its western tip the distance is 500 miles; its western point is twenty-five miles west of Detroit. A circular tour of the state I made this year, to see what Virginia's total effect would be, ran to 1,500 miles.

Driving south from Washington on Interstate 95—I took a clockwise direction on my trip—one has forest much of the way. More than three-fifths of Virginia is in woods, and except in the northwest these are never without the green of pine, mountain laurel and holly or of rhododendron; in autumn, paced by the reds of Virginia creeper, sumac, dogwood and black tupelo, they turn all the colors of ripe apples. Connecting Washington and Richmond, the highway covers the same hundred miles the Army of the Potomac took four blood-soaked years to achieve. Less than half way you come to a place where more of the war was fought than in any other—Fredericksburg and its western environs; the town itself changed hands seven times. Fredericksburg stands at the head of the Northern Neck, a long peninsula between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers. This land produced one of the most concentrated outpourings of talent for politics and leadership the world has ever seen: George Washington, James Monroe, James Madison, George Mason, "Lighthorse Harry" Lee and Richard Henry Lee all had their roots here.

The older parts of Fredericksburg are valiantly holding out against engulfment by the present. The noises of motor traffic seem to fall on a cushion of quiet, the old houses sheltered by trees appeal to the passer-by. The 200-year-old Rising Sun Tavern and stagecoach station, once frequented by Virginia's great, brings home to you how touchingly small-scale and intimate was that candlelit Colonial society, how thinly spread over the vast distances of the day.

In the National Battlefield Parks of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, the Wilderness and Spotsylvania Courthouse, you can be alone on deserted roads. The quiet fields and the somber, steadfast pines seem to echo to the presence of those legions of young men of North and South facing death in the headiest tide of life. The forest seems to stir with troops just beyond the edge of your vision, the marching column seems to have cleared the ford just before you came.

State Highway 5, which takes you to Richmond's defense works from the miles of giant warehouses and railroad yards of the present deep-water port, leads on to the early plantations of the James River and to the 18th Century mansions of Shirley, Berkeley and Westover, all three still lived in. The broad fields are nearly level and your gaze lingers on them when you reflect that some were under cultivation 350 years ago. At Shirley you might be at an elegant 18th Century country house overlooking the estuary of the Thames, indeed, the James was virtually an extension of the Thames when Shirley was begun by a branch of the Carter family in

the 1720's. "And is that—?" I asked of the knowledgeable colored woman who was showing me the house, nodding in the direction of a pretty, blond little boy playing on the floor as a gaunt Negro waxed it beside him. "Yes, he's one of the Carters' children": the tenth generation. It was a Carter also, who, farther down the James, built a dwelling sometimes called the most beautiful in the nation—the plantation house of Carter's Grove.

The richness of this corner of Virginia is astonishing. Of Jamestown, the 17th Century capital, nothing remains, it is true, but the ivy-covered belltower of the 1639 church, a graveyard and some foundations. Yet there the site is—our first foothold on the continent. And at Jamestown Festival Park, where the state has portrayed the settlement's background in admirable exhibits, there are full-sized replicas of the three small vessels that brought the first 104 settlers across the sea in 1607, and of the fortified village they built. "You can tell from the headroom that they were all under five feet tall," says a retired naval officer on duty with *Susan Constant*, the flagship, in period sailor's dress (a Bedouin-style garment of awning material). In one six-month period ending in March 1610 all but sixty of 490 colonists perished; the knowledge that these adventurers were child-sized adds a further touch of improbability that so momentous an event as the English settlement of the New World could have had so utterly unpromising a beginning. Jamestown is linked by the Colonial Parkway with the Yorktown battlefield high above the York River, a rolling green meadowland, where British empire in the thirteen colonies ended just fourteen miles from where it had begun. Between the two is Williamsburg, Virginia's 18th Century capital.

I must confess that I am deeply stirred by Colonial Williamsburg—by the recovery, in the smallest detail that exhaustive detective work can achieve, of the charming town in which the nation's heartbeats were first felt. With a childlike lightness of spirit I wandered among the 150 buildings with their pampered gardens, and watched artisans work to exquisite effect in all-but-forgotten crafts. (To the charge that Colonial Williamsburg is an artifice, the answer is that eighty-five of the buildings are originals and if the others are reproductions, so are any renditions of musical classics you may hear.) At the end of the Duke of Gloucester Street is the oldest academic building in the country, built by the College of William and Mary after a design by Sir Christopher Wren. I take it as a hopeful augury for America that the merchants of the commercial end of the street have respected the character of the place in the architecture of their shops, in the modest signs they display and in foregoing neon lights. Yet there is a disturbing irony in the realization that while thousands a day may pay homage to the town, while the American Republic so dotes on it as to have made it the regular first point of call for kings and presidents from abroad, there would be no Colonial Williamsburg but for the extraordinary means and public spirit of one family, the Rockefellers, who made the Reverend W. A. R. Goodwin's dream of preservation come true.

To grasp the scope of the island sea that is Chesapeake Bay, perhaps one should look down on it from the air. A great river system invaded by the ocean some ten thousand years ago, the Bay extends 200 miles north to south, and reaches westward in the broad estuaries of the James, York, Rappahannock and Potomac rivers. Sand beaches, marshes, leafy coves and little harbors at the end of village streets, and behind, woods and fields where gulls follow the plow: that is what littoral Virginia of the inland sea still offers. A captive salient of the Atlantic Ocean up to forty miles across, an unsurpassed play-

ground for the nautical, a major fishing grounds, home of the nation's last commercial sailing fleet—the oystermen—and winter resorts of a still fairly numerous remnant of the ducks, geese and swans that William Strachey in 1612 found so abundant that "I dare avow it no country in the world may have more": such, in part, is Chesapeake Bay.

Separating Chesapeake Bay from Delaware Bay and the open ocean is the Great Peninsula, whose narrow, seventy-five-mile-long tip is a detached part of Virginia. Just offshore are the silver strands of lower Assateague Island—one of the long sand-reefs of the East Coast on which beach-grass or sea-oats, bayberry or sand-myrtle, juniper and pine vie with the eternal winds for dominance of the dunes. Southward of Assateague stretches a jumble of uninhabited islands accessible only by boat. Developers from New York have recently turned covetous eyes on three of the most important of these, and conservationists, shocked by the projected macadamization of Assateague under the National Park Service, are rallying to their defense like leucocytes against alien bodies in the bloodstream.

Inside the islands is the village of Oyster. I mention it because, attracted by its name, I visited it and was captivated. A collection of low houses, small packing plants and piles of oyster shells around an inlet filled with little white boats, Oyster was what you might expect on Cape Cod, but with no sign of tourism or summer people. It was strictly a working port. Robust, talkative fishermen in open craft piled with wire crab-pots waited their turn at a gas pump and rallied one another with bursts of horseplay in the little cafe and general store. A sturdy woman with clear gray eyes and a total air of cheerful self-sufficiency served me coffee and a doughnut. I tried not to stare, but unsuccessfully, so taken was I by these booted outdoorsmen, conspicuously untouched by the malaise of our times, whose families had been plying the waters for crabs, oysters, clams and mackerel for two or three hundred years.

At Cape Charles, at the tip of the peninsula, U.S. 13 puts out to sea. You commit yourself to the seventeen-and-a-half-mile long bridge-tunnel combination spanning the mouth of Chesapeake Bay with no other shore in sight. From another bridge-with-tunnel across the mouth of the James, just inside the bay, you see one of the world's finest natural harbors and the nation's third busiest—Hampton Roads. Here, bordering the Roads, is maritime Virginia—the Norfolk Naval Base, home port of the Atlantic Fleet, and the huge shipyards of Newport News and of briny, historic Portsmouth, where the sunken *Merrimac* was refloated and rebuilt as the first-ironclad, *USS Virginia*.

On the southern shore of Chesapeake Bay there are live oaks, stunted and with foliage sheered back by the spume-laden winds—outposts of the Deep South. There is also the state's prime ocean resort, Virginia Beach, with miles of hotels and motels (neither term quite right for the glass-walled, balconied vacation temples) and, separated from them by a belt of greensward, a concrete promenade above the beach. There are also hundreds of private homes. But after thirteen miles of resorts, a national wildlife refuge begins, putting an end to the spread of cottages. From there on you have before you open beach backed by dunes and, at a distance behind them, the waters of Back Bay.

U.S. 58 will take you from Virginia Beach to the state's westernmost point, at Cumberland Gap. The best-known feature of the route comes soon after Norfolk. The time to see it is at day's end with the sun like a live coal behind the dark shapes of a forest grown high in bamboo grass. This is the edge of the thousand-square-mile boggy wilder-

ness of the Dismal Swamp. "Long by the old Dismal Swamp have I wandered"; this is the Old Virginia of *Carry Me Back* where, on the flat farmlands, "the cotton and the corn and 'taters grow"—and peanuts, and more peanuts.

The chief popular attractions of Southside Virginia are doubtless the six man-made lakes of the Roanoke River Basin. The largest, equal to the others combined, is Buggs Island Lake, whose main branch is thirty-two miles. And it does appear to be all a lake should be—at least before mid-summer when, a grocer at Clarksville told me, the stopper is partially pulled out for water to keep the generators turning. Had there been much local opposition to the condemnation of land for the reservoir? "I'll say there was!" he replied. And surely 1,600 square miles of choice river valley is enough to drown, and one hopes that the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, which has a "system of eleven reservoirs planned," may find less destructive tasks for its staff.

Continuing west on Highway 58, you cross the ever more unconfined, more exhilarating landscape. Soon the Blue Ridge Mountains rise before you. Reaching their foothills, the highway winds, climbs through rock-cuts. You are shut in by wooded slopes falling off to a tumbling stream. At 3,000 feet or more you may come out in an open spot and, in the clean, cool air faintly spiced by the woods, find yourself in a world of mountains, of rounded peaks under a mantle of forest. At Meadows of Dan, 58 crosses the Blue Ridge Parkway, a road to lighten your heart of the cares of years.

This unassuming two-lane road leads south to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in North Carolina and Tennessee, and north (with its upper segment, the Skyline Drive) to within twenty-five miles of Virginia's northern border. It follows the crest of the Blue Ridge for 575 miles in a tranquil world of its own, removed from the clutter and clutter of civilization. The Parkway clings sinuously to the curve of mountain and gap, slips circumspectly past mountain meadow and the massed, lichen-covered trunks of the high woods, delights you with wildflowers—trillium, columbine, mountain laurel, pinkster and flame azalea, catawba and rosebay rhododendron—or the Indian-festival colors of autumn.

Virginia's highest summit, the site of its newest park, is Mount Rogers, rising 5,729 feet on the western side of the Blue Ridge chain. U.S. 58 approaches it up gradients so steep and twisting that trucks are advised not to try them. Darkness fell as I climbed, and lightning periodically created an effect of instantaneous apricot sunsets among the heavy clouds. I camped at about 4,000 feet and went the rest of the way in the morning. A frail-looking but doubtless tough enough mountaineer, climbing with an armful of wood to an unpainted cabin, told me that you could freeze up there even in summer.

On the other side of Mount Rogers is the attractive, 19th Century town of Abingdon, site of the Barter Theater. I could not drive through without paying my respects to the theater's remarkable founder, Robert Porterfield, a large, rather large-featured, gentle Virginian whom I found in a desperately cluttered office. Mr. P. accomplished the feat of moving from a remote Virginia farm to the Broadway stage; then he performed the infinitely more unlikely feat of returning with twenty-two other actors in train, at the nadir of the Depression, to exchange theatrical entertainment for meat and vegetables. For thirty-six years the Barter Theater—the only state-supported theater in the nation—has presented current and classical plays with topnotch casts, not only in Abingdon but in many other parts of the South. I asked him how he had ever had the nerve to imagine he could do it. He said, "I wouldn't today."

Interstate 81, which skirts Abingdon, takes you up the Great Valley of Virginia (of which

the Shenandoah Valley is a part). This great trough, which divides the tumultuously contoured Blue Ridge from the even succession of ridges and valleys to the west, contains Virginia's great caverns. These were dissolved out of subterranean limestone by flowing water, then the caves filled with frozen cascades of limestone slowly redeposited by water dripping from above, in formations of fantastic shapes.

The Great Valley route is a handsome one, but I chose to follow smaller roads through smaller valleys to the west, which are less caught up in the present. Split-rail fences still survive among them and they may afford you the sight of a man harrowing behind a team, a woman in a sunbonnet and 40-quart milkcans beside the road.

In Goshen Pass, north of Lexington, the boulder-strewn Maury River snakes around the overlapping, rocky abutments of a succession of lofty ridges. With its silvery, rushing waters, hemlocks and subforest of rhododendron, it is the epitome of western Virginia, a place of such beauty and grandeur that Matthew Fontaine Maury, the pioneer oceanographer, asked that his body be carried through it before burial. Bath County, at the western end of Goshen Pass, is the site of Virginia's best-known inland resorts—the historical Warm Springs Inn, and Hot Springs, where The Homestead stands ready, it seems, to enfold the new arrival to its ten-story central tower in its spreading, five-story wings. What The Homestead does not offer a vacationer is easier to catalogue than what it does, and all I can think of is an ocean beach. (It has a sand beach.) A significant attraction is its 3,200-foot trestle-car ski-lift. There is, by the way, another notably well-equipped run at Basye, near New Market. Artificial snow is making skiing country of Virginia's mountains. And there are maple-sugar groves in Highland County, in the state's extreme northwest. There, in a sudden storm of rain, hail and snow at the 4,271-foot pass on the West Virginia border, I decided I had gone as far as I could and turned back toward home.

My route led down into the Valley of Virginia, up through Rockfish Gap in the Blue Ridge, directly to the door of my last objective—the University of Virginia at Charlottesville. I arrived tense from battling rush-hour traffic and maddened by the exultant cacophony that is the expression of America along its commercial arteries. But in a matter of minutes the seizure had passed. To enter the great Rotunda of the University and to pass through it to the green quadrangle beyond—The Lawn—is to experience the restorative power of structural and landscape architecture at their best.

So that was it. Driving north on the Skyline Drive, and having the mountains largely to myself in the falling light, I could see much of the state: the Piedmont in deep shadow, the Shenandoah Valley in which the lights were beginning to form shimmering constellations of extraordinary beauty, the strange, dark, distant mountains behind which the sun had set: Virginia. Not, to be sure, the "Virginia, Earth's Only Paradise," that the poet Michael Drayton had promised in 1606, but still—Virginia.

#### OKEFENOKEE SWAMP

**HON. W. S. (BILL) STUCKEY**

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. STUCKEY. Mr. Speaker, on January 28, of this year, I introduced legislation for the purpose of bringing the Okefenokee Swamp, which lies in the

Eighth District of Georgia, into the wilderness system for the purpose of preserving this unique and beautiful swamp, one of America's truly natural wonders, for posterity and for the enjoyment of people for time to come.

My bill was sent to the Interior Committee for consideration and the chairman of that committee requested a report of the Interior Department.

Mr. Speaker, the Department of the Interior finally responded to the Interior Committee chairman in a letter dated October 16, a copy of which I received in my office on October 29.

It is because of that letter, Mr. Speaker, that I rise to speak today. I want each of my colleagues in the Chamber to know that they had best use all caution in dealing with the Department of the Interior and although I hate to admit this about one of our Federal agencies which is subject to the jurisdiction of this body, I also caution my colleagues never to take even the written word of Interior officials to be relied on.

I want to include in the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, a copy of the correspondence which I received from the Department of the Interior on July 8, 1968, along with a copy of the letter which the Department transmitted to the chairman on the 16th of this month, and a copy of the letter which I have had hand-carried to the chairman's office today.

These letters clearly point out that I worked with Interior officials for over a year in drafting a bill which would be mutually acceptable to that Department and to me. When we had reached agreement I introduced H.R. 4853.

Now, the Department has gone back on its word completely and disagrees with the legislation I have introduced and sent their own version of a bill which simply gives the Department that say.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that many of the problems we are having today are caused by our failure to be more specific in drawing legislative proposals and leaving so much to the interpretation of the departments or agencies. I urge each of my colleagues to give close attention to the correspondence included at this point:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C. October 29, 1969.

HON. WAYNE ASPINALL,  
Chairman, Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN ASPINALL: Today, I have received a copy of the letter transmitted to you on October 16, 1969, by the Department of the Interior concerning my bill, HR 4853.

It is inconceivable to me that the Department of the Interior would take such a position in opposition to my bill. Enclosed you will find a copy of a letter which I received from Interior officials on July 8, 1968, stating the Department's agreement with my proposal and including suggested language, which I incorporated in my bill, HR 4853.

Also enclosed is a copy of an official publication of the Department, entitled, "Okefenokee National Wilderness Study." This publication states the intent of the Interior Department for preservation of the Okefenokee. The bill which I have introduced does no more than spell out this intent specifically rather than leave it to the discretion of some agency official. As a matter of fact I believe that many of the problems we are having today are caused by the lack of Congress to

be more specific in drawing legislative proposals and leaving so much to the interpretation of the department and agency officials. If Interior officials truly believe what is printed in this booklet which was published out of their offices then I certainly see no reason for their objection to my bill which simply specifies their intent.

Paragraph three of the Acting Secretary's letter says that HR 4853 is unnecessarily confusing and restrictive. I see no basis for this statement. My intention in the legislation was to make sure that the intent expressed by the Department of The Interior would be carried out and that the beauty and enjoyment of the Okefenokee Swamp be preserved forever according to the law not to the administrative decision of some agency head.

To the further statement in paragraph three of the Acting Secretary's letter which states that HR 4853 deviates from the established pattern of wilderness bills relating to the National Wildlife Refuge System, I say, the Okefenokee differs from any other area in the National Wilderness system because it is the only area that is predominantly covered by water.

In essence, the position of the Department of The Interior is, "We want legislation which simply gives The Interior Department complete say with no legislative specifications."

Mr. Chairman, I urge favorable consideration of my bill, HR 4853 by the Committee.

I believe that my colleagues in the House share my belief that legislation should be drawn by the Congress, not by the Agencies who are to administer the legislation. And, while I respect the opinion of various officials in the Department of The Interior, I believe that the Congress is better qualified to write the law. Also, the bill which I have written merely spells out in specific terms the stated position of the Interior Department with regard to the Okefenokee Swamp.

I will not stand by and have an area that is as unique and as meaningful to this country turned over to the administrative whim of some bureaucratic officials.

Sincerely yours,

W. S. (BILL) STUCKEY, JR.,  
Member of Congress.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,  
Washington, D.C., July 8, 1968.

Hon. W. S. (BILL) STUCKEY,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STUCKEY: Enclosed, pursuant to your discussion last week with Messrs. Buell, Crandell, Finnegan, and Wheeler of this Department, is a revised version of your draft bill relative to the Okefenokee Wilderness proposal. Also enclosed is a copy of Secretary Udall's very recent policy statement on hunting and fishing in areas administered by this Department, including the Okefenokee area.

We have again reviewed the matter of access to the sill area which we discussed with you in some detail. We agree that public access to the end of the canal at the south end of the Suwanee River sill, which is outside the proposed Wilderness area, is appropriate. We intend to provide this access just as soon as possible. We expect there will be substantial numbers of fishermen and sightseers wanting to use this access route. Vehicular traffic on the sill itself, however, will not be permitted.

The minimum facilities required to handle the visitation we expect are a graded and surfaced road, boat slip, turn-around area for cars and trailers, sanitary facilities, and a parking area. A preliminary estimate of this cost, made without benefit of engineering studies, is between \$75,000 and \$100,000. We want to do a creditable job in providing for visitors, or none at all. It is our experience that anything less will leave the

visitor, us, and the Congressional delegation dissatisfied and with continuing problems.

Stephen Foster State Park officials are not pleased by this proposed development, but we understand they see that this second access to the west side is inevitable.

We expect to charge for boat launching at this access point, probably consistent with that of the Stephen Foster State Park. Additional personnel will be required. In addition to heavy use expected by fishermen with boats, we anticipate the fishermen that now walk to the sill will insist on driving their cars into the area.

We view the above as a commitment to provide this access, subject to the above conditions and the availability of funds. Accordingly, we believe that a provision in the bill on this subject is unnecessary. If, however, you believe it desirable, we would not object to the following language:

Sec. 5. In the area of the Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge not included in Okefenokee Wilderness, the Secretary of the Interior shall provide, at reasonable times, public access to the end of the canal at the south end of the Suwanee River sill, upon completion of reasonable public facilities needed to accommodate such public use. There is authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to construct such facilities.

We will be glad to discuss this matter further with you at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

CLARENCE F. PAUTZKE,  
Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

A bill to designate the Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge as the Okefenokee Wilderness, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in accordance with section 3(c) of the Wilderness Act (16 U.S.C. 1132(c)) the Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge, as the boundaries of such refuge existed on April 1, 1968, except for the following areas:

(1) a 2,800 acre swamp area in the vicinity of Camp Cornelia;

(2) an 8,400 acre swamp area at the west entrance to the swamp including Stephen Foster State Park, the Suwanee River sill, and the intervening area affected by these developments;

(3) refuge management units comprising about 9,800 acres of uplands above the swamp line, including, but not limited to, Cowhouse Island near the Okefenokee Swamp Park, The Pocket, the upland area at Camp Cornelia extending out to State Highway 23, Chesser Island, Soldier Camp Island, and other refuge management units along the outside boundary of the refuge;

is hereby designated as the Okefenokee Wilderness comprising an area of approximately 319,000 acres.

SEC. 2. As soon as practicable after enactment, the Secretary of the Interior shall file a map and a legal description of the Okefenokee Wilderness with the Interior and Insular Affairs Committees of the United States Senate and the House of Representatives, and such description shall have the same force and effect as if included in this Act, except that the correction of clerical and typographical errors in such legal description and map may thereafter be made.

SEC. 3. The Okefenokee Wilderness shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior in accordance with the applicable provisions of the Wilderness Act. The system of boat trails existing on the date of this Act shall continue to be maintained to provide reasonable waterway access for public enjoyment of the area and for proper administration. The use of motor boats of 10 horsepower or less on such trails shall be permitted in accordance with the regulations of the Sec-

retary applicable to such trails. Fishing shall continue to be permitted during daylight hours in the Okefenokee Wilderness in accordance with applicable State laws and regulations. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to prevent the Secretary of the Interior from prohibiting or restricting public access to all or part of the Okefenokee Wilderness for reasons of public safety and administration.

SEC. 4. Except as necessary to meet minimum requirements in connection with the purposes for which the area is administered (including measures required in emergencies involving the health and safety of persons within the area), and except as provided in this Act, there shall be no commercial enterprise, no temporary or permanent roads, no use of motor vehicles, no landing of aircraft, and no structure or installation within the area designated by this Act as wilderness.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,  
Washington, D.C., June 17, 1968.

Mr. WALTER T. SHANNON,  
President, International Association of Game, Fish, and Conservation Commissioners, Sacramento, Calif.

DEAR MR. SHANNON: I would like to take this opportunity to advise you that, after our very helpful discussions of last week, I have issued the following policy statement relative to the management of fish and resident wildlife on lands administered by this Department:

"GENERAL POLICY STATEMENT

RE: FISH AND RESIDENT WILDLIFE ON INTERIOR LANDS

"A. In all areas administered by the Secretary of the Interior through the National Park Service, the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, the Bureau of Land Management, and the Bureau of Reclamation, except the National Parks, the National Monuments, and historic areas of the National Park System, the Secretary shall—

"1. Provide that public hunting of resident wildlife and fishing shall be permitted within statutory limitations in a manner that is compatible with, and not in conflict with, the primary objectives as declared by the Congress for which such areas are reserved or acquired;

"2. Provide that public hunting, fishing, and possession of fish and resident wildlife shall be in accordance with applicable State laws and regulations, unless the Secretary finds, after consultation with appropriate State fish and game departments, that he must close such areas to such hunting and fishing or restrict public access thereto for such purposes;

"3. Provide that a State license or permit, as provided by State law, shall be required for the public hunting, fishing, and possession of fish and resident wildlife on such areas;

"4. Provide for consultation with the appropriate State fish and game department in the development of cooperative management plans for limiting over-abundant or harmful populations of fish and resident wildlife thereon, including the disposition of the carcasses thereof, and, except in emergency situations, secure the State's concurrence in such plans; and

"5. Provide for consultation with the appropriate State fish and game department in carrying out research programs involving the taking of fish and resident wildlife, including the disposition of the carcasses thereof, and secure the State's concurrence in such programs.

"B. In the case of the National Parks, National Monuments, and historic areas of the National Park System, the Secretary shall—

"1. Provide where public fishing is permitted, that such fishing shall be carried out in accordance with applicable State laws

and regulations, unless exclusive legislative jurisdiction has been ceded for such area, and a State license or permit shall be required for such fishing, unless otherwise provided by law;

"2. Prohibit public hunting; and

"3. Provide for consultation with the appropriate State fish and game departments in carrying out programs of control of overabundant or otherwise harmful populations of fish and resident wildlife or research programs involving the taking of such fish and resident wildlife, including the disposition of carcasses therefrom.

"In any case where there is a disagreement, such disagreement shall be referred to the Secretary of the Interior who shall provide for a thorough discussion of the problems with representatives of the State fish and game department and the National Park Service for the purpose of resolving the disagreement."

I hope that with the adoption of this general policy statement covering not only public hunting and fishing—that is, hunting and fishing by the general public—but also direct management activities in these areas both this Department and the Association will be able to lay to rest this controversial issue and turn our energies to the attainment of other pressing conservation goals. I have asked the directors of each of the above agencies to take whatever procedural steps are necessary to implement immediately this policy statement fully.

I hope that this statement will be endorsed by your Association at its next meeting in September. I recognize, of course, that even with this statement, some few problems may arise in the field and may be difficult to resolve within the general ambit of this statement. In such instances, I hope that the appropriate members will bring them to the attention of either my directors or myself.

Sincerely yours,

STEWART L. UDALL,  
Secretary of the Interior.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,  
Washington, D.C., October 16, 1969.

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL,  
Chairman, Committee on Interior and Insular  
Affairs, House of Representatives, Wash-  
ington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Your Committee has requested the views of the Department on H.R. 4853, a bill "To designate the Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge as the Okefenokee Wilderness." The comments herein apply equally to identical bills H.R. 7793 and H.R. 8031, which also are pending before your Committee.

H.R. 4853 designates some 319,000 acres of swampland within the Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge as a wilderness area to be administered by the Secretary of the Interior as part of the National Wilderness Preservation System. The bill specifically exempts from Wilderness designation certain swamp areas and refuge management units totaling some 21,000 acres. The bill directs the Secretary of the Interior, in administering the wilderness, (1) to place no restrictions on the use of motorboats of 100

<sup>1</sup>The term "exclusive legislative jurisdiction" is applied to situations wherein the Federal Government has received, by whatever method, all the authority of the State, with no reservation made to the State except the right to serve process resulting from activities which occurred off the land involved. This term is applied notwithstanding that the State may exercise certain authority over the land, as may other States over land similarly situated, in consonance with the several Federal statutes. This term is also sometimes referred to as "partial jurisdiction."

horsepower or less; (2) to prohibit all hunting; (3) to permit fishing in accordance with state law; and (4) to maintain public boat trails at described locations.

While we fully support legislation to designate the Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge as a wilderness area, we believe that H.R. 4853, as presently drawn, is unnecessarily confusing and restrictive. Further, it substantially deviates from the established pattern of wilderness bills relating to the National Wildlife Refuge System. We see no justification for including many of the provisions which are aimed at the Department's management of the area.

The enclosed draft bill follows the pattern of all other wilderness bills with one exception and we urge its enactment. The exception relates to the use of motorized watercraft of 10 or less horsepower. We have included this provision in the bill in recognition of the fact that such motorboat use is now permitted and has been for many years. This is a historical use and is necessary for maximum public safety and public use.

The Bureau of Mines and the Geological Survey of this Department have made a survey of the mineral resources of the Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge and have published the results in Geological Survey Bulletin 1260-N. The report concludes that there has been no commercial mineral production from the area. Vast quantities of peat occur in the area and phosphate-bearing sediments probably underlie the refuge, but the extent and quantity of these deposits are not known and could not be determined without widespread drilling.

The Bureau of the Budget has advised that the presentation of this report would be consistent with the Administration's objectives.

Sincerely yours,

RUSSELL E. TRAIN,  
Acting Secretary of the Interior.

A bill to designate the Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge as the Okefenokee Wilderness

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in accordance with section 3(c) of the Wilderness Act of September 3, 1964 (78 Stat. 890, 892; 16 U.S.C. 1132 (c)), certain lands in the Okefenokee National Wildlife Refuge, Georgia, which comprise about 319,000 acres, and which are depicted on a map entitled "Okefenokee Wilderness—Proposed" and dated October 1967, are hereby designated as wilderness. The map shall be on file and available for public inspection in the Office of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, Department of the Interior.

SEC. 2. The area designated by this Act as wilderness shall be known as the "Okefenokee Wilderness" and shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior in accordance with the applicable provisions of the Wilderness Act.

SEC. 3. Except as necessary to meet minimum requirements in connection with the purposes for which the area was established and for the purposes of this Act (including measures required in emergencies involving the health and safety of persons within the area), and as provided in Section 4, there shall be no commercial enterprise, no temporary or permanent roads, no use of motor vehicles or motorized equipment, no landing of aircraft, no other form of mechanical transport, and no structure or installation within the area designated as wilderness by this Act.

SEC. 4. Within the wilderness designated by this Act, the use of powered watercraft, propelled by motors of ten or less horsepower, on approximately 75 miles of existing watercraft trails, may be permitted to continue, subject to such restrictions as the Secretary of the Interior finds necessary.

## NARCOTICS: ROOT OF URBAN TENSION

### HON. JOHN BRADEMAs

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. BRADEMAs. Mr. Speaker, a number of articles have been published in recent months concerning the problem of drug abuse. I insert at this point of the RECORD some articles which merit particular attention:

[From bimonthly review of Urban America, June 1969]

#### NARCOTICS: ROOT OF URBAN TENSION

White America, middle-class America, suburban America, recently discovered that the nation had a drug problem. The discovery came through the communications media, which was attracted to the joyful hedonism of a turning-on generation, and sometimes through conversations with the police or one's own children.

Black America has known about the problem for some time.

White America's reaction to finding the problem suddenly on its doorstep has been one of shock. Conservatives call for stronger law enforcement and a restoration of parental authority. Liberals call for understanding of the alienation of youth and more rehabilitation centers.

Black America watches the peddlers openly ply their trade on its streets.

There are now two turned-on subcultures in the nation, quite separate, and, of course, unequal. The white kids pool their allowances for pot and an occasional trip on something harder. The black kids, particularly in the big Eastern cities, get hooked earlier on the ghetto staple of heroin, stay hooked, wind up needing more money to support their habit than they have time or health to earn.

Narcotics officers, federal and local, chase the peddlers and users of pot, raid campuses, clean up the hippie havens and send the runaways home. This leaves less time to patrol the ghetto streets or trace the source of heroin supply—or cope with the street crime that feeds the habit.

Narcotics are a prime contributor to the tensions that grip our urban society. Crime, bred by narcotics to a degree that is unmeasured, builds white fears. Whites, with tragic accuracy, associate dope with the black ghettos, and some regard it as an interracial import to their world. Blacks, for their part, seethe at what seems the ultimate corruption of the minority by the majority—who runs the dope trade? They watch the police watch the peddlers; they curse; and respect for white society and its agents dies.

What follows is a summary of the narcotics situation in America—its history, its dual nature, and what is and is not being done about it. The premise is that doing more must be a very early step toward healing our cities and society.

The United States has long been a drug-oriented society. European settlers in the Southwest found the original Americans tripping on peyote, a type of cactus with hallucinogenic properties. A religious ritual among numerous Indian tribes still involves the sucking and swallowing of "mescal buttons," slices of the peyote which are rolled and dried in the sun. Early Spanish missionaries tried discouraging the practice, saying it led the user to the pit of hell, to which the Indian replied it really took him several steps closer to heaven.

Opium first came to this country with the English settlers who had learned the habit of opium eating from the Chinese. Oriental immigrants instituted the first opium dens in America, which became somewhat fashion-

able in the mid-1800's, chiefly in San Francisco and New York City. The drug first became illegal with the passage of an ordinance in San Francisco in 1875; the New York State Assembly prohibited opium traffic in 1882.

Morphine had been isolated from opium in 1816, but addiction only became a major problem 32 years later with the invention of the hypodermic needle. Direct injection greatly magnified morphine's effect, and its use spread throughout this country and Europe.

In 1874, a chemical modification of morphine was developed in England, called heroin, and said to be 10 times more potent. There was little interest in the drug until 1898 when German scientists, in a classic miscalculation, put heroin on the market as a remedy for morphine addiction. The cure proved 10 times more deadly as well. Another "remedy" for morphine addiction appeared at the same time: cocaine, an alkaloid of coca leaves.

Barbiturates—depressant drugs usually prescribed as sleeping pills—were introduced in 1903, and by 1937 the American Medical Association warned against "Evils from Promiscuous Use of Barbituric Acid and Derivative Drugs." Deaths from barbiturates rose alarmingly in the mid-1940's—about half suicides and half accidental. In 1949, a quarter of all poisoning cases admitted to hospitals were due to acute barbiturate intoxication. Some 1,500 derivatives have been synthesized over the years, and as each new brand was introduced illicit pill poppers gave it a name: Nembutal is known as "yellow jacket," Seconal is called "red bird" or "red devil," and Amytal is bootlegged as "blue heaven."

Amphetamine was synthesized in 1927 and later recommended in its vaporous state for treating colds, hay-fever, and other respiratory infections. The Benzedrine inhaler was first marketed in 1932. In 1936, students at the University of Minnesota, who had been conducting experiments with Benzedrine, sampled the drug and found it helped keep them awake for cramming. Truck drivers and night guards soon became steady consumers. A song entitled "Who Put the Benzedrine in Mrs. Murphy's Ovaltine" revolved on many a victrola while bored socialites popped benies along with their barbiturates for a "bolt and a jolt." Narcotic addicts even found that these "thrill pills" could intensify a heroin high.

Perhaps no other drug has been more shrouded in mystery or encrusted with misconception than marijuana. In Arabia, it is known as "hashish" and still carries with it the lurid tales of Hasan and his assassins who were credited with performing their most revolting atrocities under its influence. Marijuana was introduced to this country by Mexican laborers in the Southwestern states, and its use soon spread throughout America. And as it spread, stories began to appear in the press concerning its effect, reporting a variety of incidents where individuals supposedly lost their control and committed unpremeditated acts of violence.

Synthetic hallucinogens make up the most recent addition to the drug scene. In the late 1930's Albert Hofman and his colleagues in a Swiss laboratory were working on chemical modifications of ergot alkaloids when they produced a compound known as LSD. In 1943, Hofman accidentally ingested or inhaled some of the substance and experienced the first LSD trip. It was used in controlled studies for its mind-altering properties, but by the time studies were undertaken in 1960 to determine just how LSD works, illegal production and distribution had mushroomed. Researchers at Harvard are said to have given LSD to students outside of proper research environments. Its use spread further when Timothy Leary and Richard Alpert, the former Harvard psychologists, founded the International Federation for Internal Freedom, which encourages use of hallucinogens.

The lack of scientific knowledge pertaining to drugs for so many years has been reflected in the hit-and-miss history of drug regulations. The first international effort to control opium traffic was in 1909 when the International Opium Commission convened in Shanghai. International narcotics control rested in the hands of the League of Nations from World War I until after World War II, when the United Nations adopted a Narcotic Protocol, giving the authority to the World Health Organization.

The Harrison Narcotic Act was passed in the United States in 1914, but not until 1930 was the Federal Bureau of Narcotics established. Opium dens could still be found in most American cities, and the bureau's first commissioner, Henry J. Anslinger, was under fire from Congress and the public from the time of his appointment until his retirement in 1962.

Anslinger, always outspoken, said this concerning his successful 1937 campaign to include marijuana under the Harrison Act: "As the marijuana situation grew worse, I knew action had to be taken to get proper control legislation passed. . . . On radio and at major forums, such as that presented annually by the *New York Herald Tribune*, I told the story of this evil weed of the fields and river beds and roadsides. I wrote articles for magazines; our agents gave hundreds of lectures to parents, educators, social and civic leaders. In network broadcasts I reported on the growing list of crimes, including murder and rape. I described the nature of marijuana and its close kinship to hashish. I continued to hammer at the facts."

In 1944, New York Mayor LaGuardia empowered a special committee to study the matter in his city. Most of the marijuana smoking was found in Harlem, where about 500 "tea pads" were operating. The committee reported that there were no visible withdrawal symptoms when "tea heads" or "grasshoppers" discontinued smoking reefers; that there was no significant relationship between marijuana use and crime; nor was there evidence that marijuana was the first step to hard-drug addiction. "The publicity concerning the catastrophic effects of marijuana smoking in New York City is unfounded," the committee concluded.

Evidence today shows that conclusion to be more nearly accurate than that of Commissioner Anslinger. The President's Advisory Commission on Narcotics and Drug Abuse in 1963 spoke of the "relatively trivial" nature of the marijuana evil and suggested that all mandatory sentences be eliminated from crimes involving its consumption alone, and many officials now propose that the law deal with marijuana users along the same lines used with persons who drink alcohol.

The dispute continues. The early laws still prevail, and the number of people who smoke marijuana has grown to an estimated five million.

Use of the more potent hallucinogens began in 1960 and reached a peak in San Francisco's Haight Ashbury in 1966. Timothy Leary, an early experimenter, wrote: "I think that psychedelic drugs, marijuana, peyote, LSD, STP—are sacraments. I think they are developed by a divine process, the DNA code to help man survive. . . . If it flips you out, turns you on, blows your mind, it's holy."

Encouraged by Leary and others, students flocked to San Francisco in the spring of 1966, where, it was rumored, one might find himself, the meaning of life—and love. Everyone turned on. They smoked pot, dropped acid, shot speed. They saw inside themselves and beyond—in living color. They found new beauty in flowers; in poetry; hard-rock bands, like the Grateful Dead, played high on acid; the music was distorted and the stoned listeners liked what they heard. They lived together in communes, sharing what they had. *Time* magazine reported: ". . . in their independence of material possessions and their emphasis on peacefulness and honesty,

hippies lead considerably more virtuous lives than the great majority of their fellow citizens."

Money and dope changed hands openly and without fear, for laws were virtually suspended in the Haight. There was an air of lunacy as the kids tasted the forbidden fruit. "We are the people our parents warned us against!" they scrawled incredulously, exuberantly, on coffee-house walls.

Nicholas von Hoffman, an over-30 columnist, glommed onto the catch phrase as a title for his book, a staccato account of their life style. "The Haight offers plenty of elucidating philosophy," he wrote. "These ideas are important, but they don't encompass what the people on the street do. What they do, regardless of philosophy and world-view, is deal dope."

This description was not acceptable to the folks back home who preferred to think of their wandering offspring not as drugged lawbreakers, but as flower children; the love generation. The nation thought the Haight was a festival. Those coming home from the Coast taught those who couldn't go to set up small replicas of the Haight in their own community, and little hippie communes began to spring up in every major city.

As medical evidence began linking LSD with chromosome damage and birth defects, its popularity waned and kids began tripping on amphetamine and methamphetamine—"speed." They found that the pills and capsules that had kept them awake to study, when used in large enough quantity, or dissolved and mainlined (injected), produced a feeling of elation, omnipotence, increased capacity for physical activity, and sometimes hallucinations.

Again, medical facts and witness to bum trips that led to personal destruction or permanent psychosis resulted in an effective "Speed Kills" campaign that has practically eliminated its use in California, and kids there have turned now to barbiturates—"downers"—for a confident, tranquil, euphoric kind of high. Sudden withdrawal from barbiturates is more serious than from heroin. Vomiting, uncontrolled tremors, and grand mal convulsions which may be fatal are common symptoms which increase in intensity in direct ratio to the dose used.

Heroin is scarce and expensive in the West because of the route of the supply, and while unauthorized research continues to find a suitable substitute, one youthful expert says: "There is no smack (heroin) in California; not much acid. Out here it's definitely the year of the downer. But it's not the same. Reds (seconal) make you mean. There've been 20 murders in the Haight this year."

Despite the efficiency of the underground communications network, Eastern kids are still balling on speed, dropping acid when it's available, and taking a generally less sophisticated approach to drug use than their Western counterparts. There is one major exception: they have been introduced to the delusive delights of heroin.

Organized crime, unable to control distribution of the hallucinogens, amphetamines, and barbiturates, saw an untapped market among the middle-class kids for the product it held exclusive rights to: heroin. Unlike the impoverished youngsters in the slums who had, in desperation, embraced "H" since the turn of the century despite the high cost of escape, the white kids had seemingly boundless resources with which to indulge their fancies. Pushers were directed to mix small amounts of heroin with the marihuana they sold the white kids, which would produce a stronger high and eliminate the need for overcoming the social stigma against *horse, boy, or Harry*, as it is variously called. The kids would become hooked before they knew they were using the dread drug of the ghetto.

Heroin use among high school students in Eastern cities has grown at an accelerating rate, with estimates ranging as high as 50

per cent of the student body in some schools in Washington, Baltimore, and New York City, and 35 per cent in Philadelphia and Boston. Many of these are suburban, not inner-city, schools.

Ex-addicts say the kids are getting "garbage"—heroin that has been cut so many times it is incapable of causing more than a psychological addiction. But the pusher tells them they're hooked. They think they are, and continue to use the drug in ever stronger doses as their body develops a tolerance.

As heroin becomes the drug of preference, a role it has long enjoyed in the black community, its ignominy diminishes, along with aversion to the needle. Warnings about "the friendly stranger" may be irrelevant as kids, anxious to share their experiences with friends, become pushers themselves.

The phrase "don't trust anyone over 30" didn't come about by accident. White youngsters lost respect for mature evaluation of drug dangers during their frolic in San Francisco. The streets of Harlem, however, are considerably less joyous than the streets of the Haight.

Heroin administered intravenously (mainlined) produces a feeling of elation similar to that produced by the amphetamines, and in addition, a brief euphoria, tranquility, and a momentary "thrill" or turning of the stomach—a warm, tingling sensation similar to orgasm. Following the initial effects, the subject "goes on the nod," a state of imperturbability. This pleasant drowsiness lasts, in the beginning, several hours. As one's body develops a tolerance, it requires larger and more frequent doses to produce a high, until finally the addict experiences few or none of the desirable feelings, and continues usage only to prevent withdrawal symptoms which vary in intensity from yawning and perspiration to moderate tremors and insomnia to severe vomiting and muscle cramps and spasms.

To keep from feeling ill, an addict's body may require up to 15 bags of heroin a day, though most get by on about 10. Prices vary, but average about \$5 a bag. The addict cannot work. It is not only a physical impossibility, but he couldn't earn enough to support his \$50-a-day habit. So he turns to pushing or other crime. Female addicts are usually prostitutes; males mug pedestrians, hoist taxis, hold up small-business men and steal merchandise. They must steal about five times the amount they need to sell their goods to a "fence" at below-wholesale prices.

Addicts, however, are not the maniacal criminals many fear them to be. They are rather docile individuals, deprived of their sex urge or almost any aggressive emotion, concerned primarily with where they'll get the money for their next fix, and secondarily with the companion fear of overdose.

The black community learned opium eating around the turn of the century from Oriental immigrants who made their way across the country and settled among the Negroes, co-segregated in Eastern ghettos. Most of the heroin that comes into the country now originates in Turkey and goes then to Corsica. The Corsicans have efficient contacts with the Mafia in New York City where it goes to receive its first cut before being parceled out around the nation. A Turkish farmer receives about \$350 for 10 kilograms (about 25 pounds) of raw opium. That amount produces one kilogram of roughly pure heroin, which is cut first with milk sugar and then further diluted by each of seven or eight handlers, with anything from talcum to cleanser, and by the time it reaches the street, it sells for about \$225,000.

It is estimated that half the heroin addicts in the country are in New York City, but it is impossible to determine the total number. Official statistics are unreliable due to varying definitions of drug use and addiction, random reporting methods, and the obvious fact that a very large percentage of

drug users do not come to the attention of either law enforcement or medical authorities. Nevertheless, the National Institute of Mental Health estimates 100,000 addicts, and the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs had 67,011 active addicts officially registered as of December 31, 1968. A spokesman for the bureau said that the number "could realistically be multiplied by three."

Using the NIMH estimate of 100,000 addicts, multiplying it by \$200—a conservative estimate of the amount each must steal per day to net \$50—heroin addicts steal a total of \$20 million worth of merchandise a day, or roughly \$6 billion per year. The price the nation pays in "involuntary social costs" to combat drug abuse, also by estimates of NIMH, is \$541 million annually. This excludes thefts, but includes law enforcement, theft insurance, property crimes, and productivity losses.

Behavioral scientists use certain criteria for determining factors that cause an individual or a group to have a greater than average potential for drug abuse. Among these are one's IQ; his degree of respect for himself; his family's status within the community; his own status within the family; presence or absence of a father in the home; and the economics of his family and the community. Residents of city slums meet all the criteria for being considered a "high risk" population.

A study was done recently in St. Louis by Drs. Lee Robins and George E. Murphy of 235 young men, selected from public elementary school records beginning 26 to 30 years ago. The criteria for eligibility for the study were: being male, born in St. Louis between 1930 and 1934, attending a St. Louis Negro public elementary school for six years or more, having an IQ of at least 85 while in elementary school, and parent's or guardian's name and occupation appearing on the school records.

The record showed half with school problems, half without; half with father in the home, half without; half with parents or guardians who were unemployed, domestic servants, or laborers, and half with parents or guardian in better jobs. The study was limited to those men who had lived in St. Louis between 1959 and 1964 to insure they had exposure to the same drug market and had all had a risk of being known to local law enforcement and health agencies. Drug addiction seldom begins after age 35; age 16 is considered a critical age for introduction to heroin among disadvantaged youth.

The population studied was expected to have a high rate of drug use, but it was surprisingly high: 14 per cent had an official record for selling, use, or possession of narcotics. Of the 86 per cent without a record, nearly half reported having taken drugs and nearly all had tried marijuana. Seventeen per cent had taken amphetamines, and 14 per cent barbiturates. Thirteen per cent of the sample reported having tried heroin, and 10 per cent had been addicted to heroin.

Based on this and other detailed samplings, many experts believe this to be a fairly accurate pattern of drug use in the ghetto. However, the number of addicts in New York's slums is undoubtedly considerably higher, perhaps double the national average—or 20 per cent of the population.

For many years there was official opposition to factual drug education on the ground that knowledge would stimulate more widespread use. The national policy has changed over the past decade, but despite this, in a speech in January, 1969, John Finlater, associate director of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, said: "There is evidence that the slum children of New York who are the prime subjects for addiction actually do not know the facts. Isidor Chein's study, 'The Road to H,' shows that only 17 per cent of a group of 133 young users in the New York slums reported learn-

ing anything cautionary about drugs before first experimenting with heroin."

Federal statistics are not broken down in such a way as to define how narcotics affect the crime rate, or at least such statistics are not available to the press. Of the 187,613 persons arrested in New York City in 1968, however, 17,039—or 9.1 per cent of them—admitted using illegal drugs. Of those arrested for burglary, 11.9 per cent admitted drug use; 14.5 per cent arrested for possession of burglars tools, 16 per cent arrested for auto theft, 8 per cent arrested for robbery admitted they were drug users. Of the 17,039 admitted users, 86 per cent used opium derivatives and 5.2 per cent smoked marijuana.

There is considerable public pressure on the police department to make narcotics arrests. It is unquestionably easier to bust a pot party than to arrest an elusive heroin pusher in the ghetto, much less to gather enough evidence to convict a member of the Mafia.

The Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs reports that federal arrests for hard-drugs in 1967 were 1,506, while in 1968 they dropped to 1,225. Yet there is no evidence that the supply was diminished. With more and more federal and local police units assigned to the hippie and student drug-using subculture to protect them from the dread evils of pot, the Mafia was making its arrangements to take heroin into psychedelia.

Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark said in an interview in January, 1969: "There is no question that organized crime cannot flourish without at least the neutralization, if not the corruption, of segments of local government." *Life* magazine said after the Chicago melee during the Democratic Convention. "In Chicago, it's a risky thing for a policeman to take on the Mob. The reason is obvious: the Fix, which links crime with politics, is widespread. A Chicago cop is expected to 'bend' with the political forces of the Fix, not push investigations right into it." The story quoted a young rookie: "There is no way you can be on this police force and not take payoffs. I'm offered money every day. Now I get a payoff from my sergeant."

Rev. Channing Phillips of Washington, D.C., the first black put up for major-party nomination for President, says: "Anyone who's been around the ghetto for 10 minutes has seen a policeman turn his head at a dope transaction, or accept a payoff from a pusher. With the sophisticated investigative devices we have, I don't see how anyone could believe for a minute that the law enforcement officials don't know who's behind the dope traffic. It's not a lack of knowledge; it's a lack of will to move against it. Look, if the FBI can bug Martin Luther King's phone right after the day of his death, you can bet they can bug the Mafia's—unless they're saying Martin Luther was a more dangerous guy than the dope peddlers."

Even the Federal Bureau of Narcotics has not been immune to the opportunities for corruption inherent in the drug traffic. John Ingersoll, former Charlotte, N.C., police chief, was appointed head of the bureau in August, 1968. "We haven't prevented enough drug abuse," he said at the time. "We haven't apprehended enough drug peddlers. We haven't rehabilitated enough drug abusers." A few months later, a third of the bureau's New York City agents "resigned" and the Department of Justice said it had found "indications of significant corruption during the past decade."

In California, the Department of Criminal Statistics recently announced that 37,513 arrests were made in connection with various marijuana charges during 1967. (Of these, 10,987 were of youth under 18). These "pot busts" represented 60 per cent of the total drug-related arrests for the state.

In Washington, D.C., there were 460 narcotics arrests between November 1, 1967, and

January 25, 1968. Sixty per cent of the arrests involved marijuana and the hallucinogens. For similar periods in 1965-66 and 1966-67, 65 per cent of the arrests involved heroin and other addictive drugs. Moreover, in 1967, the District of Columbia conducted at least nine separate investigations of several months' duration involving "hippies." There was only one similar investigation of heroin traffic during the period.

Individuals turn to drug use for a variety of reasons. Many feel that, no matter what the rationalization, people turn on for fun. Bernard Finch has written: "The pursuit of pleasure, as with animals, was primitive man's goal." Some see the drug scene as evidence that ours is a hedonistic society.

Dr. Stanley F. Yolles, director of the National Institute of Mental Health, contends: "To understand scientifically the problem of drug abuse, one must look beyond the specific problems to some of the underlying causes of widespread drug use and abuse. . . . Behavioral scientists use the term 'alienation' to describe the cross-generational disease epitomized by the youth-coined term 'don't trust anyone over 30.' Alienation has been characterized as a refusal of what is, without a vision of what should be. The current problem of alienation in the United States affects the rich and the poor, the college student and the school dropout, the urban and the rural youngster. A study by Drs. Alfred M. Freedman and Richard Brotman points out, "Some youngsters who feel helpless to accommodate or change an unacceptable world, consciously choose to alter their own. . . . Since you cannot alter the world or determine the direction in which it will go, you must alter your state of consciousness and perception, that is, see the world and experience the world through a 'high.' Drug use and abuse touches our deepest values, hopes, aspirations and fears. As the problem is complex and changing, so must be the strategies designed to understand and cope with it."

The development of such strategies in the United States has been hampered by rigid laws and public attitudes. The laws have prohibited extensive human research on drugs. The findings of much of what research has been done, in federal hospitals at Lexington, Ky., and Ft. Worth, Tex., can be released only to the World Health Organization or the United Nations.

In 1966, the United States launched its first major national program to control addiction and rehabilitate persons already addicted to narcotic drugs, basing its strategy on the premise that an addict is a sick person in need of treatment. But the Narcotics Addict Rehabilitation Act (NARA) demands total abstinence; relapse, a 90 percent factor in former federal rehabilitation programs, is punishable by dismissal from the program and transferral of the patient back into the hands of the law.

The act provides for civil commitment of addicts, both those charged with or convicted of violating a federal criminal law and those who desire to be committed for treatment in lieu of trial on the criminal charge. It provides hospitalization, therapy and aftercare for addicts when they return to their communities. If the patient's improvement is steady, from institution through outpatient care, he may be discharged from treatment at the end of three years and the criminal charges against him dismissed. There is also a provision for addicts not charged with a criminal offense but who apply for treatment. Voluntary patients are admitted infrequently, however, due to limited space.

Addicts are not admitted, under any circumstances, until they have been examined and the determination is made that they might be successfully rehabilitated. Since the first patient was accepted under the act on

June 29, 1967, a total of 1,889 addicts have been examined and 840 committed for treatment.

The feature of NARA expected to produce the most positive results was the provision of contracting with local facilities, either private or government operated, for after-care services. It is believed that even when an addict successfully kicks the habit in a hospital, when he returns home and tries to deal with everyday problems, he often resumes contact with his druggie friends—and his habit. This provision, unfortunately, has not yet been widely used. Few communities want to be the site of a drug rehabilitation center. The provision also sets rigid requirements for staff and procedures, which some private agencies resist on the ground that their success in rehabilitating addicts has been primarily due to avoiding use of professional staff and traditional methods of therapy and surveillance.

Synanon is perhaps the best example of an agency which has had proven success in rehabilitation but is unwilling to qualify for federal funding. Begun in 1958 by ex-alcoholic Chuck Dederich, first in a storefront and later in a converted armory in Santa Monica, Calif., Synanon has been widely criticized for its unorthodox treatment techniques. The organization is made up of and managed entirely by ex-addicts; some return to the community, but many take up permanent residence in the Synanon society. Group pressure, "attack" therapy, and development of confidence and self-control are among the methods used in curtailing addiction. Synanon at first existed almost entirely on handouts of food, clothing, and occasionally cash from addicts' families and a few others who saw merit in its approach. Citizens of Santa Monica tried to bar licensing of the first center on grounds ranging from zoning violations to charges of operating an illicit house of prostitution.

Synanon now operates six centers in and out of California. Applications for federal funds have been turned down because of Dederich's refusal to employ a professional psychiatrist as director and institute urinalysis as a means of detecting an addict's relapse to drug use. "Trust," he says, "is one of the principal reasons for Synanon's success. You can't measure human dignity in percentages." As for the professional staff, he has medical advisers, but feels one reason other programs have such a high failure rate is that psychotherapy does not work with addicts: the therapist and addict don't trust each other and have no common frame of reference. Ex-addicts, on the other hand, professionals in the con game, are as persuasive in rehabilitating others as they were in finding the means to support their own habits. They know when they're being put on; having gone through withdrawal themselves, they know what works best in individual cases. They know, too, according to Dederich, when an addict has had a relapse and how to deal with him "without having him pee in a bottle and have some chemist tell him he's back on dope."

Daytop Lodge, with two locations in New York, patterned itself after Synanon and hired away some of its staff. The major difference is that it does comply with federal regulations, and receives government funds.

Daytop administrators feel that neither punishing the addict by jailing him nor "slobbering over him with sympathy and pity" has shown much rehabilitative value. Their philosophy is to consider the addict an adult acting like a baby—childishly immature, full of demands, and empty of offerings. The addict holds himself blameless for his addiction and is convinced he has been thrown into life not as well equipped as others. Heroin enables him to escape the unfair battle, and in pursuit of heroin he is able to muster extraordinary cunning, shrewd-

ness, and acting ability. He is untouched by psychotherapeutic approaches and is rarely motivated toward any kind of treatment except as the lesser of two evils: rehabilitation or jail.

Before he is admitted, he must telephone for an interview and initially is told to call back the next day at a specified hour. If he forgets and calls later, he is turned down. If he calls promptly, he is told to call again at another specified time. If he makes the second call on time, he's given an appointment for an interview and then kept waiting for as long as four hours before anyone sees him. He is told in the interview that he will be treated like a three-year-old, because that's the way he has acted. He is cautioned about asking questions about things he doesn't understand: "Your brain is not strong enough for that kind of exercise just yet. In time you will understand." He is told to *act as if* he understands; to *act as if* he wants to do the right thing, cares about other people, etc. His withdrawal distress is treated matter-of-factly with no payoff for histrionics.

He is given a very low-status job at first, scrubbing floors or cleaning toilets. He may progress to any job within the organization; all except that of the director are held by ex-addicts. Three times a week, all Daytop residents undergo a group encounter therapy session. This is the only time residents may use profanity and they do so enthusiastically. One member after another assumes the "hot seat" and is attacked and criticized for failing to be 100-percent honest, for being insensitive to others' feelings, for failing to adhere to basic precepts of Daytop.

The director refuses to quote numbers of rehabilitated addicts. In addition to some 300 who live drug-free in the two Daytop residences, one on Staten Island and the other at Swan Lake in the Catskills, there are at least 60 who have returned to the community to lead normal lives.

A program of drug maintenance, similar to that used in England, is gaining support in this country. Methadone, a synthesized opiate that is itself addictive, has recently been advanced as a promising way to help addicts back into society. Manufactured legally in this country, it costs about 10 cents a dose, and if carefully administered, seems to allow the patient to lead a normal life without a desire for added stimulation. He relies on it much as diabetics depend on insulin.

New York City is the first to approve an extensive methadone maintenance experiment, under the direction of Drs. Vincent Dole and Marie Nyswander. Of the 108 patients admitted prior to February 1, 1966, 20 are still in the program. The first phase of treatment involves hospitalization of the addict and withdrawal from heroin. The patient is then started on small doses of methadone, in gradually increasing proportions until he reaches a plateau of relatively great strength. It is important that methadone be given in doses adequate to block the euphoric effects of heroin. It does not itself produce euphoria, sedation, or distortion of behavior—as long as it is ingested and not mainlined. The patient remains alert, functions normally, and is not psychologically aware of his addiction unless the drug is withdrawn, and then he experiences withdrawal distress similar to withdrawal from heroin—cramps, chills, nausea.

In the maintenance program, the methadone is dissolved in fruit juice and taken orally under supervision. It is always dispensed from a hospital pharmacy; outpatients are given no prescriptions and are required to return each day for their dose and urinalysis to determine whether they're using auxiliary drugs. Methadone only blocks the effects of the opiates. The addict may still get a kick from the amphetamines or barbiturates, and despite rigid precautions, there is always a considerable amount of illicit methadone on the streets.

Many think methadone will revolutionize the handling of heroin and opium throughout the world. Others doubt the morality of a deliberate lifetime commitment to drugs and recall the enthusiasm with which heroin was accepted to treat morphine addiction.

Apart from the disagreement among the experts as to the merits of the methadone maintenance program, it is unknown whether it will be accepted in the black community to any great degree. Militant leaders already are voicing concern that it is another subtle means of control over the black man, whatever its value to society as a whole.

#### DRUG ABUSE: THE CHEMICAL COP-OUT THE DRUG SCENE

A group of high school students gather in their jointly-rented basement apartment in a seamy part of town. A school teacher and his wife are entertaining friends in their modest suburban home. An aging professional football player is getting ready for one of those cold Sunday afternoon games that America will watch on television. A man in New York is huddled in a dimly-lit warehouse trying to sell stolen merchandise to a fence.

Each of these divergent types shares one common denominator. Each is on drugs.

They don't all use the same drugs to be sure. But they are all dependent. And the drugs they use range from the popular marijuana and amphetamines to the highly publicized LSD and heroin. While the first two present society with serious problems, the latter two also pose grave dangers for those dependent upon their use, and for the society they blame as making it necessary.

It's true not everyone is going the drug route in an attempt to "cop out" on society. Nevertheless, the abuse of drugs and narcotics is on the rise in this country, and those who should know are becoming concerned about the threat this trend poses.

There was a time when one could easily generalize about drug users in the United States. They generally belonged to the lower socio-economic class, lived in a large metropolitan area, and the drug most often abused was heroin.

Now, however, generalizations don't come easy, and even when they are offered at all, it is with considerable scientific caution.

Today's drug dependent can be found in all socio-economic classes in any major American city, and with increasing frequency in many smaller cities and towns. Now when one looks for the most popular drugs being abused, he encounters such names as marijuana, amphetamines, LSD, DMT, mescaline, cocaine, and heroin.

The same search that uncovers the identity of these drugs also reveals some other disturbing information, the most disappointing of which is that drug abuse is rapidly and dramatically increasing among young people. From junior high school through college age, they seem to be making strong commitments to drugs and to the unreal world drugs help them create.

The question is not whether today's youngsters are using chemicals as a means of escape with alarming frequency, or even which drugs they are using. These things are known to be true. The significant question is: Why?

Why do they find it necessary to escape from the world around them? What happens along the way that causes them to slam the door on society? Why do they choose to ignore the dangers of drug abuse?

There are also other questions being raised. Questions that concern themselves more with adults, such as: How can parents continue to remain uninformed about important matters like drugs and drug abuse? What causes parental complacency toward drugs and the environmental factors that help shape their children's attitudes?

These are the real questions and the answers are difficult to come by. Nevertheless,

there are some people operating close to the situation who speak freely on the subject, and who should be heard. However, before examining the sociological and psychological aspects of drug abuse, we must first look at the drugs themselves. What are they? Where do they come from?

In dealing with the subject, there is one very common denominator that can be found for many who seek to establish a buffer between their minds and the world around them. That common denominator is marijuana, or better known by those who seek its mind-bending effects as . . .

#### Pot

Marijuana has a long history and a reputation of having over 300 million devotees throughout the world, 20 million of whom are estimated to have used the drug in this country.

Marijuana is variously known, among other things, as pot, grass, Mary Jane, and hemp. The latter name has botanical roots since marijuana comes from the female hemp plant known as *cannabis sativa*. The flower and seed heads yield a resin containing *cannabis* chemicals, and that resin in its pure form is known as hashish.

Hashish, or hash, is some 10 times more powerful than marijuana, and authorities say its use in the United States is not nearly so great as in other parts of the world. Therefore, they believe comparatively little hashish is imported into this country.

If hashish has not become a threat, marijuana is something else. This popular Hallucinogen finds its way into the United States with little difficulty. Most of it crosses the Mexican border with a regular rhythm that has Americans responding to the tune of over \$100 million annually, and its users can be found among some of our most unlikely citizens.

Marijuana is generally shipped to the United States in bricks weighing a little more than two pounds. While it is most frequently rolled into cigarettes—or "joints"—and smoked, it can also be eaten.

"Roach pipes" are popular among marijuana users, too. These pipes provide an opportunity to get those last euphoric puffs from marijuana butts once they become too short for conventional smoking.

#### Why smoke pot?

Without delving into all of the sociological and psychological aspects of marijuana smoking, a Gallup Survey conducted for the New York Times found that some 38 percent try it simply out of curiosity. Others gave reasons like wanting to escape from reality, the desire to retreat from tension and worry, or that famous end run around life—rebellion.

Whatever the reason, marijuana is being used with a much greater frequency than at any time in history in high schools, colleges, and even that old American institution, the family living room.

Those who have tried marijuana find its effects soothing, say the first time one inhales smoke from a "joint of grass" he may find that nothing really happens. This may be because he expects too much from his first experience and because of an ineffective smoking technique.

However, once the user has learned to take in the smoke and has developed the required technique, he is likely to experience a sudden feeling of well-being as frustrations begin to dissolve. Drowsiness is often noted as time slows itself like a giant locomotive and the world outside may take on the effect of being viewed through a water-filled fishbowl.

While under the influence of marijuana, the individual feels that his senses have become keener, and he may grow very hungry. Food reportedly will taste better. In addition, there may be an imagined sharpening of the senses so that the person is apt to overestimate his abilities due to an exagger-

ated feeling of awareness, thus posing a threat to his physical well-being.

A producer who spent hours filming drug abusers and pot parties for a television special described the scene as "a bunch of young people sitting around, talking and giggling, and getting pretty sleepy."

A science writer says a friend of his, whom he reported to be a clergyman, persuaded him to try pot once. According to the writer, nothing really happened other than "I felt a little lightheadedness and drowsiness."

In Washington, a young hippie girl described it as a "great feeling." She said, "It just makes you want to go out and walk through the streets and experience as many different things as possible."

A psychologist at the National Institute of Mental Health makes broader generalizations about why young people smoke marijuana.

"It varies considerably from kid to kid. There are some individuals for whom drug use, teenagers or adults for that matter, is one symptom of serious psychological disabilities or problems. Obviously we all know in our circle of people, some for whom alcohol becomes a drug of abuse and who have serious psychological difficulties. With them, alcohol sometimes becomes a solvent or apparent solvent for the problems.

"Certainly for some kids, marijuana serves something like this kind of function; a kind of chemical 'cop-out,' if you will. At the same time, for many other kids, it's a matter of simply wanting to try it.

"There is also an element of rebellion. That is, youth feels angry and at the mercy of a world they see as not of their own making." The psychologist says youth often thinks they have been incorporated into a dehumanized, governmental, industrial, academic structure. Consequently, he believes the use of marijuana is a way of demonstrating their unhappiness with The Establishment.

It's pointed out, though, that the number one drug abused on campus today is alcohol, with marijuana running a distant second.

Why the strong reaction to marijuana? If nothing much seems to happen when someone smokes pot, what, say its proponents, is all the fuss about? Why can't it be bought at the corner drugstore, or from a well-known mail order house as was once possible?

The fact is, something does happen once the technique of smoking marijuana is developed, and it usually leads into one of two directions. First, when he becomes high on the weed, the individual frequently gets very friendly and gentle. On the other hand, he may become belligerent and aggressive. It depends on certain personality traits that existed prior to his coming under the influence of marijuana, but which the drug is likely to release.

The case of whether or not the drug itself is harmful is still before the jury, and no one can make medical statements one way or another with absolute certainty. But research is going on and the answers to many questions about marijuana should be forthcoming in the not-too-distant future.

Even though the medical investigations of marijuana have not yet led to any definite conclusions, most agree the drug should not be termed a desirable one to use for a number of reasons. The most practical of these reasons is the fact that the possession, use, or sale of marijuana is illegal and detection will lead to arrest. If conviction follows, stiff penalties result that can seriously mar an individual's future.

A young woman in the southeast has learned the painful truth of being arrested on a marijuana charge. Director of a county poverty agency's Head Start Program, she has been charged with possessing marijuana after the weed was found growing in her back yard. The charge alone was enough to force her resignation from a position to which

she apparently brought much talent and from which she derived her own special rewards.

Marijuana, or the reaction to it by our society, can have serious consequences for the user. If for no other reason than a long jail sentence or a disrupted career, the use of marijuana poses grave dangers for those who seek its mind-bending qualities.

Of course, the possibility that marijuana is medically harmful to the individual is still a strong possibility and should not be quickly discounted.

Other questions frequently asked about marijuana are: Does the use of marijuana lead to addiction? Does it lead to the use of a stronger drug such as heroin?

Again the answers lack scientific certainty. It is believed that marijuana does not possess addictive qualities, although one can become psychologically dependent upon its effects. Once this psychological dependence is established, withdrawal may become very difficult.

It is not now generally believed that the marijuana smoker goes to hard narcotics as a logical progression in his drug experience. Even so the danger does exist for some, since pot is often smoked in an environment that is not conducive to highly predictable behavior.

Pot parties are usually attended by several people and sometimes the group is large enough to be considered a small crowd. Group behavior, and certainly crowd behavior, is frequently predicated upon something less than sound judgement.

People are known to act, and react, quite differently in groups than they do as individuals. Perhaps it is the atmosphere, the emotional contagion, and the presence of strong drug users in such groups that poses a danger of marijuana smokers going to a dreaded narcotic.

Marijuana, however, is not the only drug being abused even if it is the most popular. There are others which are easier to get and whose use is more difficult to detect. They belong to the amphetamine family.

#### Amphetamines

On a chilly afternoon in a New Orleans bar, two young people are about to turn off the society outside and turn on a make-believe world of euphoria through the abuse of a drug known as methamphetamine ("speed"). The girl is particularly interesting because of a willingness, even eagerness, to talk about her disenchantment with The Establishment. About the mother and father who she believes have failed as parents.

During her early childhood, Danl had been pretty much like any little girl. Among other things, she liked parks, animals, and daddy. Especially daddy.

And those were the years when Danl got her kicks from a box of candy, or an ice cream cone, or from a gentle lick on the cheek by her dog. But not anymore. Now kicks come from the melted crystals of methamphetamine surging through a dirty hypodermic needle.

Dani has become a "speed freak" who regularly shoots methamphetamine into her veins as a means of escaping the realities and frustrations with which she is no longer able to cope.

Methamphetamine, or "speed" as it is known, has become enormously popular among the drug users seeking a new high. It is the alternative which has been chosen by large numbers of those who turned from LSD following evidence that the latter could produce long-term mental and genetic deficiencies.

#### Pep pills

Other amphetamines being regularly abused include benzedrine and dexadrine. These two have historically been popular with truck drivers for keeping awake on long hauls that require more abundant energy

sources than the body naturally possesses. The dangers in abusing these drugs are many, and police files tell some gruesome stories of tragic accidents caused by drivers who demanded more of their bodies than it was humanly possible for them to give.

#### Mood producers

The amphetamines are popular mood-producing drugs and can be helpful when taken as prescribed over a short period of time. Not only do they halt fatigue, but they also give one a feeling of limitless energy. Following a dosage of 10 to 30 mg. of amphetamines, an individual will experience a sense of elation, and a new-found self-confidence. Physical and mental work undergoes marked improvement in performance for short durations.

When the use of amphetamines continues over a long period of time, or when overdoses are taken, an undesirable effect takes place in the mind and body. The user begins to suffer mental fatigue and long periods of depression. In addition, headaches set in along with dizziness, agitation, apprehension, delirium, and confusion.

Therefore, what actually begins as a new high with extremely pleasant results can end in a depression whose recesses are deeper than those from which escape was originally sought.

#### A social pill

An attorney once explained to a reporter that amphetamines are becoming popular among friends at his parties and that he keeps them around for social occasions much the same as he keeps liquor. This is just one such report that indicates increasing popularity of the drug. Statistics on the abuse of amphetamines and barbiturates are difficult to gather because their widest use seems to occur within a part of society that does not otherwise break the law or associate with the criminal element.

These users include the tense executive who must have a pill at night to sleep and one in the morning "to get going"; the show business personality who can catch only a few hours sleep as he flies across the country between appearances; the bored housewife; and the athlete who needs a little help in "getting up" for that important game.

#### Methamphetamine

But the most frightening of all the amphetamines is the one described previously as "speed," or generically as methamphetamine. This chemical has risen to new heights among those looking for a drug experience, and its increased familiarity has caused concern among those who know of the dangers. These are fears caused by the fact that those who "mainline"—take intravenously—methamphetamine are apt to develop paranoid psychoses and certain organic syndromes, or even suffer death.

Then, of course, there is the danger of hepatitis when dirty needles are used.

#### Barbiturates

Barbiturates are widely-known drugs used as sedatives for relaxing the central nervous system. A depressant made from barbituric acid, barbiturates were first produced in the 19th Century.

It is estimated that over one-fourth of all prescriptions written by doctors for drugs that affect the mind are barbiturates. These include the long-acting preparations phenobarbital and amobarbital, although the shorter-acting drugs are more popular with abusers.

The barbiturates are used medically for relaxing nerves and muscles, and can be used by anyone seeking a very special feeling, or an urge to dull awareness of the environment. Although in normal doses these drugs tend to reduce blood pressure and heart beat, when taken in large doses they impair the ability to think and concentrate.

According to a survey conducted by the New York Times, the amphetamines and barbiturates are most often abused by those in the upper and middle classes of society. Among the reasons given for using the pills by those interviewed, was that they serve as a means for escaping boredom and discovering self-awareness as well as aiding in the struggle to obtain sexual freedom.

While the amphetamines apparently do not lead to any physical dependence, the barbiturates do. Withdrawal, which should be done only under supervision and which usually takes weeks to accomplish, can be agonizing.

#### Medical values

Both the amphetamines and the barbiturates have medically-designated purposes which include, for the latter, treatment of insomnia, high blood pressure, and epilepsy.

The amphetamines are used for such conditions as obesity, depression, fatigue, and narcolepsy (the compulsion for sleep).

It is unfortunate, but true, that many drugs capable of producing constructively for medical science can also have value for those who seek their qualities for less constructive purposes.

Both amphetamines and barbiturates are popular with drug abusers for a number of reasons. They are easy to obtain, relatively inexpensive, and difficult for authorities to control.

#### The abusers increase

When a drug is easy to obtain, inexpensive to purchase, and difficult to detect in illegal hands, it is natural to expect those who seek its pleasures would turn in that direction. For this reason, an official at the National Institute of Mental Health's drug study center said he would not be at all surprised to see the amphetamines become more popular than marijuana.

#### Other highs

The quest for a new high is what most young people who use drugs are seeking, and this has given rise to some startling information about what is being used. Investigation has turned up such unusual occurrences as teenagers drinking deodorant; eating nutmeg; smoking crushed aspirin; and injecting meat tenderizer, white wine, bourbon, and vinegar, just to mention a few.

No one is quite sure what the ingenuity of youth will develop next in its quest for the euphoric unreal. Nonetheless, those who must deal with the problem are certain there will be a next unless adult education leads to bridging the so-called and extremely complex "generation gap."

Much attention is given to youth in regard to the drug problem since this is where the greatest increases are being detected. But then again, it must be pointed out that young people comprise the group where drug abuses are most likely to be recognized because of youth activities, and the propensity social scientists have for studying this group. However, it is strongly indicated that the drug problem is also showing significant increase among adults, although this is more difficult to substantiate.

#### Hallucinogens

While marijuana and the amphetamines are the most popular drugs in use today, some attention must be given to hallucinogens such as LSD, if only to examine the reduction of the latter's importance among drug users.

#### Acid

The front page story about a young New England girl, who was found dead in the Greenwich Village apartment she shared with her hippie boyfriend, was perhaps one thing that helped to focus America's adult attention on "what the kids are doing."

The girl came from a well-to-do Connecticut family with whom other middle class parents could readily identify. Many realized

for the first time that this tragedy could have happened to almost any family in America. A few realized it could also have been prevented.

What, then, happened following this unfortunate death when adults had their attention diverted momentarily from television to Greenwich Village and Haight-Ashbury? Many agree that little changed except those who were leaving homes all over America for big city hippie haunts were getting more publicity. It made good copy for the newspapers and even better pictures for television.

Nevertheless, a few people became aroused and wanted to know what these young people were doing, and why. More studies of the problem began and others already underway were intensified.

Those who began examining the hippies more closely found that an alarming number had begun using hallucinogenic drugs such as LSD. The story of its popularity was being told on psychiatrists' couches in some of the nation's best-known mental institutions.

#### LSD

The abbreviation LSD scientifically designates d-lysergic acid diethylamide. However, it is better known in the hippie cult simply as "acid," and has become the most written and talked about of all the synthetic hallucinogens.

LSD was first produced in 1938 as a research drug which was being used as an aid in the study of psychoses. Extremely small doses—as low as 25 micrograms—have been found to be active. This amount is equivalent to 1/40,000 of a gram, although about four times that amount constitutes the average dose.

LSD cannot be legally purchased now since the Food and Drug Administration has sanctioned its use only for research purposes. However, there are those who believe LSD will eventually have such potential medical uses as aiding chronic alcoholics, schizophrenics, and persons with various terminal diseases.

Such clinical purposes are of little concern to those who seek LSD's strange and mysterious powers for taking "trips" on an occasional weekend, or to its more consistent users who have become known among the trade as "acid heads." These people are searching for a change in time and space perception that recklessly abandons logic and reason.

#### The dangers

When one takes LSD, he enters an unreal world that is said to range from simple pleasure to complete ecstasy. Sometimes, however, it is different.

Good "trips" are not always the case, and sometimes what was hoped would be a magnificent new experience becomes an indescribable horror that results in panic or paranoid reactions. These can have serious, sometimes fatal, consequences.

There are stories about individuals under the influence of hallucinogens who stepped from a tenth story window or walked in front of a speeding automobile, in order to prove their invincibility.

One recent newspaper account tells of the potency of LSD and some of its harrowing consequences. A five-year-old girl accidentally swallowed a sugar cube, which had been soaked in LSD. Reportedly, the child was suffering the ill effects of her "trip" some nine months later, and it took over five months for her IQ to return to the level it had been prior to the "trip."

But now a more harrowing story about the unpleasant effects of LSD are being told. It involves the unborn children of women who have used the popular "acid" to "see music and hear pictures" existing only in the world of the unreal.

According to medical authorities, it is all too possible that LSD will cause certain chromosome breaks resulting in grotesque

physical characteristics of babies yet to be born. This fate, they say, is even likely to appear in the user's grandchildren since heredity passes the chromosome separation along to yet another generation.

Chromosomes serve as the body's blueprint in that they contain genes which determine certain physical characteristics inherited from parents.

LSD is an extremely dangerous drug with a paradoxical potential for mental destruction and rehabilitation both of which are yet unmeasured. Only time and continued research will tell whether or not this drug has greater capacity for the re-orientation of the individual to society than it has for his disorientation.

#### The supply

But with LSD outlawed, how can those who still persist in experiencing its mind-bending qualities find a source of supply?

Actually, LSD is easy to synthesize by almost anyone who possesses a working knowledge of chemistry. And that is where today's illicit supply is being produced, in kitchens and makeshift laboratories all across the country.

#### Use decreasing

Those who are producing and selling LSD, however, seem to be encountering a decreasing demand for their chemical. Confronted with the dangers of homicidal and suicidal tendencies, as well as its genetically and mentally destructive capacities, those who were using LSD are now often turning to one of two alternatives for new mind-expanding experiences.

One of these alternatives is to seek freedom, if you will, through meditation in a guru-led society. Here the guru's followers seek to expand their minds through its exercise and without the use of chemicals.

The other alternative lies in the use of drugs that produce effects similar to LSD.

#### Peyote

Peyote, which comes from the cactus plant, is another of the well-known drugs associated with mind distorting properties.

Peyote buttons are usually chopped and brewed with tea or chewed while drinking wine or some other highly flavored drink in order to mask its bad taste.

Peyote is also known as "moon," "the bad seed," and "P."

#### Mescaline

Like peyote, mescaline is obtained from the cactus plant. Even though the use of mescaline is now in the experimental stage, it is believed this drug provides powerful effects almost identical to those of LSD. The effects of mescaline may last as long as 10 hours or more.

"Mesc," or "big chief," as this drug is known, is usually taken orally, but it may be shot into the arm.

Because of its unpleasant taste, mescaline is taken along with some other substance such as hot cocoa or orange juice.

#### Psilocybin

Psilocybin was first believed to have been used by primitives for certain spiritual communion with the supernatural. It comes from a Mexican mushroom and is taken primarily through the mouth. Its effects are extremely close to those of LSD, as are mescaline and peyote.

#### DMT

"The businessman's trip" is how most people in the drug crowd describe DMT, probably because its effects are much more short-lived than LSD. Reduced dosages are reported to "turn on" a user for as little as 30 minutes. However, a normal dose provides a "trip" that often lasts for about six hours.

Although it can be found as a natural constituent of the seeds of various West Indian and South American plants, DMT is more frequently obtained as a synthetic derivative of tryptamine.

There are several other hallucinogens whose effects closely resemble LSD, even though they are used to a lesser extent than those previously mentioned. Among these are MMDA; DET; psilocin; STP; and 68, or sex juice, as it is more popularly known.

The use of Morning Glory seeds should also be mentioned in this section since their use in the United States began to take on some prominence shortly after the advent of this decade.

Morning Glory seeds were first used by South American tribes for ritualistic experiences. About one-tenth as powerful as LSD, they can be chewed to obtain their effect on the mind.

Like all other hallucinogens, however, their consumption is dangerous and can result in suicidal reactions as well as certain physical discomforts.

#### The trip

Hallucinogens mentioned in this section all produce what users refer to as "trips." When asked to describe a "trip," they talk about "hearing pictures and seeing music," and about freeing mind from body. Such descriptions give the average person little with which to relate when he tries to picture in his own mind what actually happens during a "trip."

It, therefore, becomes necessary to turn to a clinical discipline in order to extract a more meaningful description. According to government research sources, the first thing to take place apparently is a change in the physical senses. Colors appear more vivid and may begin to form unusual patterns. Walls wave back and forth in a gentle rhythm, and flat objects suddenly leap forward into the third dimension.

The individual under the influence may be led to believe his senses have become keener.

One strangely paradoxical effect reported is the ability to feel two opposite emotions at once such as happy and sad, or elated and depressed.

Highly unpredictable in the effects they will have on the individual, these hallucinogens are extremely difficult to control even under strict laboratory conditions.

#### Confronting the law

Whatever the particular medium, hallucinogenic drugs pose a grave danger to those who seek to prostitute their medical purposes for personal escape.

In addition to the physical and mental dangers already discussed, there is another threat made against those who are found illegally dealing in the drugs.

There are severe penalties for anyone convicted of disposing, selling, or producing dangerous hallucinogens such as LSD. Many state laws penalize anyone who is convicted of possessing such drugs.

#### To hard drugs

A discussion that begins with marijuana, and proceeds through the amphetamines and the hallucinogens, almost naturally ends with the opiates.

This is not to imply, however, that one who smokes marijuana automatically proceeds through these steps.

#### Hard narcotics-heroin

Heroin is familiar to an estimated 65,000 addicts in this country who depend on its effects to escape the realities of life.

This drug is also variously known as H, Boy, White Stuff, Harry, Joy Powder, and Scot. It is actually synthesized from morphine, although it is several times more powerful than the mother drug.

While many argue that marijuana does little to harm the body or mind permanently, few people are willing to grant such wide berth to heroin because of its capacity to lead the individual to a life of social and physical self-deterioration. Strangely enough, and unlike marijuana, heroin can be judged most harshly by those who have fallen prey to its strong addictive powers.

A woman in her middle forties who had been dependent on heroin for over 20 years was talking about the abuse of drugs in general and heroin in particular. She vividly described how use of the drug had resulted in the deterioration of all her family relationships, as well as her social life. Talking about how addicts must continually steal and shop-lift to support their habit, this woman described the excruciating story of how she had been forced to spend a major part of her life as a prostitute in order to pay for the needed heroin.

#### *The habit is first*

It is reported that heroin addicts steal over \$1 billion worth of goods each year to support their habits. This merchandise is sold to a fence who pays only about one-fifth of its actual worth. It is easy then to imagine how much a "junkie"—as heroin addicts are known—must steal to finance a habit that may easily run to as much as \$50 or more a day.

In New York, where over half of this country's heroin addicts live, there are thousands of personal tragedies each year, such as the one involving a young father who could not subordinate the habit to his own family's welfare.

One night, the young man left his cheap apartment where a seven-month-old baby would soon awaken and begin crying for food.

With the money he had been saving for his family, the dark-haired addict purchased a small cellophane package of heroin and quickly ducked into the men's room of a local bar. The door locked behind him, he began to dissolve heroin in a hot spoon, and then shakily injected it into his arm. Shortly afterwards, he was dead from an overdose.

#### *Death—the result of overdose*

This is a tragic story, but it is not unusual in New York where authorities estimate that one addict dies each day from an overdose of heroin.

One reason for such a high mortality rate is the manner in which heroin must be obtained and the sources from which it comes. Lacking the scientific discipline of a laboratory technician, the dealer crudely cuts his heroin down to weakened units with milk sugar. Sometimes, however, a user will unknowingly purchase a package that is almost pure heroin. Its use will prove fatal.

Another reason for death is the neophyte's ignorance about heroin and how much he should "mainline," or shoot into his vein. It is easy for him to get an overdose.

Still another contributing factor to the high death rate is that a user who has been jailed on a narcotics charge is separated from the supply and thus withdrawn from heroin. Upon being released, the addict's tolerance has diminished to such an extent that his normal dose may result in death.

"Joy Poppers," as those who shoot heroin only occasionally are known, usually begin with a dose of 5 to 10 milligrams. However, as the need increases and it is shot more often, the body builds up a tolerance that eventually may require as much as 450 mg. per day.

Although heroin is generally "mainlined," it may also be taken orally or inhaled. There are cases where workers who mixed and packaged heroin regularly became addicted from inhaling the dust over a prolonged period.

#### *Why the first fix?*

It is difficult to explain why heroin addicts seek their first fix. The need seems to vary with the individual. However, most of the hard narcotics addicts are found in the lower socio-economic classes of large metropolitan areas. It may simply be that heroin serves as an escape from the boredom and hopelessness that exists in a ghetto environment.

Then, too, there are stories about the addict who began with less dangerous drug

"just for kicks," and wound up with the opiate monkey on his back because he sought a bigger and better jolt.

Of course, there is the familiar story about running with the wrong crowd.

One addict told the following story in a Connecticut newspaper.

According to the report, the young men had come out of Korea on a fast track. He was married and a few months later his wife suffered a miscarriage.

"I felt terrible," he said. "Some of my friends who were addicts offered to give me something to steady my nerves. They suggested I try heroin."

He did, and it was the beginning of an abrasive existence which saw him incarcerated five times for various offenses. His life of crime which became necessary to support the habit had him stealing up to \$2,000 worth of merchandise each day.

The Korea veteran is now on his seventh cure.

#### *The cure—Does it work?*

Unfortunately for the heroin addict, the end of his affair with drugs is more likely to be death, and not cure. More than 90 percent of all addicts who take the cure are said to return to drugs following their treatment.

Perhaps the best known treatment center is a federally-operated hospital at Lexington, Kentucky. Alexander King, one of the hospital's famous and most erudite patients, described it in his book, "Mine Enemy Grows Older."

The late King, who had been addicted accidentally through medication he was taking for a kidney ailment, was admitted to Lexington three times, a further dramatization of the difficulty in really curing the addict.

The prognosis remains poor today for an addict ever knowing a heroin-free existence. The methods and medications being used at present have not solved the problem of curing addiction.

Nevertheless, much work and research is being done, a large part of which is made possible through grants from the federal government.

#### *Treatment*

One such grant has been made to the Narcotics Addiction Service Center of Southwest Fairfield County in Connecticut where an experiment is being conducted with a chemical known as methadone. This is a synthetic narcotic that actually shuts out the effects of heroin and, at the same time, fulfills the addict's physical need for the drug.

At the Narcotics Center, there are about 20 opiate addicts who have switched from heroin to methadone. A dose of this chemical costs only about 14 cents and it is estimated that the program saves the city of Stamford some \$1 million annually in costs that involve welfare, stolen goods, and arrests.

The Center does more than simply provide addicts with access to methadone. It also helps them to make psychological adjustments and re-establish some solidarity in their lives. Most of those at the Center now hold steady jobs.

Authorities are quick to point out that methadone is just one experiment being conducted and that it, in itself, does not offer the ultimate answer. Also, the long-term effects of using methadone are still unknown.

Another interesting experiment involves a group of addicts who are attempting to make the psychological break from narcotics at a place known as Daytop Village in New York. Daytop is run by the addicts themselves since they are adjudged to be in the best position for determining what a "junkie" needs in the way of discipline and responsibility.

Even though the addicts are physically separated from drugs and their dependence is no longer a physical requirement, Daytop helps them tear down the psychological barriers that exist between themselves and their

ability to handle social problems. Each member at Dayton must play a therapeutic game designed to help discover his psychological reasons for turning to heroin.

Another similar treatment center on the West Coast is known as Synanon.

#### *Withdrawal*

The most difficult part of curing the addict is the psychological divorce which must take place after physical withdrawal has occurred. There are countless thousands of cases where the physical addiction has been broken by withdrawal only to find the addict returning to drugs once he is back in an old and familiar environment where sociological factors remain the same.

Withdrawal can be accomplished in one of two ways—through supervision at a hospital where the habit is reduced gradually; or by going "cold turkey" in an attempt to escape the habit without the use of drugs in a gradual withdrawal program. The latter method usually takes place when a frustrated addict elicits the help of a friend to assist him during the withdrawal.

When an addict goes "cold turkey," the body reacts violently as the drug retreats from the system. The body has built up a tolerance to heroin and is now shocked by the drug's sudden absence.

The "junkie" going "cold turkey" begins to suffer chills, diarrhea, and convulsions. There have even been cases where the reaction was so unbearable that the addict, who felt the return to narcotics would be a fate worse than death, decided instead on the latter.

It has been pointed out, however, that such descriptions of self-withdrawal are not now typical or common, especially with the small percentage of heroin available in today's average "fix."

#### *Other hard narcotics*

In addition to heroin, there are other drugs in the hard category that help to compound the problem. These include morphine which, as heroin once did, has the relief of pain as its prime medical application.

When heroin is difficult to get, the addict may frequently turn to morphine to fill the need until his favorite supply is once again available.

Morphine, too, is dangerous in that physical and psychological dependence develop and a tolerance is established by the body.

While there are numerous drugs such as cocaine that can, and are, abused, the other major one is codeine. Developed for the relief of pain and one of medicine's most effective cough depressants, codeine is not nearly so addictive as heroin and morphine. It also does not provide the same powerful surge of euphoria that can be found in the other two drugs.

The problems posed by addiction reach their gravest proportions with the narcotics described in this section. It is here that those who may have begun on a softer drug with less serious intentions could possibly end their association with drugs.

And it must be remembered that with today's methods, the cure cannot be assured in the vast majority of cases.

Drugs pose great social problems for those who choose their easy offer of a better way, as well as for the society which gives rise to personalities and conditions that lend themselves to the drug problem.

These problems are not new to the world. But even with a long history of opiate addiction, science has done very little in the way of offering real solutions.

The problem to date has largely been left to enforcement people and addicts have nearly always been considered criminals. But enforcement does not concern itself much with the sociological aspect of drug addiction. That is not its function.

Enforcement authorities must concern themselves with arrest and control, and thus

they are closely involved with the problem caused by those who transport and sell drugs for a profit.

#### DRUG TRAFFIC

##### Soft drugs

Where do they come from; these drugs for which Americans commit hundreds of millions of dollars? The answer to this question must be related to the specific drug, since each finds its way somewhat differently into the mainstream of the drug market.

Marijuana, for example, mostly comes into the United States by way of the Mexican border at California. However, there is still a large amount which comes across the border at Texas. And how it comes! By the tons, and in amounts estimated to reach retail values of \$100 million or more each year.

Of this, only an infinitesimally small amount is confiscated by the authorities at the borders. So little, in fact, that those who deal in the weed for a living receive only the slightest discouragement.

It must be pointed out, however, that the reason for so much activity is not because authorities are lax in discharging their responsibilities. The biggest part of the enforcement problem at the border is created by the large number of vehicles crossing daily for business and pleasure. In California alone, for example, an estimated 25,000 vehicles pass over the boundary between the United States and Mexico in any one day.

Marijuana also comes into this country by airplane as well as auto, both commercial and private. Anyone who has the desire will encounter little difficulty in crossing the border in a clandestine manner due to the expansiveness of the line itself.

##### Profits in marijuana

With Americans spending some \$100 million each year on marijuana, it is interesting to look at the distribution system and the profits it yields.

A Mexican farmer who grows marijuana will receive from one to two dollars for a kilo (35 ounces) of the grass. He, like farmers growing other products in other countries, receives less than anyone else in the distribution system.

The next person to become involved is usually a town dealer who buys directly from the farmer. He will sell that same brick, or kilo, for about \$9, and will, in turn, peddle it to a regional broker who subsequently sells it to a dealer in this country for about \$20 or \$25.

Once in the United States, the brick will be sold to a pusher who pays according to a number of factors, one of which is geographical. That is, if the purchase is made in Los Angeles, the brick will cost about \$65; in Denver, it sells for around \$110; in Chicago, approximately \$160; and in New Orleans, about \$300. Of course, supply, demand, and "heat" from police also affect the market.

The pusher, once he has bought the marijuana, will break it down into ounces, and in some cases, cigarettes, or joints, as they are known. These in turn will be sold to local users with an ounce usually selling from \$25 to \$35, and "points" bringing about \$1 each, again depending on factors that affect the market price.

At any rate, a kilo of marijuana which starts out selling for about \$2 will wind up bringing as much as \$500. The marijuana dealer also has the advantage of almost always negotiating in a seller's market because of the demand.

Some dealers who start out in marijuana occasionally can be found moving to the lucrative methamphetamine market. This is much easier to handle since it is not as bulky as marijuana. Also, the sale of marijuana brings with it a felony charge and penalties ranging up to life imprisonment. "Speed," on the other hand, is more easily handled and the penalty for dealing in this drug is less severe than for marijuana.

Methamphetamine is produced in makeshift labs and costs only about \$30 per pound to produce. However, it is wholesaled for around \$1,200 per pound, and brings some \$150 to \$200 an ounce on the retail market. Retailers, who break it up into about 35 spoons to the ounce, sell the drug for about \$20 per spoon.

The mark up on "speed" is even more dramatic than marijuana. From a production cost of \$30 per pound to a retail cost of about \$700 an ounce explains why methamphetamine dealers have become enormously wealthy with a few dealers making up to \$1,000 per day.

There are other amphetamines on the market that pose a traffic problem for authorities, and these are primarily in the nature of pills. Many of these amphetamines can be bought by obtaining multiple prescriptions from several doctors and then making the purchases at more than one pharmacy. Officials in Washington estimate that nearly half of all amphetamines produced in legal laboratories reach the black market. The percentage is believed to be somewhat smaller for the barbiturates.

These otherwise legal pills reach illegal hands through hijackers who get them during shipment to wholesalers, thieves who steal from the labs, and buyers who purchase from laboratories by using phony orders from wholesalers.

Many of these pills are produced illegally in makeshift labs since their chemical formulas are easily obtainable. Pills generally sell on the black market for at least five times their pharmacy value.

Much is being done by federal enforcement and control authorities in the way of investigation and arrest. But they concede the problem is a big one that can best be solved not by enforcement as such, but by eliminating the illegal demands for the amphetamines.

The manufacture of LSD takes place in much the same way as does methamphetamine; that is, through production in makeshift laboratories or kitchen rigs. According to a report in the New York Times, a California chemist was arrested by authorities who said he manufactured 10 million doses of LSD in his San Francisco home!

The entire distribution system in the areas of amphetamine and LSD appears to be loosely organized and run by many small-time operators. To date, it is believed the Mafia has not concerned itself very much with the sale and distribution of these drugs mostly because there are so many small-time dealers that the market would be difficult to control.

##### Hard drugs

If the distribution system of soft drugs is loosely organized, the same does not hold true for hard narcotics such as heroin. Here is an elaborate and closely-knit network that can be fairly well defined.

There are two kinds of heroin used by addicts. One is brown, or Mexican, heroin; and the other is white, or French, heroin. The French product is far more popular than its Mexican counterpart.

White heroin actually originates in Turkey where farmers are licensed to grow opium poppies for scientific and medical use. Of course, in the absence of strict control, the allotments are overplanted and the surplus is sold by farmers to those dealing in the black market. Once the black marketeers obtain the illicit opium, it is loaded on the backs of camels for a long, but quiet, journey. It usually continues on its way to Lebanon or Syria where morphine is extracted and condensed into much smaller units, thus making it less troublesome to handle.

When morphine is extracted and condensed, it soon begins an association with the French from which the white heroin will get its name. Once it is shipped to the laboratories in France, these illegal operations start

the process which sees the white heroin that is produced from morphine shipped to the United States largely through clandestine schemes involving some steamship and airline companies.

Like so many other things, heroin enters the United States primarily through New York. There it usually comes under control of the Mafia to whom it is a lucrative business.

#### THE PROBLEM

##### Enforcement's view

"We need to know a lot more about marijuana than we do. This may seem strange to say, but it's a fact. We have known about marijuana, man has, for thousands of years, because he has always been looking for some mind-bending drug that affects the central nervous system, thus his mind. And with all of this experience, we still scientifically say that we don't know the long-term affects of marijuana. There has been a great deal of interest in our nation today to try and find some answers to this. It has been studied in other countries by foreign scientists, but not by us.

"Now I think this is what the young people would really like to know, as well as we. That is, what are the effects of marijuana? How serious, how deleterious are they? And what are the long-term effects?"

These are the thoughts of John Finlator, Associate Director of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs. While they are not altogether new thoughts, they do seem somewhat different in tone from those of most enforcement authorities.

Even so, Finlator is not soft on this problem, merely soft spoken. Nor does he advocate the use of marijuana when he points out the fact that more knowledge is needed, for in the same voice he speaks of strong indications that the use of soft narcotics can cause a dependence that creates difficult problems for the young user.

The Federal Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs has four main functions within its jurisdiction. Enforcement comprises a major part of the Bureau's responsibility, and there are some 600 agents scattered throughout the United States. In addition to enforcement, however, there are three others including training (state, federal, and local agents); education; and scientific divisions.

John E. Ingersol, Director of the Bureau states:

"The Bureau is concerned with all aspects of drug abuse—social, psychological, physical. However, our major concern is with its criminal aspects, for the primary responsibility of this Bureau is to enforce the narcotic and drug abuse laws of this country.

"A greater effort will be expended now and in the future to apprehend and prosecute major drug traffickers and also to prevent violation of the drug and narcotic laws, especially among the young, the naive, and ordinarily law-abiding public."

Expanding on what is termed the "drug syndrome" in this country, John Finlator says there has been no direct evidence to support the theory that smoking marijuana leads to the use of hard narcotics such as heroin. He further states that only a relatively few heroin users have been discovered on the college campuses, although he is quick to acknowledge that these findings should not lead to complacency about the dangers of drug abuse. He points out that it is probably too early to tell what effect the increased popularity of marijuana has had on the incidence of heroin addiction, and says: "It would be a terrible thing if we let the drug syndrome go on until we get into heroin."

The drug syndrome seems to belong to the new generation even though it has existed to a lesser extent with previous generations. In commenting on drugs being "their thing," Finlator says, "While it is difficult for older

generations to understand why youth would play around with something of this nature, they come back and say it is very difficult for us to understand how people in the thirties and twenties got hooked on alcohol as strong as they did."

The enforcement people hope the truth about drugs can ultimately be determined and that the story when told, will be accepted by young people.

Finlator, himself, feels that this true story, when it comes, must be told by the scientific community as well as the government. He admits this "discovery of truth" may lead to a revision in the marijuana laws which places extremely high penalties upon anyone caught using, possessing, or selling the drug. Finlator emphasizes that it is not his job as an official of the Bureau to question laws now on the books; but to follow them. However, he says, "One would be blind if he didn't look at the problems that are being raised by the severities of the penalty (referring to marijuana) and what they might be doing to us."

Others are more outspoken about the present laws that find marijuana included with narcotics insofar as jail sentences are concerned. One man who is doing something about what he feels are penalties not commensurate with the offense is Judge Kenneth Wendt of Chicago. He says:

"I believe the first offense of marijuana use, when committed by an individual with no criminal record, should be considered a misdemeanor rather than a felony."

Judge Wendt has led a drive to get the law changed in his state by the Illinois legislature.

It is the hope of many that studies urged by former President Johnson will do much to remove the crazy-quilt pattern of laws now existent, and that new and more meaningful legislation will be drafted that is universally acceptable. As Finlator puts it, he is hopeful that these studies will "bring things into better perspective."

In commenting on a solution to the problem, Finlator pays close attention to the knowledge gap and the problem this causes for society.

"There is one thing I think we are all missing the boat on. That is, we who are in authority find ourselves pretty ignorant about the drug problem around us. The school teacher, the parent, the school administrator, the businessman, and the housewife are all ignorant about the problem. Thus, when a young person starts talking about drugs, neither his parents nor his teachers are really able to keep up with him.

Although most of his information is misinformation, the responsibility is still upon the shoulders of the parents and teachers to know something about one of the most devastating problems we have in our society. Yet we find ourselves too lacking in knowledge about what's going on, and in our ability to even discuss it with young people. As long as we have an uninformed public, parents, and teachers in this area, we're not going to make much headway. We will with the criminal, but he's going to pop up again and again. If we are going to solve the drug problem, we must do so through an effective educational process and one that can be accepted."

#### *The sociological view*

Indeed, as John Finlator indicates, education plays an important part in the answer, although the educational process is difficult. It is agreed that education is not just for the young people, but for the adults as well. And the education must not confine itself to learning more about drugs and narcotics and what they can do to the individual. It must also concern itself with the sociological and psychological aspects as they relate to the motivation for using drugs. Many say that adults are lacking in their understanding of today's youth and what motivates them and

this "generation gap" contributes greatly to the problem.

There can be little doubt about the necessity for discouraging young people from using drugs or about the necessity for discouraging them from committing their lives to a purposeless course. Instead, as it is put by Dr. Alfred Freedman of the New York Medical College, "We must encourage them to withhold their commitments for something more important." He adds, "We will desperately need the abilities of these young people in the future."

The question is asked, "Where does the blame belong?" And the answer seems to be that it must be shared by everyone to some extent since these children are products of an environment adults helped create. That they see the shortcomings and ask for better is commendable. That they see the gaps and seek to escape the reality of helping to fill them is, however, less than commendable.

Dr. Freedman observed: "As I see it, I think the problem in terms of where the concern is, is the fact that some of our most talented, gifted, and most creative young people are making a major commitment and involvement in the drug scene rather than involving themselves continually in the real world issues. I don't think this world or our country can afford to do without their value."

But, if as the doctor says, many of today's young people are making their commitments to drugs rather than to a more constructive means for helping to solve society's ills, they have what they believe to be justifiable reasons.

As one young drop-out on society put it, "Nobody wants us to get involved with anything, it's all so ridiculous. Just look at the political campaign with everybody being coy and playing the game of political football, and who gets kicked around? Us, that's who. None of them really give a damn."

Perhaps they have a point in that adults do not give them responsibility, yet plead with them to be responsible. Times have changed greatly since previous generations were reared in an atmosphere that was largely rural and where children by necessity assumed an important role in the family. They had to begin making contributions to the family unit at an early age and their purposes in life were fairly clear, at least for the short view.

Now, however, Americans live in a largely metropolitan country where youth's role has been diminished to the extent that parents frequently place reduced emphasis on the child's making an economic contribution to the family. Their responsibilities frequently are little more than to "be good kids and don't get into any trouble." Because these children are physically in better health and mentally more alert than previous generations, this lack of delegating responsibility to youth not only confuses, but frustrates, as well.

Another thing that helps to compound the problem is the strong effort adults make to identify with youth activities. This reduces those things with which young people feel secure in calling their own. That is, if the youngster develops a language, the adults soon adopt it. If youth comes up with a new dance, the adults take it over. If teenagers begin a new hair style, the moms and dads quickly copy it.

With such adult raiding of the youth world, teenagers may be sent scampering to new areas which they can identify as their "thing." Of course, those who are out to really shock "The Establishment" join together in unusual dress and barren apartments to form hippie clans. Many of them get attention by assuming non-conformist roles.

On the subject of attention and caring, one young unpublished hippie poet in Washington, D.C. wrote a few verses. The following is excerpted from his creation.

"Man, it's a hassle  
But I don't care.  
'Cause when I walk down the street  
And a thousand plastic eyes stare  
At me, I stare back at them.  
And I laugh back at them, and  
They thank their God that  
I just don't care."

Perhaps care is the real key. And then must come awareness, understanding, and education. However, it is important that these elements not be misused as a platform from which to preach; but instead, a platform for establishing a common ground upon which youth and adults can approach their mutual problems.

Young people today, experts agree, are vitally concerned with the fact that to them social progress has failed to keep pace with technological advances. Young enthusiasts say that under The Establishment's rules they must look to adults to bridge these gaps, and that so far most of them don't feel optimistic about the prospects. It is here that one opportunity exists for seeking a common approach to problems.

At present, some social scientists say adults often fail to give young people a meaningful role, a responsibility for helping to bridge the gap between social and technological progress, a fault that perhaps can be corrected. But adults alone are not to blame. Much of youth is at fault for taking the less responsible drug route as a means for escaping the difficult realities. Many authorities say that, instead of committing themselves to drugs, youth should become more actively involved in a constructive means of bring about change.

Dr. Freedman comments on this aspect of their lives.

"It's not so much the physical dangers of drugs which do exist, or that they will become criminally insane, which is ridiculous; but rather the fact they are developing an inward reality that is most meaningful to them rather than maintaining a concern with society in general. We are in very difficult times it seems to me and the participation of everyone, particularly the younger people, is extraordinarily important. If the focus of their lives becomes centered upon drugs, which often happens, then I think we're losing something."

If caring is the key, education is the hand that holds the key, both in terms of young people and adults. But discussion of the problems that lead youth to a drug existence does not come easy, nor does discussion of drugs themselves. This emotional reluctance to approach the problem objectively often stands in the way of an effective educational program.

Dr. Robert Petersen, a psychologist with the National Institute of Mental Health, says: "One of the real problems, of course, is that drug abuse is an emotionally-loaded issue." He points out that many teenagers and adults have strong emotional investments making it difficult to deal with them on the subject. He also says:

"Among parents of some of the kids in the neighborhood, I have heard several of them say that their kids would most certainly never think of using drugs, and in situations when I was reasonably certain their kids were actually using them."

It is this attitude of "not my youngster" that also contributes to the problem. The use of drugs is not confined any longer to one particular socio-economic class; nor is it confined to hippies. Drug abuse is prevalent among all classes and is increasingly becoming a problem in America's middle class towns and suburbs.

The question frequently is asked about why parents react emotionally toward the use of drugs rather than seeking knowledge that permits intelligent discussion. Perhaps Dr. Petersen has the answer:

"Parents are frightened and you can certainly understand why they are concerned, if for no other reason than they tend to believe the notion that a joint of marijuana is the first step to becoming a hopeless 'junkie' or something of this sort, to the very realistic dangers of the kid getting arrested. If he gets arrested, a felony conviction, or even a felony arrest, can dog his career for the rest of his days."

Therefore, fear plays a role in the reaction to drugs, especially as it relates to a parent's child. Dr. Freedman, again, comments that the biggest threat to society where marijuana is concerned lies not in the drug itself, but rather in society's reaction to its use.

Society, it is pointed out, must take the initiative in changing attitudes about the emotionalism of drugs and the factors in the environment which motivate young people to seek them as a means of escape. Parents, it is agreed, must be careful not to underestimate the ability of their children and must also make greater attempts at getting youngsters involved in responsible family and community roles. Many say that youth will respond favorably to a society which gives them meaningful roles to play and new responsibilities that lead to some identifiable sense of purpose.

But for the moment, and in brief, the question remains as to the best method for discouraging young people from "copping out" with drugs. As already stated, authorities conclude that parents should learn as much as they can about drugs and then tell their children the truth; that is, the real dangers and not the myths that may have existed in the past.

Dr. Petersen says it is a mistake to try and persuade youth into believing something that is not true about drugs, especially since they probably know more about it than their parents anyway. He says:

"My inclination with my own kids and with other peoples' kids is to tell them the truth. When kids ask me about marijuana, I tell them what is the present state of knowledge, that it is indeed at best partial. I make a point that when you say something is not clearly demonstrated to the satisfaction of all to be harmful does not by any means say that it is harmless."

"And I try to point out," the psychologist continues, "that whether you really believe this is the one social issue of our time for which you want to put yourself on the line. However unrealistic you regard the penalties to be, they exist. They are enforced some of the time and you can't be certain you aren't going to be caught. Also, do you really want to get into the habit of resorting to any kind of chemical for a sense of well being? Do you really want to be dependent on a drug in any sense?"

This last question probes deeply for a responsible reply from the potential drug user. Those close to the situation who deal with the realities of the mind's reaction agree that there is a better way for youth to "turn on" and experience a new feeling. It has been found by many of today's young people who are actively involved with social change in a variety of ways. These are the people who face up to the challenge and seek to find a more realistic hope for themselves than drugs can offer.

#### SOCIAL JUSTICE QUACKERY

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, with the ink barely dry from the Supreme Court's

latest social injustice decree, we are already advised that the Justice Department mechanics are ready to open a blitzkrieg against schoolchildren and destroy what remains of public education in the South. It seems as if they were prepared to lower our schools to the level of those in the District of Columbia, even before the Supreme Court handed down its decision.

Ironically, the same Justice Department activists who themselves have defied the laws which exist defining "desegregation," and who now control the unlawful attempts by the Supreme Court to destroy freedom are calling upon all citizens to show "full respect for the law" and obey the High Court decision—knowing full well that it is lawless.

That is like saying, "We don't have to obey laws, but you must obey whatever we choose to call laws."

Everybody wins except the decent, hard-working citizens—the mothers and dads, the children, the educational system and the future of the United States and, to some, these come last.

I include an article from this evening's paper, as follows:

#### U.S. OFFICIALS ACT TO SPEED SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PACE

(By Lyle Denniston)

Federal officials moved today, at an apparently quickened pace, to follow President Nixon's lead in a new effort to desegregate public schools.

The main activity seemed centered at the Health, Education and Welfare Department, where some 150 school districts have been chosen for priority handling in the wake of the Supreme Court's demand Wednesday for "immediate" desegregation.

At the Justice Department, officials were said to be studying over-all policy developments while waiting to hear what the 5th U.S. Court of Appeals will require in a test case involving 33 districts in Mississippi.

The signs of new movement came within hours after the President had called on the nation—officials and private citizens alike—to show "full respect for the law" and obey the high court decision.

The White House was making special efforts to show that Nixon was insisting that the decision be carried out and was not displaying any hesitancy about it.

Ronald L. Ziegler, the President's press secretary, stressed that "the administration will carry out the mandate of the court, and will enforce the law as stated by the Supreme Court decision."

He discounted speculation, apparently stirred by some of the language of Nixon's official statement, that the President was reacting hesitantly to the court ruling. Here's what Nixon said:

"The Supreme Court has spoken decisively on the timing of school desegregation. There are of course, practical and human problems involved.

"With all of us working together, in full respect for the law, I am confident we can overcome these problems.

"I intend to use the leadership resources of the executive branch of government to assist in every possible way in doing so.

"I call upon all citizens and particularly those in leadership positions to work together in seeking solutions for these problems in accordance with the mandate of the court."

Ziegler said the mention of the problems did not mean any lack of commitment to enforce the decision.

Nixon's pledge to use "the leadership resources of the executive branch . . . in every possible way" to implement the ruling was followed by similar promises from the two officials directly responsible for desegregation policy: Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell and Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Robert H. Finch.

Mitchell, whose department has had the main job of defending the administration's policy of seeking some delays in desegregation, said his agency will "bring every available resource to bear" to carry out the court decision.

Insisting that the justices' ruling involved only a question of timing, and not any issue of law on desegregation, the attorney general remarked:

"All Americans, state and local officials, judges, federal officials and citizens, will be called upon to understand, cooperate and comply. If we believe in a society based upon the rule of laws, we will do so without hesitation."

Finch, while not mentioning any efforts that citizens or officials in general would have to undertake, did vow that his own department will devote "maximum resources" to get "educationally sound and prompt desegregation."

The secretary, whose Aug. 19 decision to seek delay of desegregation in the 33 Mississippi districts led to the high court decision, commented:

"By the language of the decision itself, neither the courts nor this department should tolerate any further delays in abolishing the vestiges of the dual system."

There were painful grimblings from the South, meanwhile.

Gov. Lester Maddox of Georgia called the Mississippi schools decision a "criminal act" and appealed for a taxpayers' revolt.

George C. Wallace, former Alabama governor and the 1968 third-party presidential candidate, called the decision "scurrilous policy."

Sen. James O. Eastland said, "the decision spells disaster for public education in Mississippi and many areas of the South."

Atty. Gen. A. F. Summer of Mississippi said, without amplification, his state will fight to change the ruling.

And Mississippi Gov. John Bell Williams said the school children of his state had been "cruelly offered as sacrificial lambs on the altar of social experimentation."

The schools most likely to be affected first by the new ruling are those in the 33 Mississippi districts. Federal Judge John R. Brown of Houston, who will preside over the 5th Circuit's three-judge panel to enforce the ruling in those schools, said he will get the panel to work "expeditiously."

Brown, in Washington to attend a series of federal judges' meetings yesterday through tomorrow, said it was a "safe sort of estimate" to suggest that the earliest his panel will get together is Monday.

He said he did not yet know whether the panel—which also includes Judges Homer Thornberry of Austin and Lewis R. Morgan of Newman, Ga.—would hold any more hearings on desegregation plans.

Lawyers for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, who won the Mississippi test case in the Supreme Court, were sending desegregation plans to Judge Brown's panel for study.

In addition, fund lawyers were weighing the steps they could take to get the high court decision applied to districts other than those involved in the Mississippi case.

While Justice Department staff members were awaiting orders or requests from Judge Brown's panel, HEW assistants were making plans to give priority to 150 districts which have been negotiating with HEW over desegregation plans.

Of the 4,476 school districts in 17 Southern and border states, the department now figures that 3,327 are totally desegregated.

Court orders requiring integration are in varying stages in 374 districts, and another 336 districts are carrying out HEW-approved desegregation plans to end segregation either this school term or next.

While some of the districts under court order or HEW desegregation plans may have to step up their pace because of the high court ruling, HEW officials are aiming their initial new efforts at the districts which have done nothing to desegregate so far.

Of 439 districts in that category, 154 have been negotiating with HEW. Those will be given first attention, it was indicated. Another 133 are facing a cutoff of federal funds if they don't move toward desegregation, and an additional 120 have had their federal money cut off. Another 26 face possible court action by the Justice Department.

#### EDUCATION—"THE KEY TO SURVIVAL"

### HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, the national benefits derived from education are well known and generally recognized. That our public schools in low-income areas are in a fiscal bind is also well known, but the implications of which are not appreciated. The Washington Post editorial of yesterday goes directly to the point.

First, we have candidate Nixon expounding on education as "the key to opportunity and fulfillment" and also our "key to survival."

Second, Commissioner Allen calls for a campaign to eradicate illiteracy in America while pointing to our incredibly shameful failures in this Nation to provide for an equitable educational system.

Third, the House of Representatives, this year, responded—albeit meager—to these past failures by authorizing an additional billion dollars for Federal aid—the majority of which will go to low-income areas where functional illiterates are concentrated.

However, irony would have it that again a program which should clearly be at the top of our national agenda is being threatened with sacrifice on the altar of fiscal responsibility.

I would like to appeal to Mr. Nixon's sense of priorities. I ask Mr. Nixon what are his relative priorities—what is more critical to our survival as a nation—the education of our youth or the construction of a supersonic transport?

I would like to insert the Post editorial at this point in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues:

[From the Washington Post, Oct. 28, 1969]

#### EDUCATION—"THE KEY TO SURVIVAL"

"Jefferson knew that the destiny of America was inseparable from education—that in the fulfillment of the promise of this new nation education would be the key. . . . Education, long the key to opportunity and fulfillment, is today also the key to survival." So said Richard Nixon just a year ago when he was a candidate for the presidency. And he went on to pledge that "my administration

will be second to none in its concern for education."

There has been no discernible movement to redeem that pledge. Indeed, in the fierce competition for attention and for federal funds in a period when economy is an administration watchword, education has been treated as a pesky poor relation. The President has come forward with a dramatic new welfare proposal; but he has displayed only indifference to the urgent needs set forth by a distinguished urban education task force. He has proposed immense expenditures for a new maritime program designed to "replace the drift and neglect of recent years and restore this country to a proud position in the shipping lanes of the world"; but when the House of Representatives during the summer enlarged by a billion dollars the meager appropriation he requested for federal aid to education, he opposed the increase and threatened not to spend it if the Senate should endorse the House action.

The President and his Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare persuaded one of the ablest and most thoughtful educators in the country, Dr. James E. Allen Jr., to leave the New York State superintendency of education and come to Washington as U.S. Commissioner of Education. But Dr. Allen has been accorded scant influence since he came here, as though the administration desired a symbol of excellence rather than a promoter of it.

This country, a pioneer in mass public education, is now second to many of the countries of Europe in literacy, the most elementary index to educational attainment. Calling last month for a campaign to eradicate illiteracy in America, Commissioner Allen pointed to the shameful fact that in large city school systems in this country up to half of the students read below expectation and that about half of the unemployed youth between the ages of 16 and 21 in this country are functionally illiterate.

"Drift and neglect" have been much more—and much more seriously—the portion of the public schools in this country than of the merchant marine. For nearly half a century on one pretext or another—two world wars, two Asian interventions, a depression, an inflation—the public schools of this country have been allowed to sink further and further in arrears of the demands made upon them. School construction has not kept pace with a growing school population; the number and the caliber of teachers—and of the counselors and equipment required to complement the teachers—have lagged increasingly behind the known needs of school children.

The management of public schools is, and should be, a local responsibility. But the long neglect of the school system can be repaired only through a dramatic program of federal financial aid; the resources are simply not now available at the local level. More important still, the drive and innovation and planning for a revitalization of the public schools must come on a nationwide basis.

With the need for federal aid so urgent and so great, it is a tragedy to hear from within the administration phlegmatic talk about concentrating on research instead of on action. It is true of course, that intensive study of educational needs and aims must continue constantly. But the schools themselves—and the children whose childhood opportunities for education can never recur—cannot now wait upon research. There are plenty of pressing and indubitably constructive uses for the billion dollars of additional money a concerned Congress wants to apply to public education. There is plenty of knowledge in the U.S. Commissioner's office to put that money effectively to work at once.

#### MEDICAL RESEARCH AND NATIONAL PRIORITIES

### HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, a major battle between Congress and the administration may be looming in the near future, and once again, the issue at hand comes from differing views of "national priorities"—this time, in the medical research area.

Two months ago the Nixon administration announced that its latest round of budgetary cutbacks meant that a number of projects in the general clinical research program would either be reduced or eliminated completely. And, gauging from the tone of Dr. Roger Egeberg's remarks justifying these cutbacks, it would appear that billions of dollars were involved; according to Dr. Egeberg:

We are proceeding on this basis at this time pending final action on the appropriation bill and will re-examine our position after action is final.

Medical research has not been treated any differently than any of the other programs of the Department. We have endeavored to apply reasonable and limited restraints across the Department's programs to the extent possible in order to (1) effect required expenditure savings and (2) minimize the adverse impact of any one program.

We regret that it is necessary to reduce these important and desirable programs. We recognize the problem which caused the Congress to establish an overall limit on expenditures and caused the President to take strong action to restrain expenditures.

We fully support these efforts, not only to share in the total Government effort, but because we are convinced that it is best for the programs administered by H.E.W.

These reductions are the product of the inflationary situation which the President is firmly committed to bring under control. The ravages of inflation strike hardest at the beneficiaries of H.E.W. programs: not only the poor, the aged, the disabled, those dependent on a limited, fixed income, but also the non-profit institutions dependent upon limited and fixed budgets. The administration wants to do everything it can to halt the erosion of their spending power.

The problem which has been aired about a possible limitation on the number of clinical centers should be viewed in a different context. Here the budget provides for the same funding level in 1970 as in 1969. We are developing plans for administering that budget. Rising costs, changing technology and changing programs have caused us to examine the possibility that it might further the program objectives to operate fewer clinical centers of higher quality rather than spread the funds among all centers. This examination is under way. Meanwhile, the centers which might be affected have been notified of the possibility of adoption of this policy.

Yet, all this uproar centers around a difference of from \$3 to \$5 million.

For fiscal 1969, the Johnson administration asked for \$35.7 million for clinical research programs and received an appropriation of \$35 million—an increase of some \$5 million over the 1968 operating level. But, even at that rate, rising costs necessitated a decrease in the number of active research beds.

Now, for the current fiscal year, the Nixon administration called for a continuation in the downward trend in these important research areas—in fields such as heart disease and stroke, cancer, arthritis, and diabetes, neurologic and sensory diseases, respiratory diseases, hormone abnormalities, and chromosomal and hereditary diseases.

The Nixon budget requested only \$35 million, a total at which all centers could not be maintained even at minimal operating levels. However, an additional allocation of between \$3 to \$5 million would bridge the gap and allow all 93 centers to move ahead with research operations.

Thus—as predicted—we come to the matter of priorities. The Nixon administration never hesitates recommending billions of dollars to build "high priority" items such as the Safeguard ABM and the supersonic transport. And we certainly "need" all those highways, bridges, and dams.

I question by what means the public interest gets furthered by commitments to such obvious boondoggles as ABM and SST. But where do the budget slashes come? First we had the severe Job Corps cutback; now, it is medical research. Education has not fared too well either.

Indeed, there have been reductions in the military budget—as well as in other areas. But, the brunt of cutbacks is being borne by critical human investment programs, and, over the long run, this course probably will be the most costly of all.

Certainly, Congress has not failed to recognize the foolishness of budget reductions in these vital areas. First the Joelson amendment and then this week's Cohelan resolution stopgapped potential dangerous cuts in education programs. So far, the prospect is also encouraging for medical research.

In the House-passed Labor-Department of Health, Education, and Welfare appropriations bill, the proposed medical research slowdown was halted by an addition of some \$3.9 million—enough to fully fund all ongoing programs. The Senate Appropriations Committee is now working on the measure and, according to latest reports, at least the \$38.9 million level will be approved.

The onus now falls upon the administration. How will the administration act if Congress approves the higher figure? That is the main question I have raised in a letter sent today to Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary Finch, a copy of which I place in the RECORD at this point:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., October 31, 1969.

The Honorable ROBERT H. FINCH,  
Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: It is my understanding that the Senate Appropriations Committee will recommend that the higher figure of \$38.9-million be allocated for fiscal 1970 General Clinical Research Centers programs.

Acceptance of the \$38.9-million amount should more than serve to make up the forecast funding gap which would have led to the slowdown and elimination of a number of clinical research projects.

According to the plans announced in September by Dr. Egeberg, the General Clinical Research Center at the Los Angeles Children's Hospital would have been affected by the cutback. I believe that such a move would have many adverse results, and that this research deserves a much higher priority.

If the higher \$38.9-million level is approved by the Congress, will the administration still progress in its plans to reduce the General Clinical Research Centers program, and will the Center at Children's Hospital still be closed?

I would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible on this important matter.

Sincerely,

GEORGE E. BROWN, Jr.,  
Member of Congress.

Of course, I am alarmed over these possible cutbacks because of the effects it might have on research and treatment in the Los Angeles Children's Hospital. Yet, in conclusion, my concern is even deeper, for I think the cavalier attitude of the Nixon administration on the subject of across-the-board budget cutting reveals the distortions through which our leaders view their sense of national priorities.

CHARLES H. SILVER, CHAIRMAN OF  
THE ALFRED E. SMITH FOUNDATION

HON. JAMES J. DELANEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 30, 1969

Mr. DELANEY. Mr. Speaker, the phenomenal achievements of our scientists and technologists in propelling man to the outer reaches of space have enkindled a feeling among many that there are no problems which man cannot solve.

Yet, despite our sophisticated advances in outer space, we know there are many unresolved problems in the inner cities, and the "inner space" of the hearts and minds of men.

In this regard, I would like to take this opportunity to bring to my colleagues' attention an interesting and provocative address on this subject delivered by Mr. Charles H. Silver, chairman of the Alfred E. Smith Foundation, which he delivered at the foundation's annual dinner in New York recently:

ADDRESS BY HON. CHARLES H. SILVER, CHAIRMAN, ALFRED E. SMITH MEMORIAL FOUNDATION DINNER, WALDORF-ASTORIA, OCTOBER 16, 1969

Some time ago, several days after the unforgettable landing of America's space explorers, I had the good fortune to spend several minutes in rewarding conversation with His Eminence.

I was profoundly moved by the things he said concerning this incredible exploit. There came back to me some lines I had once read in a science book when I was just a boy:

"A day will come when men will walk upon the moon—but you and I will not live to see it."

Well, that day has come. Men of our nation have walked upon the moon—and you and I have lived to see it.

We have demonstrated a dramatic breakthrough . . . in breaching time and space, traveling undreamed distance at unbeliev-

able speed to reveal the mysteries of the universe within the margins of a television screen.

You must thrill—as I do—to the presence on this occasion of that great and inspired guiding spirit of our space program, the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Thomas O. Paine.

I am sure that Dr. Paine will appreciate the sentiments that move me as I say that one picture out of all those hours of prayer and suspense remains indelibly in my mind—and I do not mean the overwhelming excitement of the moment our spacecraft landed—nor even when civilization held its breath as the first men from the planet Earth set foot on the lunar surface.

The scene—forever beyond forgetting—is that of a small globe suspended in space—caught in the lens of the camera countless miles out in the vast celestial void. We saw a tiny sphere so perfectly formed—spinning with its oceans and continents, its mountains and rivers, its natural wonders, its man-made wonders, bearing upon its face billions upon billions of people of every race and nation, culture, color and creed.

This was a view of the world that men had never seen before—and we knew, as we watched, awed and perhaps even shaken, why God, when He created the earth, had said it was "good."

And so, in greeting you this evening at the 24th annual dinner of the Alfred E. Smith Memorial Foundation, I feel that as we gather in tribute to the memory of democracy's "Happy Warrior" we, too, achieve a new attitude of the intellect.

From it, we survey the surface of our earth—perhaps even the state of things a bit below the surface. We seek to learn from what we know of our world and ourselves—and from the words of those great figures of our time assembled on this dais—whether we have kept faith and can truly say today of the things left in our keeping that they still are "good."

Oh, we have worked miracles. We have probed the secret soul of the cosmos.

But let us, for these precious moments, return from outer space and probe our own souls. Let us answer to our conscience which echoes the burning questions raised on countless acres of college campus and in so many schoolrooms only yesterday . . . the questions of a new generation and generations yet unborn:

"What have you done with the 'inner space' of humanity's self respect . . . man's right to home . . . and happiness . . . to equality, liberty and justice . . . his right to share the blessings of God and of the life God gave him?"

We have let things go from bad to worse and now it is late—very late. And it is sad that men who can soar to the limit of the skies cannot maintain a climate of order, peace and justice on their own planet.

If there is hope, it is in the exalting example of such models of mankind's better self as our host this evening—that Prince of God and Prince among men—His Eminence Terence Cardinal Cooke.

Rare souls, like our cherished friend, His Eminence, can, perhaps, chart our way on earth as others have charted the heavens.

If our world must change—and our way of life—it is not merely to assure a better tomorrow for our children—but any tomorrow at all for anyone.

We live in an abundant society and thousands starve—not just in far-off lands that weigh lightly on our responsibility—but within our very borders.

We live in an age of scientific and medical marvels—yet our streets crawl with drug addicts and despair. Innocent victims of af-

fictions that we have the means to cure are dying because they lack the means to pay.

I am not talking in exaggerated or sensational terms. I am telling it "like it is"—and each day's headlines say it must not stay that way much longer.

Let us make this the kind of world that ought to be for every creature on God's earth . . . every man, woman and child that needs a change for the better, new standards, new opportunities, health, homes, education, dignity and hope.

Before we abandon any of our brothers who are hungry, helpless, in want or in fear—let us, if need be, change the world.

Let us make it the way God created it to be—so that he may look at it once more, a clean, perfect sphere spinning in space—and say again that it is "good."

The prosperity and privileges of our land, the opportunities of education, health, good housing and good jobs must not be enjoyed only by a particular part of our people.

If there is enough for everybody, let's make sure that everybody has enough of everything.

Thus we may paraphrase the wording on the plaque that now rests upon the surface of the moon and say that—in our time—men of the planet Earth first set foot upon a brave, new path to peace and justice for all mankind.

And, please God, we shall live to see it.

LSD A KILLER

HON. WILLIAM H. HARSHA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, there is widespread abuse and illegal traffic in depressants, stimulants, and hallucinatory drugs. The users of these drugs have little or no conception of the sometimes dangerous and permanent effects of such use. The users can become physically or emotionally dependent upon these drugs, but they do not yet have the same social stigma that is associated with the use of narcotic drugs.

For example, the use of LSD has been openly and irresponsibly promoted for its alleged mind-expanding effect. However, experience has shown that users of LSD may actually lose their capacity to think clearly, to create, to reason, or to use their minds productively. In addition, LSD can cause serious and permanent mental changes, nervous breakdowns, and lead to violence and self-destruction.

One such unfortunate incident has reached the headlines of our newspapers. I am including in my remarks a newspaper article which appeared in the Washington Star pertaining to the untimely death of the daughter of Art Linkletter. This story tells far more eloquently than I the dangers inherent in merely experimenting with such drugs as LSD.

It is my hope that many of our young people and parents will read this article and come to the realization that the only result of the use of LSD is tragedy to their families and to themselves. Lives are being shackled in chemical chains because the users do not recognize the potential dangers of these drugs.

The article follows:

LINKLETTER TELLS OF DAUGHTER'S SUICIDE: DRUG DEATH DRAMA UNFOLDS AT WHITE HOUSE (By Garnett D. Horner)

Art Linkletter recited the personal tragedy of his daughter's suicide to a White House conference today in an effort to alert parents that their children will be tempted to take drugs.

President Nixon, administration officials concerned with the dangerous drug problem and congressional leaders of both parties listened in rapt silence as Linkletter told how LSD had taken the life of his daughter Diane.

At the end of the nearly 2-hour meeting, there was general agreement among the senators and congressmen that the administration's proposals for a new law to tighten up efforts to wipe out traffic in dangerous drugs and to provide flexible penalties for marijuana users and first offenders in particular would be spurred to passage.

Linkletter, a television personality and old friend of Nixon, told the group that "two weeks ago my beautiful 20-year-old daughter leaped to her death from her apartment, while in a depressed, suicidal frame of mind, in a panic believing she was losing her mind from recurring bad trips as a result of LSD experiments six months before."

Linkletter said he decided that "this tragic death would not be hushed up" and that he would "speak out to shock the nation—that this wasn't happening to some other people's children in some poor part of town—that this could happen to a well-educated, intelligent girl" of a traditionally Christian and "straight" family.

He emphasized that Diane was not a hippie, not a drug addict, but "had everything to live for and no problems not normal growing-up problems."

Linkletter said one of the dangers of LSD is that it "works in the bloodstream like a tiger—you never know when it is going to hit."

He said his daughter had told him months ago that she had experimented with LSD and found "bum trips" frightened her. She thought use of LSD was ridiculous and that she was not going to do it again.

But, even though she took no more LSD "those trips kept recurring," and led her to think she was losing her mind, Linkletter said.

During the last 10 days, he said he has received "an alarming number" of letters from parents who say they know this is happening in their families and asked him what they should do.

"I was horrified," Linkletter told the group in the White House Cabinet Room, "to find out that I don't know what to tell them."

He said the trouble is that children are reacting to the "drug society." He said they see people on television "popping things into their mouths whether they want to get thin or fat or happy or go to sleep or wake up or erase tensions or take away headaches, or whatever."

He said children in the fourth, fifth and sixth grades should be taught that "you no more put something into your mouth or bloodstream than you walk in front of an automobile or set fire to your dress."

If this is not warning enough to both parents and youth alike of the inherent dangers of LSD experimentation, let me cite some statistics which have been accumulated by Dr. Donald B. Louria, head of the Infectious Disease Laboratory of the Bellevue Hospital in New York. Dr. Louria accumulated statistical data on 114 individuals who used LSD and were admitted to Bellevue Hospital. Of these 114 users, some used LSD as little as only one time and others as often as three times.

There were 13.1 percent of the users who experienced overwhelming panic, 12.3 percent resorted to violence, 8.6 percent of the users endured homicidal or suicidal impulses, 34.2 percent experienced underlying overt mental disease, and 15.8 percent required extended hospitalization.

Surely it should be clear to anyone that even experimentation with LSD is but an invitation to destruction of life. To the youth of America I would say your life lies ahead of you. It will be an exciting one, full of pleasant experiences; do not destroy your chance to enjoy it to its fullest extent. Do not gamble with tragedy.

PLIGHT OF THE ELDERLY

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the mail I have been receiving in my office, and the comments I have heard from my constituents when I tour my district, have greatly increased my concern for the plight of the elderly in our country. To find out what might be done to help ease the burden for the elderly, I am sending the following questionnaire to several areas of my district:

From: Congressman CLARENCE D. LONG.

DEAR FRIEND: The plight of the elderly disturbs me deeply. Many have no income other than Social Security. Rising prices make it difficult—even impossible—to get by.

The Nixon Administration proposes a 10% increase in Social Security, including a raise in minimum primary benefits from \$55 to \$61—effective next year. Too little. Too late. More—much more—is needed now. My bill would increase average benefits by 15%, minimum primary benefits by 45%, from \$55 to \$80 a month—effective when the bill passes.

My bill is admittedly stop-gap; it will not fully solve the problems of the elderly. Help me learn what else can be done to help. Please fill out the questionnaire below and return it to me.

Warm regards,

CLARENCE D. LONG.

How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_ Sex: M \_\_\_\_\_

Married? \_\_\_\_\_ Other? \_\_\_\_\_

Health? \_\_\_\_\_

Source of income?

\_\_\_\_\_ Earnings from job?

\_\_\_\_\_ Social Security?

\_\_\_\_\_ Disability payments?

\_\_\_\_\_ Pensions? What type? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Relatives?

\_\_\_\_\_ Savings?

\_\_\_\_\_ Welfare?

How do you live?

\_\_\_\_\_ Own your home?

\_\_\_\_\_ Rent?

\_\_\_\_\_ Live with relatives?

\_\_\_\_\_ Other? \_\_\_\_\_

I. Do you get enough to live on? \_\_\_\_\_

If not, what are your biggest problems?

II. Should Social Security Retirement and Disability benefits be liberalized? \_\_\_\_\_

How?

III. Should Veterans pension and compensation benefits be liberalized? \_\_\_\_\_ How?

IV. Are you satisfied with Medicare? \_\_\_\_\_

If not, what should be done?

V. What can the Federal government do to help you make ends meet?

## SLOWING PAINS

## HON. GLENN R. DAVIS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the Nixon administration has introduced an era of commonsense and hard realism in the handling of our Nation's affairs. It has transferred the emphasis to the back shop rather than the show window.

One of those who has pinpointed the significance of the fight against inflation is Loyal Meeks, chief editorial writer of the Milwaukee Sentinel. Mr. Meeks is not one who speaks only from book knowledge and Ivory Tower meditation. He knows how Government works. He came to the Milwaukee Sentinel from the staff of Senator JACK MILLER of Iowa. He has been here. He knows the problems of Government, and the vagaries of politics. His editorial "Slowing Pains" is food for serious thought, and a call for support of tough, responsible anti-inflation Government policy.

The editorial follows:

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel, Oct. 20, 1969]

## SLOWING PAINS

Good economics doesn't make good politics. President Nixon fully recognizes this but, to his everlasting credit, he is courageously choosing to practice good economics instead of good politics in the battle to control inflation.

It is more fun, while it lasts, to tromp down on the accelerator than it is to step on the brakes. For the last five years, the American economy has been driven with the gas pedal on the floor. Once in a while the brakes have been slammed on at the same time, a simultaneous stopping and going that nearly caused a fatal accident.

In his radio address on the high cost of living, Mr. Nixon put the blame for the spiral of wages and prices squarely where it belongs: Fundamentally on the last policies of your government.

For the last five years, he said, "the federal government spent a lot more than it raised in taxes. . . . To put it bluntly, the frequent failure to balance the federal budget over the last five years has been the primary cause for unbalancing the family budgets of millions of Americans."

Mr. Nixon outlined a three pronged attack his administration is making in the fight against inflation. One is to hold down government spending. He points out that "we cut proposed federal spending by more than \$7 billion." The second is to continue the tax surcharge at 10% until Dec. 31 and, if congress approves, at 5% for the next six months. The third is to keep it hard for people to get credit.

This, Mr. Nixon admits, "is not the kind of policy that makes friends for people in politics." Nevertheless, this is the Nixon policy, neither to slam on wage and price controls nor to continue tromping on the accelerator of deficit spending, but to "gently, but firmly, apply the brakes."

In this gradual process, Mr. Nixon concedes, the people are going to experience some "slowing pains" which, like growing pains, "are a healthy development—but pain nevertheless."

The question now is whether Americans are going to be able to endure slowing pains. After an eight year joyride, living it up on credit cards, America has grown soft and accustomed to thinking that pain has been outlawed forever.

But if America won't endure the slowing pains, it is likely to suffer economic pains so excruciating as to make Mr. Nixon's inflation fighting policy seem pleasurable by comparison.

## HAZARDOUS TELEVISION SETS

## HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate the National Commission on Product Safety on the highly professional manner in which they are handling their investigation into the fire hazards associated with television receivers, particularly color sets. In arriving at their conclusion that there is a hazard associated with particularly color receivers, and that this hazard is potentially significant, they have adhered to the letter as well as the spirit of the law which we enacted to establish the Commission.

Sometime ago, the Commission requested that the major television manufacturers submit, on a confidential basis, records available on the incidence of fires in their products. Most but not all the companies contacted cooperated. The Commission's finding that there is a severe hazard particularly in color receivers was based on this information, spot checks of fire departments in major cities which retain records on the causes of fires, and from estimates which were provided by the National Fire Protection Association and the International Association of Electrical Engineers.

Taken together, the data which the Commission has developed indicates that there are at least 10,000 home fires each year caused by television receivers. This figure could very well be much higher since the 10,000 figure is an estimate based on samples from the States of New Hampshire, Illinois, and Oregon and because many large cities such as Philadelphia were unable to provide the Commission with information on television fires because of the way in which their records are set up. Another reason why I believe that this figure could be much higher is because consumers may well have a fire in their set and extinguish it before it spreads to the full house. After such a fire, I know they will not, as a general rule, notify the manufacturers because more often than not their warranty has expired.

The Commission's findings indicate that the component parts of television receivers which cause fires are the transformer, the high voltage case, the a.c. switch yoke and other parts to a lesser degree. The parts mentioned have caused over two-thirds of the reported fires.

This past Tuesday the Commission agreed unanimously that the data they had received showed that the public interest demanded its release. Accordingly, the Commission sent a telegram to the following manufacturers and asked that they meet with the Commission this Friday to hear its recommendations and comment on its findings prior to release

of the Commissions' complete finding to the public:

Admiral Corp.  
Ford Motor Co.  
General Electric Co.  
Hitachi Sales Corp. of America.  
Olympic Division, Lear Siegler, Inc.  
The Magnavox Co.  
Matsushita Electric Corp. of America.  
Motorola, Inc.  
National Union Electric Corp.  
Packard Bell Electronics.  
Philco-Ford Corp.  
Radio Corp. of America.  
Sears, Roebuck & Co.  
Sony Corp. of America.  
Sylvania Electric Products, Inc.  
Toshiba of America.  
Warwick Electronics, Inc.  
Westinghouse Electric Corp.  
Zenith Radio Corp.  
Electronics Industries Association.

This morning the Commission recommended that the manufacturers overhaul their recordkeeping procedures so that complete and accurate records of product fires are kept. The Commission also noted that it could not release to the public the names of the chief offending companies because of the wide disparity between the recorded data submitted by them. The Commission felt that one company should not be penalized for accurate recordkeeping while another company received an unfair competitive advantage because of a lackadaisical attitude towards keeping their records. Other recommendations of the Commission were that in addition to industrywide recordkeeping procedures, the companies engage in immediate redesign of their receivers to eliminate fire hazards.

The Commission is to be commended on its continuing excellent service to the public. If all our Government commissions did their job as well as this one, the taxpayers would be getting more than their money's worth. I have indicated before that I believe it is perfectly conceivable that the Commission could save one life or save one adult or child from a debilitating injury for each dollar we spend on its operation. That is quite a return on any investment. The people of the Nation have a responsible and effective champion in the Commission on Product Safety.

## HANOI'S DEAR AMERICAN FRIENDS

## HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Life Lines, a patriotic voice of freedom, presented a most thought-provoking report on October 27, entitled, "So You Want to Get Out of Vietnam."

The leadership of "Operation Bug-Out" has been unflinching wrong in every activity from SDS to LSD, from Ho to Hue. There is no reason to suppose that it is less wrong now.

I include this report following my remarks:

#### SO YOU WANT TO GET OUT OF VIETNAM

So you want to get us out of Vietnam? You hate this war, this war in the wrong place at the wrong time. The killing of helpless Vietnamese citizens.

Well, a lot of people hate war, but they are not confused by the intellectual lies and the foul reports that pass as news reports and "news" interpretation.

The people who hate war as much as you also hate what will happen to the South Vietnamese when the sweet "nationalists" as you call the Communists, take over. And take over they will, because the word is out now about what the peacenik solution to Vietnam will be if you have your way. That word is *coalition*, or death to any South Vietnamese who isn't a Communist.

The Communists proved that when they took over the ancient city of Hue during the Vietcong TET offensive. The sweet harmless "nationalists," as you call them, killed hundreds of peasants. With a shot in the head at close range.

Let us go back to the reasons why you are so wrong, so reckless with the truth and the fate of millions.

You say we are killing Vietnamese. You bet your last McCarthy button we are. We are killing Communists who have invaded the south with the full intent of taking it over and Sovietizing it. The south will become an unlivable hell. Why do you ignore Hue? Why, in lauding the sweet nationalists don't you call them Communists who build walls and kill teenagers who try to escape to freedom? How many times has that happened at the Berlin Wall?

Why have you lauded Ho Chi Minh and criticized South Vietnamese President Thieu? Do you know you are praising a bloodthirsty cutthroat who learned everything he knew about killing at the Russian Communist Comintern's school for revolutionaries in Moscow in the 1920's? You didn't know that because Mike Wallace and Eric Sevareid and Huntley and Brinkly and Walter Cronkite and Frank Reynolds never mentioned it. The Library of Congress mentioned it, back in 1965 when they released his biography. Ask yourself why the liberal news media ignored it. You should be rather angry, because you have been given only the information the news and entertainment media wanted you to have. Still, they and you think Ho was a great patriot. You say Thieu and Ky are corrupt. You have it all bass ackwards.

Thieu and Ky are the leaders of a country whose countryside filled with refugees who fled south to escape the communism in the north. They are not corrupt: they represent the last bastion in a divided country for people who don't want to be Sovietized. You would deny them their right to their life as they want to lead it.

You say Americans are tired of this war, because it is a bad war, raised by the imperialist Americans. If you haven't said that phrase yourself, and you are demonstrating, salivating at the Pavlovian anti-intellectualisms of the McCarthies, Fulbrights and Churches, why are you demonstrating? They are helping the Communists. Why are you?

Americans are tired of this war. They are tired of the incessant propagandizing of doves, dupes, soft-headed pacifists and friends of Soviet communism whose voices have been amplified by a news media that doesn't deserve the name. The constant, bloodthirsty cries to get us out of Vietnam are nothing more than those of a mouse with an amplifier. And you think it is the voice of the virtuous majority.

Have you looked around to see who's with you in this?

Well, there are the men in the Kremlin who captured a third of the world's popula-

tion since 1917 by killing, starving or imprisoning upwards of 30 million people since they went into business. They are "nationalists" too. They have sent the tanks back to Hungary and Czechoslovakia to preserve freedom such as it is known in North Vietnam. And you say we are "imperialists."

Like some Congressmen pointed out the other day, Hanoi is on your side. You have allied yourself with the butchers of Hue—indeed with the executioners of thousands of South Vietnamese. The record has been documented: there are literally thousands of recorded instances of beheadings, bombings, disembowelments. But you can't have known about that—Chet, Walter and Frank never told you, because they were busy telling stories about napalm and Dow Chemical Company.

Speaking of Hanoi, if the North Vietnamese are such patriotic "nationalists," why are North Vietnamese troops swarming all over Laos, Cambodia and Thailand, why are they executing people in those countries just as they have beheaded and disemboweled those in South Vietnam? How much of a threat do these countries pose to the patriotic "nationalists" in North Vietnam? Who invaded whom? For what purpose? Good questions. Try to put Fulbright and McCarthy and McGovern out of your heart for a while and sort those questions out in your mind.

North Korea is on your side, too. It constantly sends saboteur teams into South Korea to "nationalize" the south. North Korea also treats American prisoners with delicate care—remember what the crew of the *Pueblo* tried to tell you about how unspeakably inhuman a Communist, a North Korean, can be? North Korea is rooting for you every time you take to the streets or indulge your fantasies in a Vietnam Moratorium.

The East European satellites are on your side because they are supplying the tools with which to kill the "imperialist" Americans and South Vietnamese. Of course, the East Europeans don't have much choice in the matter. They can't leave their countries in protest. They can't speak out in the press and television. The Communists in Moscow won't let them. Remember Dubcek? Czechoslovakia? The writers Yul Daniel and Sinyavsky? That's the kind of freedom you are fighting for. Daniel and Sinyavsky are in prison.

Look around you again. Why, the clergy is even with you, albeit a microscopic portion of these disciples of God, who deny Him, who talk of doing your thing in church, such as rockin' and rollin'. They are the same ones who talk about human rights over property rights, which sounds good until you realize a lot of people were Sovietized before they realized such a thought was Communist to the core.

Who are the scholarly types beside you in the crowd? Professors who wouldn't recognize a Communist if one hit them with a hammer and a sickle. They counsel draft evasion, SDS courses, and a peculiar "freedom." They have taught many all they know, which isn't much. They teach permissivism and irresponsibility, but they don't teach about real American values or representative democracy. Many of them have written textbooks notable entirely for attacks on the free enterprise system which has kept you in the state of affluence to which you became accustomed but now try to destroy, textbooks which achieved a new high in omission of such names as Nathan Hale, Caesar Rodney and "I have not yet begun to fight." They are intellectual cretins, of such insubstantial substance that they never knew how good the American system is. And they taught you all they know. They are sick and have created legions of students who don't read well, and reason even less.

The *New York Times* is with you, but then, you know all about it. This great newspaper

said Fidel Castro was the George Washington of the Caribbean, a great man. Other people didn't believe the *Times*, and have left Cuba at the rate of thousands each month for the last two years. With newspapers like this behind you, how could you possibly be right? The *Times* did as much to put Fidel and those missiles on that now miserable island as Khrushchev ever did. In fact, Khrushchev couldn't have done it alone.

Oh yes, Fidel is solidly behind you. Fidel believes in "nationalist patriotism" of the North Vietnamese variety. He orders that people who escape from his island on innertubes and creaky rowboats be machine gunned to death. Are you beginning to feel uneasy?

The Americans for Democratic Action is right in there pitching too. It believes in and pushes every program Marx ever thought of. If the ADA gets its way, we'll be just like the Soviet Union—but we'll have to get rid of most of our telephones, 80% of our consumer goods, all of our pot and LSD, and all our four freedoms to be as "good" as the Russians and the North Vietnamese.

Absolutely bubbling with enjoyment over the war dissent is the American Civil Liberties Union which has represented just about every Communist and anarchist who ever broke a U.S. law. Are you uncomfortable?

Those are some of your fellow dissenters. We feel, however, that they haven't been entirely honest with you.

This Vietnam war dissent is mostly sham, a means to an end. It is only one of the programs dreamed up by the Communists who have a very great vested interest in seeing us "bug out" of Vietnam, then they will know we haven't the guts to fight them anywhere. Go to Hawaii in five years—if we do get out of Vietnam—and you might just get arrested by a Bolshevik for surfboarding when you should have been picking pineapples for the glorious future of Socialism (communism). Fidel has a similar program going in his sugarcane fields. You cut cane or get planed.

The Vietnam war dissent is baked over Bolshevism, chocolate chicanery, sugar-coated communist. It takes your normal abhorrence of war, twists it all around, and uses it for the benefit of the most practiced killers of freedom the world has ever known.

Look around you and wonder if you are in the right place. What you are doing is making history. Just don't make the wrong bloody kind.—KK\*\*

#### THE NINTH NEW JERSEY DISTRICT RESIDENTS SPEAK OUT

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently I sent out my annual questionnaire to the 155,000 families of the Ninth Congressional District of New Jersey, a district which I have the honor and privilege to represent. From this mailing, I received 27,307 responses, a very gratifying number. This, I feel, is indicative of the widespread interest and great concern that the American people have for the problems facing our Nation and the world today.

The annual questionnaire method of sampling district opinion has and continues to be an informal and convenient means for my constituents to express their views and judgments on the issues. For me it serves as a guide in reflecting

the desires of the people of the Ninth Congressional District of New Jersey.

The results of the questionnaire more than compensate for the time-consuming work of preparation and tabulation, and are an invaluable aid in providing a good index of public opinion on the various issues.

I wish to take this opportunity to extend my thanks to all the Ninth District residents who took the time and effort to study, evaluate, and respond to the questionnaire.

Mr. Speaker, tabulating the over 27,000 responses was a tremendous task. Now that it has been completed, I intend to have the results circulated within my district, so that my constituents may compare their views and thoughts with those of their neighbors and friends.

I would like to make a few brief observations on the responses and trends of opinion which are evident in certain areas.

In 1966, 1968, and now, in 1969, I asked the question, "Would you support a negotiated settlement in Vietnam which provides for participation by the National Liberation Front—Vietcong—in a coalition government?" The results over these years reveal a strong upward trend toward permitting the Vietcong to participate in any discussions. In 1966 there was a 51.7 favorable response; in 1968, it rose to 53.6 percent, and the latest response is 58.4 percent. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the people want an end to the war.

Another aspect of the Vietnam question indicated that 66.4 percent of my constituents favor support of economic aid to Southeast Asia if a "satisfactory" solution is found to the Vietnam problem. The same question, asked in 1968, had a 60.8 percent favorable reply. Thus, while my constituents desire an end to the war, they are willing to extend economic aid to help the people of that area.

The returned questionnaires indicated a deep interest in the role of the military in our Nation; 81 percent of my constituents believe that military spending is excessive and in some cases wasteful; 14.6 percent feel that present levels of spending are adequate and 10.1 percent are undecided on this subject.

In connection with the military, my constituents were asked to reflect their views on the present selective service system. To completely overhaul and reform the system was advocated by 46.8 percent; an all volunteer army was supported by 22.3 percent; the lottery system was approved by 16.2 percent; and 14.4 percent indicated their willingness to see the system operate in its present manner.

My constituents were asked what attempts should be made to solve the Middle East question; 64.4 percent of the replies favored a face-to-face negotiation between the Israeli-Arab nations, while 35.5 percent supported the concept that a four-power sponsorship of negotiations between these nations should be undertaken to guarantee peace in that area of the world.

In regard to domestic problems, 37.8 percent of my constituents support the

reduction in military spending as one method of curbing inflation; 19.4 percent expressed themselves favorably toward cutting Federal spending and cutbacks in Federal programs, and 42.8 percent favored both approaches.

Mr. Speaker, on the subject of voting and elections, I presented two questions to my constituents. The first was whether we should allow 18-year-olds the right to vote. The replies indicated 51.9 percent favorable to this action, 42.2 percent against the proposal, and 5.8 percent were undecided. In comparison, the same question in 1968 was favored by 43.7 percent of the people, 49.8 percent opposed it, and 6.4 percent were undecided. This latest poll indicates a shift of over 8 percent in favor of granting our younger men and women the right to participate in our electoral processes.

The second question was directed to the process of electing the President and Vice President. In 1968, 74.8 percent of the replies favored the direct election of our Nation's two highest officials. However, the questionnaire for this year showed an increase to 81.4 percent in favor of direct elections. Those favoring the electoral college system based upon congressional district votes amounted to 12.8 percent and the retention of the present system was advocated by 5.8 percent of my constituents.

In view of the disturbances on college campuses, I asked the question whether college administrations have sufficient authority and legal recourse to curtail these disturbances. On this, 56.9 percent of my constituents feel that they have; 33.7 percent believe that they do not, and 5.7 percent were undecided.

Many of my constituents had written some additional views on this subject and a good number felt that, while the power to curb disturbances is available, the school administrators were hesitant or reluctant to exercise it to the fullest advantage.

The growing problem of the use of drugs among our younger people prompted me to ask the question whether the use of Federal funds in elementary and secondary schools for special drug education should be permitted. On this question I received a 62.9 percent favorable reply; 28.7 percent were opposed and 8.3 percent undecided.

It was evident from the replies that the average consumer desires additional protection from being exploited by unscrupulous merchants. In that respect 74.4 percent of my constituents favor the creation of a Cabinet-level Department of Consumer Affairs; 18 percent are opposed; 7.5 percent were undecided on this proposal.

Mr. Speaker, there is a continued interest in our space program, but apparently not at the same pace as was indicated in the past. The responses on this question were fairly evenly distributed. In response to the question, "Should the space program be continued with planning for further moon landings and exploration of other planets?", 42.4 percent of the replies favor a continuation of the project; 42.3 oppose it and 15.2 percent are undecided.

In two of my questions, I asked my constituents to list the order of their preference for priorities to be undertaken regarding our national problems and the pressing need for tax reforms.

Since my constituents had the opportunity to evaluate which programs, in their judgment, was uppermost and since 17 were being rated, this was the most difficult part of the questionnaire to tabulate. Education and crime control elicited the greatest interest, and foreign aid, as a first choice, was last on the list. The complete listing of these priorities, as expressed by my constituents and according to their rank are included in the tabulation as question 11.

Also, on the subject of taxes, my constituents had several options to list their choices on the subject of priorities in tax reforms. Reduction of the 27½-percent oil depletion allowance for the petroleum industry was the first choice of 36.4 percent of my constituents, and eliminating the special tax treatment for stock options was endorsed by 23.3 percent. The remainder of this category is listed in the tabulation as question 15.

Mr. Speaker, in presenting these results, I feel that they represent a good cross-section of opinions and views. I value the time and care my constituents took in completing the questionnaire. I am grateful for the splendid cooperation that was extended to me on this matter.

I would like to include at this point, Mr. Speaker, the complete tabulation of the question covered in my 1969 legislative questionnaire.

The tabulation follows:

THE 1969 LEGISLATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE,  
9TH DISTRICT, NEW JERSEY

[In percent]

VIETNAM

1. Which do you favor:
  - (a) following the present military course in Vietnam and at the same time U.S. participation in the Paris peace talks, 11.3.
  - (b) an increase in the U.S. military effort, 9.6.
  - (c) continued gradual withdrawal and phasing out of U.S. troops beyond the contemplated 25,000, 24.7.
  - (d) unilateral withdrawal of all U.S. troops to be replaced by the South Vietnamese, 32.2.
  - (e) a U.S. declaration for a mutual cease fire to be supervised by the U.N., 17.8.
2. Would you support a negotiated settlement in Vietnam which provides for participation by the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong) in a coalition government?

Yes .....	58.4
No .....	30.4
Undecided .....	11.1

3. If a "satisfactory" solution of the Vietnam problem is found, would you support continued U.S. economic assistance in Southeast Asia?

Yes .....	64.4
No .....	24.3
Undecided .....	9.2

MILITARY

4. With regard to the ABM system, which do you favor:

(a) deployment now, 22.2.
(b) continued research and testing but no deployment, 31.7.
(c) no deployment pending the results of nuclear arms talks with other powers, 35.8.
(d) undecided, 10.1.

5. Is military spending at the present time (a) excessive and in some certain areas wasteful, 81.

(b) adequate at the present levels, 14.6.  
 (c) insufficient and needs to be increased, 4.3.

6. Which do you favor:

- (a) continuation of the present Selective Service System, 14.4.
- (b) a lottery system for inductions, 16.2.
- (c) an all-volunteer army, 22.3.
- (d) a complete overhaul and reform of the System, 46.8.

INTERNATIONAL

7. Should the U.S. play a larger role in efforts to alleviate the widespread starvation in Biafra?

Yes ----- 54.6  
 No ----- 34.5  
 Undecided ----- 10.7

8. Would you support Israel's refusal to withdraw her troops until she has firm guarantees of her sovereignty, peaceful existence, and access to all waterways by the Arab countries?

Yes ----- 68.8  
 No ----- 20.9  
 Undecided ----- 10.1

9. Should attempts to solve the Mid-East question be made by:

- (a) face to face negotiations involving Israel and the Arab Nations only, 64.4.
- (b) Four-Power sponsorship of negotiations with guarantees of peace between Israel and the Arab Nations, 35.5.

10. After the disorders during Gov. Rockefeller's recent trip to South America, which policy should U.S. follow:

- (a) re-evaluate our present aid program, 85.4.
- (b) discontinue aid to South America, 10.
- (c) continue present policies, 4.6.

NATIONAL PRIORITIES

11. If the Vietnam war is ended, what should our order of priority be. Please rank the following (1, 2, 3, etc.):

- Education—public schools and higher education.
- Public works—highway construction, etc.
- Conservation and recreation.
- Federal support for State welfare costs.
- Urban mass transportation.
- Veterans benefits.
- Antipoverty programs—including job training.
- Increased social security and medicare benefits.
- Pollution control.
- Space exploration.
- Health care and health research.
- Tax cuts.
- Crime control.
- Narcotics control.
- National defense.
- Housing and urban development.
- Foreign aid.
- Other.

Tabulation results:

Education ----- 11.4  
 Crime control ----- 10.1  
 Antipoverty programs—including job training ----- 9.5  
 Tax cuts ----- 9.3  
 Pollution control ----- 9.1  
 Narcotic control ----- 8.8  
 Health care and health research ----- 8.1  
 Increased social security and medicare benefits ----- 7.6  
 Housing and urban development ----- 7.1  
 National defense ----- 5.2  
 Urban mass transportation ----- 4.2  
 Public works, highway construction, etc. ----- 3.4  
 Veterans benefits ----- 2.4  
 Space exploration ----- 1.3  
 Conservation and recreation ----- 1.1  
 Federal support for State welfare costs ----- .9  
 Foreign aid ----- .2

ECONOMY

12. To stop inflation, Congress has been asked to continue the income surtax at the current rate of 10% from July-December, and at a rate 5% from January to June 1970. Do you support this plan?

Yes ----- 40.1  
 No ----- 51.9  
 Undecided ----- 7.8

13. As one method of combating inflation do you favor:

- (a) a reduction in military spending, 37.8.
- (b) a reduction in federal spending and cutbacks in programs, 19.4.
- (c) both, 42.8.

14. Do you favor increasing the personal tax exemption beyond the present \$600 to \$1000 or \$1200.

Yes ----- 87.2  
 No ----- 7.5  
 Undecided ----- 5.2

15. Which, if any, of the following changes should be made in the tax law in order to close tax loopholes. Please rank the following (1, 2, 3, etc.):

- Reduce the 27½% depletion allowance for the petroleum industries. 36.4
- Make capital gains taxable at death.
- Eliminate special tax treatment for stock options. 23.3
- Require all people earning more than \$50,000 yearly to pay a minimum tax equal to 20% of their income, regardless of source. 13.1
- Review the tax exempt status of foundations. 9.6
- Repeat the tax exempt status of municipal bonds. 7.4
- Tax religious and charitable organizations. 7.4
- Repeat the tax exempt status of municipal bonds. 5.1
- Make capital gains taxable at death. 4.0

Tabulation results:

Reduce the 27½% oil depletion allowance for the petroleum industry ----- 36.4  
 Eliminate special tax treatment of stock options ----- 23.3  
 Require all people earning more than \$50,000 yearly to pay a minimum tax equal to 20 percent of their income, regardless of source ----- 13.1  
 Review the tax exempt status of foundations ----- 9.6  
 Tax religious and charitable organizations ----- 7.4  
 Repeat the tax exempt status of municipal bonds ----- 5.1  
 Make capital gains taxable at death ----- 4.0

ELECTIONS

16. New Jersey will have a referendum this November on the 18 year old voting age. Do you favor an amendment to the U.S. Constitution allowing 18 year olds to vote?

Yes ----- 51.9  
 No ----- 42.2  
 Undecided ----- 5.8

17. Which system of election for the President and Vice President would you favor:

- (a) direct election by the people, 81.4.
- (b) an electoral college system based on Congressional Districts (The person carrying a District would receive one vote in the Electoral College), 12.8.
- (c) the Electoral College system as it now stands, 5.8.

DOMESTIC

18. Do you believe college administrations have sufficient power and legal recourse to curtail any disturbances?

Yes ----- 56.9  
 No ----- 37.3  
 Undecided ----- 5.7

19. Should federal funds be used for special drug education courses in elementary and secondary schools?

Yes ----- 62.9  
 No ----- 28.7  
 Undecided ----- 8.3

20. Now that man has landed on the moon, should the space program be continued with planning for further landings and explorations of other planets?

Yes ----- 52.4  
 No ----- 42.3  
 Undecided ----- 15.2

21. Should a Cabinet-level Department of Consumer Affairs be created to protect consumers from exploitation?

Yes ----- 74.4  
 No ----- 18.0  
 Undecided ----- 7.5

WEIZMANN INSTITUTE: 25 YEARS YOUNG

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovot, Israel, is one of the major centers of scientific research in the fields of natural and applied sciences. The school has an international reputation and enjoys links with leading institutions of its kind throughout the world. Scientists from major universities in the United States and Britain in particular like to spend their sabbaticals at Rehovot.

Sunday marks the 25th anniversary of the founding of the institute and the date of inauguration of Dr. Albert B. Sabin, who developed the oral polio vaccine, as Weizmann's new president.

The New York Times carried an article by James Feron assessing the dramatic accomplishments of this great scientific institution on Thursday. That article follows:

WEIZMANN INSTITUTE: 25 YEARS YOUNG  
 (By James Feron)

REHOVOT, ISRAEL, October 29.—Like many 25-year-olds, the Weizmann Institute of Science seems full of energy and ambition these days.

A group of American friends of the institute led by Dr. Albert B. Sabin, who is taking over as president, will arrive tomorrow for 25th-anniversary celebrations that will begin on Sunday.

The heart of a good research institute is its research, of course. The Weizmann Institute has become a major center in the fields of molecular biology, theoretical physics, nuclear physics and the study of arid zones.

The school has an international reputation and enjoys links with leading institutions of its kind throughout the world. Scientists from major universities in the United States and Britain in particular like to spend their sabbaticals at Rehovot.

There is a complement of 1,600, including 250 full-time scientists, and the work is supported by grants, gifts and sponsored research. The institute has a brain drain in reverse, attracting more staff members than it loses.

The institute's vigor is evident in the laboratories and offices on the tree-shaded campus—in the visions, for example of a man like Prof. Michael Feldman, who comments:

"What makes us different here? Well, the crosscurrents, perhaps, for one thing. It's simply that everyone is interested in what everyone else is doing."

Professor Feldman, a 43-year-old Israeli, is dean of the Feinberg Graduate School and chairman of the cell biology department, one of the institute's largest.

The uniqueness of the place, one of the world's leading research centers, may be its "interdisciplinary aspect," he said, adding: "We have all the specialties here, and this is unusual—perhaps even unique—for a research institute."

He spoke of the early days and confirmed the impression offered by a colleague that it was here that the sabras, the native-born like Professor Feldman, came into their own in the field of scientific research.

Technion (Israel's institute of technology) and Hebrew University, began with professors from Germany, and elsewhere, he said, while the Weizmann started with young men who were getting their doctorates. "We still have a young staff," he said: "Most of our department heads are in their late thirties or early forties."

Another professor, Joseph Gillis, British-born and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, speaks across a desk littered with papers:

"When I came here there were two buildings and this is one of them. Now I lose my way around the place. The roads don't even go in the same directions any more."

Professor Gillis, 58, chairman of the institute's equivalent of a senate, has seen the development of new disciplines, such as nuclear physics, and of new devices, such as the Golem computer, designed and built at the institute and named for the legendary artificial man.

"One of the most important changes was the decision to have a graduate school," he said. "We started it in 1958 and it changed the atmosphere considerably."

The atmosphere may change soon again as the institute named for Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the scientist who was Israel's first President, prepares for new administrative and scientific leadership. The prospect is awaited with some uneasiness.

Meyer Weisgal, the colorful and dynamic president, is retiring at the age of 75. The top administrative post will be taken by Dr. Sabin, the 63-year-old American scientist who developed the oral vaccine for poliomyelitis.

"We don't know how he will see the role of president," an institute official said. "Weisgal was not a scientist but Sabin is, and a distinguished one. We don't know how deeply he will penetrate into the scientific work here."

Last month the institute lost its most influential scientist with the death of Prof. Amos De Shalit, an internationally known nuclear physicist, who was 43. One of the institute's leading spirits, he had given up the post of scientific director not long before. His death rocked the Weizmann.

"He had tremendous speed of perception," a colleague said. "You could convince him of something over the phone, and the next morning it was being implemented. And he had great vision."

He has been replaced by Prof. Gerhard Schmidt, head of the department of chemistry. "Professor Schmidt works more through organizational means," the same colleague said, "but maybe the time has come to work that way."

The institute has been changing since Dr. Weizmann, a leading chemist and a Zionist leader, and his supporters created a research center at the edge of the desert in a town that has a population of only 40,000 today.

#### ZIONIST ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM

It came into being before the birth of Israel in 1948 and, strangely, in the face of an early Zionist attitude of anti-intellectualism. Those were the days when a professor would remark with pride that a brilliant student had given up mathematics to work on the land.

Some of the present leaders see that attitude as one of the motivations for the peripheral interests of many staff members—a feeling that pure research is a luxury neither the nation nor the institute can afford.

On the other hand, the institute serves Israeli needs in such areas as research in desalination and other water problems, in the development of grains and plastics and in the solution of highly complex problems for the Israeli Air Force.

The graduate school is an example of the need to provide service. Another is the work inspired largely by Professor De Shalit in the teaching of science, now a department at the institute. New textbooks are being developed and new teaching techniques established.

"The future should not be an imitation of the past," Professor Feldman says, speaking of the need to direct students to undeveloped areas of science—modern neurophysiology, applied physics, computer sciences—and also to expose students of the natural sciences to the social sciences in a more meaningful way than the inclusion of minor subjects.

Professor Gillis, whose field is applied mathematics, conducts a mathematics olympiad, a nationwide competition for children up to the age of 18. He also publishes a mathematics quarterly.

Dotting the hills and roads nearby are 10 science-based industries, the most advanced such cluster in Israel. They produce membranes for desalination, bio-medical instruments, optical components and educational aids—as well as secret devices for the air force.

The landscaped grounds, almost tropical in places, attract 200,000 tourists a year. There is a scientific summer camp for gifted children. About 100 visiting scientists are on hand nearly all the time.

Some of the industries were founded by scientists from the institute, men whose interests were not satisfied even within its generous grounds.

#### LUCILE KOHN CELEBRATES HER 87TH BIRTHDAY

#### HON. ALLARD K. LOWENSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, what a wonderful month is October, for its natural beauties of course but also for some of the people it gave to the country and the world—people like Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, President Eisenhower, Senator Frank Graham, and Dr. Lucile Kohn.

Today, I want to talk about Lucile Kohn, who is perhaps less widely known than some of the others born this month, but whose life has been as great a boon to those who have been touched by it as any life can be. She marks this month her 87th birthday, still teaching, still toiling, still twinkling—still enchanting—always ready to help any in need, always applying her great ranging intellect to enlighten those about her.

The vast array of groups and individuals that have enjoyed and profited from Lucile Kohn's wisdom and energies extend over so many areas—and so many decades—that it would be risky for any one person to try to list them. Her niche in the history of the American labor movement is unique and secure, and her contributions to American education overshadow those of many who have held

higher office and have received far wider recognition. She is, in fact, not one to worry about recognition. That is one of the reasons she has become a legend to the thousands of young people who first met her, as I did, through the Encampment for Citizenship, itself an enterprise of enormous value to the Nation.

But Lucile Kohn, and her equally legendary sister, Mrs. Alice Pollitzer, now nearing the century mark, belong to that tiny band of mortals who, having become legends in their own lifetime, remain better in person than in legend.

We can congratulate ourselves that we are a nation that produced such people. But we should pause a moment, too, to thank them for all they have done for us. They are surely the most remarkable pair of sisters in the United States, if not in the world. They ought to be on TV, on stamps, in magazines with great circulations. How much we could all learn from such dauntless and vibrant spirits, from human beings who in these tempting and querulous times remain incapable of dishonor or deception, and continue to leave the glow of their goodness wherever they go.

I include in the RECORD at this point a poem by Mrs. Linda Gordon. Those who know Lucile Kohn will marvel at how this poem captures what they love about her. Those who do not know her will sense from it how fortunate the rest of us have been:

"Never seek to tell thy Love,"  
Lesson learned in season sober,  
Honor we in breach thereof  
With the coming of October.  
Though we know she can't be told,  
Yet upon her Natal Day  
Festive spirits make us bold:  
Birthday guests will have their say!  
And, from Reason's rule exempt,  
The impossible attempt.

Wisdom, love, and inspiration;  
Happy gifts of conversation,  
Ice cream, cookies, games and fun;  
Charity to everyone;  
Ignorance of affection;  
Self-regardless dedication;  
Benefactions manifold;  
Common bond of young and old—

Lessons in the art of living  
And of unreserved giving;  
Circulating compliments;  
Never sitting on the fence!  
Drink of water, breath of air,  
Meaning of the verb "to care":  
Hope for poor Humanity—  
These are things she means to me:

These, and so much more as well  
I could never seek to tell,  
Barely hint at what I feel  
On the subject of Lucile!

#### REORDERING OF NATIONAL PRIORITIES

#### HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 31, 1969

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, some 10 million Americans are afflicted with hunger or chronic malnutrition, and 20 million Americans live in substandard housing. What a pity it is that we can not seem to align ourselves properly to commit an infinitesimal amount of our vast

national resources to solve these very solvable domestic problems. But we can see fit to invest over \$30 billion and thousands of American lives annually in fighting for "freedom" in South Vietnam. How often do we ask ourselves—how free is a 6-year-old American, suffering from chronic malnutrition—which may or may not cause future brain damage—who attends substandard schools and lives in a substandard house? What choices will be opened to this child at the age of 18 when he most likely will be a functional illiterate and face extended periods of unemployment?

The city council in Pittsburgh adopted a resolution calling for an end to our involvement in Vietnam and an immediate reordering of our national priorities.

I would like to enter this resolution into the RECORD at this point:

RESOLUTION NO. 237

Whereas, American armed forces have been engaged for over four years in combat in

Vietnam, and have distinguished themselves for their valor despite vague and sometimes conflicting expressions of national purpose and objectives in that war; and

Whereas, Combat deaths for American forces now exceed the death toll in the Korean War, and the nation continues to spend \$100,000,000 per day to finance the war; and

Whereas, The direct American involvement in the war in Vietnam—never intended in our original intervention—has reached the point where it brings an intolerable financial and personal burden to all Americans; and

Whereas, The pressing needs of our nation's cities are being slighted, Congressional appropriations are being cut and urban programs are being curtailed in the face of increasing need for substantial government action; and

Whereas, It is apparent that the national government has not yet formulated a definite plan to end direct American involvement in the Vietnam war;

Now, therefore, be it resolved, That the Pittsburgh City Council hereby memorializes the administration of President Richard M. Nixon to declare and carry out a definite

program to terminate direct American involvement in the war in Vietnam and to put into effect the systematic withdrawal of major forces in America, to be completed before the end of 1970; and

Be it further resolved, That the Pittsburgh City Council does hereby memorialize the Congress of the United States to provide through its legislative and budgetary powers that the administration of President Nixon quickly begin to extricate the United States from its crushing, disastrous involvement in Vietnam and to devote national resources to programs which meet the needs of cities in housing, education and public transportation.

In Council October 14, 1969, read and adopted.

JOHN F. COUNAHAN,  
President of Council.

Attest:

LOUIS C. DINARDO,  
Clerk of Council.

Mayor's Office, October 21, 1969.

Approved:

JOSEPH M. BARR,  
Mayor.

## SENATE—Monday, November 3, 1969

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, the light of the pure in heart who see Thee, the life of the souls that love Thee, the strength of the minds that seek Thee, from whom to turn is to fall, to whom to turn is to rise, and in whom to abide is to stand fast forever, be Thou to us light and life and strength that our labor may be secure in Thee. Keep us alive to all true values and enable us to grow in the ways of Thy spirit.

O Lord, be with this Nation. Guide in Thy pure ways all who bear positions of trust, that they may know and do Thy will, and daily set forward Thy kingdom.

Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE RECEIVED DURING ADJOURNMENT

Under authority of the order of the Senate of October 30, 1969, the Secretary of the Senate, on October 31, 1969, received the following message from the House of Representatives:

That the House had passed the bill (S. 2917) to improve the health and safety conditions of persons working in the coal mining industry of the United States, with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate; that the House insisted upon its amendments to the bill, asked a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. PERKINS, Mr. DENT, Mr. PUCINSKI, Mr. HAWKINS, Mrs. MINK, Mr. BURTON of California, Mr. AYRES, Mr. ERLBORN, Mr. BELL of California, and Mr. SCHERLE were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference;

That the House had passed a bill (H.R. 14001) to amend the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 to authorize modifications of the system of selecting persons for induction into the Armed Forces under this act, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

### ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

The message also announced that the Speaker has affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills and joint resolution, and they were signed by the President pro tempore:

S. 73. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to authorize the sale and exchange of isolated tracts of tribal land on the Rosebud Sioux Indian Reservation, S. Dak.;"

S. 267. An act for the relief of Lt. Col. Samuel J. Cole, U.S. Army (retired);

H.R. 337. An act to increase the maximum rate of per diem allowance for employees of the Government traveling on official business, and for other purposes;

H.R. 12982. An act to provide additional revenue for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; and

S.J. Res. 164. Joint resolution to provide for a temporary extension of the authority conferred by the Export Control Act of 1949.

### HOUSE BILL REFERRED

Under authority of the order of the Senate of October 30, 1969, the bill (H.R. 14001) to amend the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 to authorize modifications of the system of selecting persons for induction into the Armed Forces under this act, was considered as having been read twice by its title, and was referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

### THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of

the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, October 30, 1969, be dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Leonard, one of his secretaries.

### REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 91-189)

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, which, with the accompanying report, was referred to the Committee on Commerce:

To the Congress of the United States:

I hereby submit the Second Annual Report of the Department of Transportation, covering Fiscal Year 1968.

RICHARD NIXON.  
THE WHITE HOUSE, October 31, 1969.

### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session, the President pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

### WAIVER OF CALL OF THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the call of the legislative calendar, under rule VIII, be dispensed with.