

By Mr. BROTZMAN (for himself and Mr. DINGELL):

H. Res. 751. Resolution to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives to create a standing committee to be known as the Committee on the Environment; to the Committee on Rules.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

Mr. HAMILTON introduced a bill (H.R. 15260) for the relief of Dr. Ester T. Hizon, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

355. The SPEAKER presented a petition of George B. Maus, Binghamton, N.Y., et al., relative to pensions for veterans of World War I, which was referred to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## THE NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS AND HUMANITIES

## HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to be able to join in the introduction of President Nixon's legislation to extend the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities for 3 years and to make certain technical changes.

I share President Nixon's conviction that—

The attention and support we give the arts and the humanities . . . represent a vital part of our commitments to enhancing the quality of life for all Americans.

In my view, the President's request for \$35 million in public funds and \$5 million in matching money for the arts and humanities in fiscal year 1971 is a most significant development. By doubling the amount we are spending on the arts this year, we are, at long last, giving meaningful recognition at the highest levels of government to the important role of the arts in determining the quality of our life.

President Nixon made a number of cogent observations about the role of the arts and humanities in America in the message that he sent to the Congress yesterday. He said:

The full richness of this nation's cultural life need not be the province of relatively few citizens centered in a few cities; on the contrary, the trend toward a wider appreciation of the arts and a greater interest in the humanities should be strongly encouraged, and the diverse culture of every region and community should be explored.

Indeed, participation in cultural activities by as many Americans as possible at the local level is the ultimate aim of the arts and humanities legislation. The President's commitment and the greater funding should make it increasingly possible for State and local arts groups to have the support they deserve and to become economically viable.

Over the past several years, State arts councils have become much more active, principally as a result of the Federal program. For each Federal dollar, States have come up with \$3 from local, State, and private contributions for arts programs.

This, I believe, is what President Nixon meant when he said in his message:

The Federal Government cannot and should not seek to substitute public money for these essential sources of continuing support. . . . The Federal role would remain supportive, rather than primary.

For example, in fiscal year 1968, the National Endowment for the Arts made grants totaling \$8.6 million; but this \$8.6 million generated \$27 million from other sources.

The principal reason for Federal support of the arts, so that all citizens may benefit from the enrichment they offer, is that virtually every major symphony, opera, dance, and ballet company is running at a deficit. Theaters, large and small—on Broadway and in cities around the country—have to face annual cost increases that threaten their continued operation.

President Nixon recognized this crisis in his message:

There is a growing need for Federal stimulus and assistance—growing because of the acute financial crisis in which many of our privately-supported cultural institutions now find themselves, and growing also because of the expanding opportunity that derives from higher educational levels, increased leisure and greater awareness of the cultural life.

What are the dimensions of this crisis? Overall, in the performing arts, there is a deficit of about 30 percent; of perhaps 60 percent in the ballet; and perhaps 40 percent in symphonies. Of our major symphony orchestras, only about 12 have a reasonable hope of remaining alive financially. Similarly, there are only five or six major opera companies in the country today, and about an equal number of significant dance groups. Of all the existing performing arts groups, it is quite clear that only a handful can take their survival for granted.

One of the goals of President Nixon's extension of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities, and of the increased funds to be available, is "to bring more productions in music, theater, literature readings and dance to millions of citizens eager to have the opportunity for such experiences." I am hopeful that our commitment to preventing financial disaster from overtaking some of these organizations will help reach that goal.

I agree, as well, with the other aims of the President in supporting this vital program:

We would be able to bring many more young writers and poets into our school system, to help teachers motivate youngsters to master the mechanics of self-expression.

We would be able to provide some measure of support to hard-pressed cultural institutions, such as museums and symphony orchestras, to meet the demands of new and expanding audiences.

We would begin to redress the imbalance between the sciences and the humanities in colleges and universities, to provide more opportunity for students to become discerning as well as knowledgeable.

The bill I am introducing today would extend the life of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities for 3 years, through fiscal year 1973, authorizing such sums as may be necessary. It would also make a number of technical changes, including: First, provision for an executive committee in each council in order to facilitate the work of the council between meetings; second, provision for continuity in leadership between expiration of the terms of the two Chairmen and announcement of new appointments; third, authority for the National Foundation on the Humanities to make contracts, as well as award grants; and fourth, adjustments in the per diem of council members to the level given other citizens in similar positions.

Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. BRADEMAs) the chairman of the Select Subcommittee on Education which has jurisdiction over this legislation, has indicated his intention of holding hearings in late January. I am hopeful that we will be able to act thoughtfully and expeditiously on this important measure.

## BIG TRUCK BILL

## HON. FRED SCHWENDEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. SCHWENDEL. Mr. Speaker, my editorials for today are from the Danville, Va., Register, the Richmond Times-Dispatch, and the Virginian-Pilot, in the State of Virginia. The editorials follow: [From the Danville (Va.) Register, Sept. 25, 1969]

## NEVER UNDERESTIMATE

The Trucking Industry may rue the remark of one of its spokesmen who told a national publication that if the women of the nation want their new hats on time "they'll just have to live with trucks."

And by living with trucks, he meant those 80,000-pound 70-ft. behemoths which the truckers are asking the Congress and some of the state legislatures to make legal.

The Virginia General Assembly at its 1968 session was about to turn down—something rarely done in Virginia—the truck lobby on the highway freight trains it wants legalized. Rather than face defeat, the truckers turned to the authorized study alternative, and this body will recommend authorization of twin-trailers behind a single tractor on multilane highways, which means on the arterial and interstate and throughways or toll roads. That is where they will start. But just as soon as they are accepted on any Virginia roads, the truckers will want to use all roads.

The current drive for highway motor freight trains already has run into the opposition of the General Federation of Women's

Clubs. At the national convention of the GFWC at the Greenbrier in White Sulphur Springs, Mrs. Walter Varney Magee, president of the federation, declared that "no statistics can allay our concern that our fears would be intensified if even vehicles of 70 feet, and particularly double-bottomed ones, were permitted on our highways and streets." She urged the clubwomen to oppose legalization of such vehicles on public highways.

And as for those hats, Mrs. Magee said, "We don't need trucks 70-feet long carrying 80,000 pounds to get our hats. It is not possible to get them by balloon," as the trucker spokesman implied.

Now the truckers really are in trouble. When the women are aroused legislators listen, if they are wise.

[From the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch, Aug. 31, 1969]

#### NO HEAVIER TRUCKS

Legislation to permit wider and heavier trucks on the interstate highways was approved by the U.S. Senate last year, but it ran into a roadblock of adverse publicity in the House and failed to pass.

The trucking and transit industries, or segments of those industries, are trying again this year. A House committee has been holding hearings on proposals similar to those defeated in 1968.

The 1968 bill would have permitted the States to raise the present 32,000-pound tandem weight limit to 34,000, the single axle weight from 18,000 pounds to 20,000, and the gross weight from 73,280 pounds to a sliding scale which would have permitted considerably heavier vehicles. And the maximum vehicle width would have increased from 96 to 102 inches.

Virginia law permits the present maximums listed above, except that the gross weight limit is 70,000 pounds. If the 1968 federal bill had passed, state laws would still have prevailed, but the pressure on states to go up to the federal limits would have been tremendous, especially after one or more states had changed to those limits.

One of the witnesses who has appeared before the committee this year in opposition to the proposed weight and width hikes was Virginia's Highway Commissioner, Douglas B. Fugate.

Appearing in his capacity of first vice president of the American Association of State Highway Officials, Fugate said, among other things, that an increase in load from 18,000 pounds to 20,000 pounds per axle could result in a loss of pavement life of 25 to 40 per cent.

The increased safety hazard from heavier and wider vehicles was cited by spokesmen for the American Automobile Association and the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

(The weight and width changes being considered by the House committee are not related to the twin-trailer proposal now under study in Virginia. A Virginia commission is considering whether or not to recommend that the permitted length of vehicles on certain state roads be increased from 55 to 65 feet. The twin-trailer proposal does not involve any weight or width increases.)

The preponderance of the evidence appears to be against changing the federal law. From the standpoints of safety and road maintenance, the present limits should be retained.

[From the Norfolk (Va.) Virginian-Pilot, Aug. 12, 1969]

#### THE TROUBLE WITH DOUBLE RIGS

Three surveys released recently on the advisability of permitting twin-trailer trucks on Virginia highways should themselves be subjects of questions at the public hearings in Roanoke tomorrow and Richmond Friday.

A cooperative study by the Virginia Highway Safety Division, the Highway Research Council, State Police, and the Highway Department indicated that highway safety would not be imperiled by twin trailers. More than 93 per cent of all motorists observed passing an experimental double rig said "there was nothing different nor unusual about the passing maneuver."

But the report neglected to note that in the experiments a truck never exceeded 55 miles an hour, whereas tractor trailers cruise along interstate highways at 65 to 70 miles. J. T. Timmons, executive director of the Tidewater Automobile Association, has commented that the report also failed to consider the hazard when the double rig is doing the passing.

"They come barreling down on you, horns blowing, and that scares you, and after they go by, the wind and suction are unnerving," observed Mr. Timmons.

The Virginia commission studying the impact of twin trailers should review testimony of the American Automobile Association before the Roads Subcommittee of the U.S. House of Representatives Public Works Committee, which is considering a bill to permit longer, heavier trucks.

The AAA found that half the accidents of carriers reporting to the Bureau of Motor Carrier Safety involve collision with passenger cars. Such collisions account for 66 per cent of the fatalities and 64.5 per cent of the injuries. Of the 993 persons who died in the accidents, 22, or about 2 per cent, were drivers of heavy trucks. The other 98 per cent were, for the most part, passenger-car drivers and occupants.

A study for the Automobile Manufacturers Association disclosed that the fatality rate in accidents rises with truck size. There are 0.3 fatal injuries per 100 persons in collisions between passenger cars and pickup trucks. The rate jumps to 7.1 per 100 when the collision is between a passenger car and a tractor-trailer combination. When the collision is between a passenger car and a tractor-trailer combination, the rate increases drastically to 13.3.

In estimating the wear and tear of the twin rigs on the roads, the State Highway Department said that as long as there were no change on present load limits (18,000 pounds for single axles, 32,000 pounds for tandem axles, 70,000 pounds in gross weights), pavement strength would not have to be increased for twin trailers. But the Department overlooks the frequent violations of the load limits. Its own spot check of 1,516 vehicles with five or more axles in July-August 1967 found more than 17 per cent overweight.

The Highway Department also should consult testimony of Virginia Highway Commissioner Douglas B. Fugate before Congressional committees. Last year, testifying before the Senate Roads Committee, Mr. Fugate said that a bill to increase the axle weight of trucks to 20,000 pounds single and 36,000 double would require the replacement of 1,430 bridges on the State's primary system at a cost of \$151 million. He has said that the bill now before the House subcommittee is slightly less objectionable in proposing an axle weight of 34,000 pounds tandem and a length limit of 70 feet, rather than none at all, but the gross weight formula would still produce loads that would overstress most bridges off the interstate system. He stands by his estimate of \$151 million for bridges on the primary system and adds that the cost of strengthening 10,000 bridges on secondary roads would be astronomical.

The Congressional bills are germane to the State study, because in 1968, when the General Assembly killed a bill that would have permitted twin trailers on the State's roads, it also had to dispose of a companion measure providing that Virginia weight limits and lengths would automatically increase to the levels of new Federal regulations. Pressures by the trucking industry are being applied to

State and national legislatures—and ought to be rejected in both quarters.

#### LET HIM EAT THE TRUTH

### HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Nick Kotz of Cowles Publications and the Des Moines Register Washington News Bureau has recently written a book charging that the U.S. Congress has been delinquent and insensitive in assisting the poor and disadvantaged. He alleges that there is widespread "hunger" throughout the United States and places the blame for this "condition" at the doorstep of this legislative body.

The facts dispel the fallacies of these charges. I call my colleagues' attention to the following book review of Mr. Kotz' "work of art":

#### LET HIM EAT THE TRUTH

During the past few years there has been a dedicated effort by some political writers to influence Federal legislation by writing articles and books appealing to cheap emotionalism and inflammatory demagoguery.

A forerunner in this field of "twisted facts and misleading innuendos" has been Nick Kotz of Cowles Publications and the Des Moines Register Washington News Bureau. His "exposé" on allegedly unwholesome meat in this country was sharply criticized and exposed by the respected "National Observer" newspaper.

Kotz has recently written a book implying that "hunger" is rampant throughout the United States. He charges that Congress has been delinquent and insensitive in assisting the poor and disadvantaged. This is not true.

For years the Congress has provided free food for hungry people both at home and abroad. The House Agriculture Committee developed the first food stamp program, the first school lunch program, the school milk program and school breakfasts. Within the last month, the Agriculture Committee almost doubled the authorization for the operation of the food stamp program.

After charges were levied that there were hundreds of counties arbitrarily classified as "hunger counties," the Agriculture Committee sent a letter to Health officers in each of these counties and received almost unanimous responses that the charges were grossly exaggerated.

Representative Edith Green, a liberal Democrat from Oregon, cited a hypothetical situation where a family of four could draw up to \$11,513 a year in Federal grants and services while a family of eight could collect a maximum potential of \$21,093 a year.

Kotz bases his conclusions in part on the testimony of a Dr. Donald Gatch of Bluffton, South Carolina, whom he describes as "an outspoken rebel physician who has challenged the medical establishment of the Nation to view the wretched poor and help them."

However, the public should be aware of the fact that the "rebel physician" is presently being charged with major narcotics violations. Law enforcement authorities have charged Doctor Gatch with using drugs for personal use, failing to keep proper records of drugs received and dispensing drugs without proper prescriptions.

What this country needs is less sensationalism and hypocritical pontifications from certain members of the Fourth Estate and

more calm evaluation of how our present programs may effectively operate to insure that all Americans have an opportunity to fulfill their potential.

UNITED STATES SOVIET INTER-DEPENDENCE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, submission to UNO policies proves exceedingly perilous to the United States.

As a result of UNO directives and policies our country is now dependent on Russian imports for critical materials essential to our national defense.

I include Willard Edwards' column from the December 11, 1969, and a report from Ordnance magazine for November-December 1969, at this point:

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Tribune, Dec. 11, 1969]

UNITED STATES IS DEPENDENT ON RULES IMPORTS

(By Willard Edwards)

WASHINGTON.—It will come as a shock to most Americans to learn that the United States has permitted itself to become increasingly dependent upon Russia for imports of critical war materials.

The misgivings accompanying this disclosure will be intensified by the discovery that Russia planned it that way, taking advantage of the "bridge-building" policy which became popular in the mid-'60s under the Johnson administration.

All the evidence suggests that the United States has fallen into a trap prepared by Russian strategists and given the label of the "weak link principle" in an analysis by Maj. Gen. A. N. Lagovsky of the Red Army, a leading soviet specialist in economic warfare.

A translation of Lagovsky's text for study in the soviet armed forces has been made the basis for a perceptive study by A. C. Sutton of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford university. It appeared in the December issue of Ordnance, a journal devoted to industrial preparedness for national defense.

Discussing foreign trade as a weak link in the economy during a war, Gen. Lagovsky noted the great dependence of modern warfare on certain war materials—such as chrome and platinum—and the lack of major deposits of such materials in the United States and other capitalist countries.

He advocated the encouragement of a potential adversary, such as the United States, to accept imports of such "weak link" strategic minerals from the Soviet Union.

A United States military jet airplane, he emphasized, cannot be produced in the United States by utilizing only domestic raw materials. He gave these startling figures: the United States must import 92 per cent of the chrome, 97 per cent of the nickel, 76 per cent of the raw aluminum, and 88 per cent of the cobalt needed for such an aircraft.

Russia's success in exploiting this strategy must have amazed its sponsors. In a recent typical 6-month period, 84 per cent of United State imports from Russia have been in materials related to the "weak link" strategy—not only chrome ore but industrial diamonds, platinum, palladium, rhodium, nickel, and titanium.

How and why did the United States get itself into this fix?

First, it voluntarily cut itself off from supplies of chrome ore from Rhodesia by joining in United Nations sanctions against that small nation. This political decision gave Russia, the only other major source of the ore, a virtual monopoly.

Second, it began to rely on Russia for other critical metals under the "bridge-building" programs of the Johnson administration. The idea was that Russia would respond to trade benefits by reducing supplies to North Viet Nam and the middle east conflict.

Russia happily accepted the profits of trade but the "reciprocity" expected never materialized. It even stepped up its logistic supply of world revolution.

The psychological effect on Soviet planners contains a degree of danger, Sutton noted. From their viewpoint, the situation means United States weakness and as such can be considered a sufficient invitation to initiate aggression.

It makes little sense, he concluded, to spend vast sums on a defense against Soviet missiles without, at the same time, taking steps, at little cost, to remove the nation from the "potentially dangerous corner" into which it has maneuvered itself.

[From Ordnance magazine, November-December issue]

SOVIET EXPORT STRATEGY

(By A. C. Sutton)

NOTE.—A. N. Lagovsky, "Strategiya i Ekonomika" (Moscow: 1957) first Russian edition. A translated version of a second edition (1961) is "Strategy and Economics" (JPRS: No. 19,700 of June 17, 1963). There is significant difference between the two editions, and the material used here was largely added by Lagovsky to the second (1961) edition. References are then to the second (translated) edition.

Maj. Gen. A. N. Lagovsky of the Red Army, a doctor of military science and a leading Soviet specialist in economic warfare, is also author of "Strategiya i Ekonomika"—a text on economic warfare recommended for study in the Soviet armed forces. Given Lagovsky's considerable status and wide influence, it is conceivable that the strategies outlined in "Strategiya i Ekonomika" constitute, at least in part, the basis for the operational directives of Soviet foreign economic policies.

The purpose of this article is to relate one Lagovsky principle—the "weak-link principle"—to the pattern of recent U.S. trade with the Soviet Union and thus to test a stated Soviet strategic principle against empirical observations.

In a section discussing foreign trade as a weak link in the economy during a war, Lagovsky notes the great dependences of modern warfare on certain raw materials—such as chrome and platinum—and, simultaneously, notes the lack of major deposits of such raw materials in the United States and other capitalist countries.

As a consequence, he suggests, "the strategic material situation continues to be an urgent problem in war production for the U.S.A."

TABLE I—Critical materials in a U.S. military jet airplane (from Lagovsky)

[Percentages of material imported]	
Material:	
Chrome (3,659 pounds).....	92
Nickel (2,117 pounds).....	97
Alumina (bauxite) (46,831).....	76
Cobalt (436).....	88

A clear distinction in drawing by Lagovsky between such "weak-link" strategic minerals and machinery with a technological component. Application of Lagovsky's principle would require the Soviet Union to avoid import of weak-link mineral commodities—

while simultaneously encouraging a potential adversary, such as the United States, to accept such exports from the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union would deny exports of its own technology embodied in machinery and equipment, while maximizing imports to a potential adversary's technology.

As for the technological side of U.S.-Soviet trade, there is no question that export of worth-while Soviet technology to the West (or even to fellow socialist countries) is virtually nil, while Western and East European export of technology to the Soviet Union is not only both historically and currently of immense proportions but also of critical importance to Soviet economic and military development. Therefore, it is only the "weak-link"-import aspect which is now of interest.

Except for synthetic rubber, the Soviets do not import such mineral commodities from the United States; i.e., they have avoided any strategic dependence on their own part. In distinct contrast, the U.S. is a remarkably heavy importer of "weak-link" commodities from the U.S.S.R.

Let us first review the argument in detail. Lagovsky takes an American jet plane as his principal example and lists the amount of critical materials required in construction of a single aircraft (see Table I).

It is therefore clear, says Lagovsky, that a jet aircraft cannot be produced in the United States by utilizing only domestic raw materials, "since domestic production of the most important types of raw materials for it amounts to only 3 to 24 per cent of requirements." This example of dependence on imported materials for military aircraft is followed by a listing of United States imports of these materials (see Table II).

Many, but not all, of these raw materials, do have imperfect substitutes; synthetic rubber, for example, rather than natural rubber, is more important to industry in the United States, and butyl synthetics are equal in physical properties to natural rubber. It is rather the Soviet Union that is dependent on natural rubber, as its own development of synthetics (it has no natural rubber) is backward.

Percentage imported by United States

Natural rubber.....	100
Tin.....	100
Industrial diamonds.....	100
Chrome ore.....	99
Platinum.....	99
Manganese.....	95
Cobalt.....	80
Tungsten.....	72
Bauxite.....	70
Mercury.....	66

On the other hand, although substitution is possible for materials like chrome, manganese, and tungsten, such substitution is not complete and would be difficult to undertake on short notice. It is in U.S. imports of these minerals that Lagovsky's argument has some force.

It is interesting that Lagovsky avoids any further discussion of rubber but devotes a full page of discussion to U.S. dependence on imported chrome and emphasizes that "the U.S.A. has almost no chrome in its own country."

Chrome is required for production of alloys for jet engines, gas turbines, guns, and armor-piercing projectiles; it is used in both aircraft and motor vehicle manufacture. The United States accounts for about two-thirds of the entire Western-world consumption. Lagovsky points up as a "weak link" the "enormous geographic disparity" between world production and consumption regions:

"The imperialist countries, considering the enormous significance of chrome in war production and the lack of deposits of it in places where it is consumed, do not spare funds for the development of chrome re-

serves. However, this does not free them from the necessity of importing chrome ore in wartime as well."

*Amount of U.S. imports from U.S.S.R.*

Weak-link commodity:	
Chrome ore	\$3,433,000
Diamonds, cut but unset	5,681,000
Platinum	518,000
Palladium	15,540,000
Rhodium	2,348,000
Nickel	1,092,000
Titanium	899,000
Lagovsky's "weak links"	29,501,000
Total U.S. imports from U.S.S.R.	35,359,000

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, *Export Control*, 85th Quarterly Report, p. 19.

Clearly, then, Lagovsky lays great faith in his "weak-link" theory, and he might be expected to recommend its use in Soviet economic relations with the United States.

Although we have no direct way of knowing whether the Soviets have indeed made use of the principle, we can examine the structure of U.S. imports from the Soviet Union to determine if the structure conforms, or does not conform, to Lagovsky's theory.

If it does not, then either the Soviets have made no attempt to utilize the principle, or—conversely—they have attempted to do so, but the United States, aware of its potential weaknesses, has avoided dependence by diverting its purchases elsewhere. This is possible, as there are free-world as well as Soviet sources.

Table III contains U.S. imports of Lagovsky's "weak links." While Lagovsky lists "platinum," the table includes "platinum group" metals. Nickel and titanium are not in Lagovsky's listing, but fulfill the Lagovsky criteria.

This table contains data for the first half of 1969 (latest available in the Quarterly Reports on Export Control). U.S. imports of weak-link commodities constituted no less than \$29 million out of a total import from the Soviet Union of \$35 million of all goods. *A remarkably high percentage—84 per cent—of our total imports from the U.S.S.R. fall within the very narrow range of commodities covered by the Lagovsky weak-link principle.*

If the comparison is extended to cover the previous full year (1967), 65 per cent of our imports from the U.S.S.R. fall into the category.

In brief, our import structure is almost unbelievably consistent with a principle of economic warfare that is advanced by a general of the Red Army.

The next relevant question concerns the proportion these imports from the U.S.S.R. constitute of U.S. total imports from all sources for specific commodities. In 1966 about one-third of U.S. chrome ore imports came from the Soviet Union.

In the same year, about one-half of palladium imports and just less than one-third of the rhodium imports came from the U.S.S.R.; in the case of other platinum-group metals, the Soviet proportion was somewhat less. However, it cannot be argued that the relative dependence is in any way a minor matter.

In general, it may seem improbable that the dependence is critical. Alternate sources of supply are available, stockpiles presumably are adequate, substitution is possible—and in time of war there would be diversion from considerable civilian end uses to military end uses.

But the Soviets, in case of war, also could divert these Russian deposits (developed with the aid of Western equipment and peacetime purchases) to their own military use. Such diversion would be relatively more important to them, as civilian uses in the U.S.S.R. are much smaller and they do not have the same range of substitution options. Further, free-world sources are in areas ear-

marked for "liberation" by the Soviets—Rhodesia, for example.

It cannot be argued that this coincidence between a Soviet strategic principle and its implementation is accidental. The Soviets have a foreign trade monopoly and can bring about, by manipulation of price and quantities marketed, a militarily desirable pattern of trade.

Any trade pattern therefore must reflect a conscious objective on the part of the Soviet Union. It has not resulted from the free play of market forces in international commerce.

The evidence suggests that the Soviets adopted the weak-link theory and have endeavored to put it into practice. Private American firms then responded (as they have every right to do) to the lower Soviet prices and more favorable offers. This pattern was encouraged by the Johnson Administration when Rhodesia was cut off as a source of supply for chrome.

The United States therefore is becoming increasingly dependent on Soviet raw materials of a critical nature. The only valid conclusion is that this was a conscious effort on the part of the Soviet Union as part of a wider scheme. If not, the pattern of U.S. imports from the U.S.S.R. would be distributed far more widely.

This also explains why the Soviet Union continued to ship chrome and manganese to the U.S. after the 1948 embargo and during the current Vietnamese war—i.e., as a long-range effort to increase U.S. dependence. A few U.S. observers have noted the continuing import of Soviet chrome and concluded it is a sign of Soviet benevolence—a completely mistaken interpretation, inconsistent not only with Soviet strategy but also with our own defense posture.

For example, J. M. Chambers, testifying before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Banking and Currency (May 1969), argued: "The metallurgical-grade chrome consumed in the United States normally comes from two main sources; Rhodesia furnishes one-third, Russia one-third, and the balance from the rest of the world. With Rhodesia under sanction we cannot rely on them for any chrome and therefore the . . . availability of chrome ore from Russia is essential . . ."

"Since the importance of these materials to our industries is well known to the Russians, I think that some of those who worry about our 'national interest' should take heart that Russia has continued to supply us . . ."

There are indeed two ways of looking at dependence on the Soviet Union for strategic materials. One way—put forward in the early 1960's in the Rock report—is to accept a strategy of interdependence as leading to peace.

Unfortunately, it has never been explained how interdependence between two countries leads to absence of conflict. Indeed, the argument is refuted by Soviet actions and their reasons for these actions in Vietnam.

Examination of the trade history of the past decade suggests certain firm conclusions. As the "bridge-building" policy took hold in the mid-1960's, the Soviets had an opportunity to make a reciprocal response according to the prevailing theory of "graduated reciprocation in tension reduction." How did they respond?

If Soviet actions had been guided by responsive reciprocity, they would have increased neither their trade in weak-link commodities nor their logistic supply of world revolution. They would have made a determined and conscious effort to deemphasize any action capable of misinterpretation, and so have marked their intentions to reciprocate.

Given the monopoly of foreign trade in the Soviet Union, such a policy could have been effected very readily, and it would have shown up long before 1966-1967.

The facts presented complement the evidence provided by Soviet logistic support of the Vietnamese war and the Middle East conflict—that the Soviets not only made no effort at reciprocity, but also seized the opportunity to further an over-all offensive strategy, an economic strategy with military objectives.

It appears that the United States, under the illusion that it was making an initial invitation for reciprocal disarmament and trading for peace, actually may have traded and reciprocated itself into a potentially dangerous corner.

The coincidence between Soviet strategic objectives and our imports from the Soviet Union is too great and has continued for too long a period of time to be dismissed as accidental. There is little question that Soviet offers have been attractive enough to U.S. firms to induce such a dependence.

In "Strategiya i Ekonomika," Lagovsky makes explicit reference to this question: "Our strategy is a strategy of bold daring, always realistically considering the material, moral, and political capabilities of its accomplishment. In the Soviet Union, where economics and strategy are developed in an indissoluble dialectical unity under the leadership of the Communist Party, where the planned system of economy dominates, there is no expenditure of resources without plan, and never can be . . ."

It is the psychological effect on Soviet planners that contains a degree of danger. Although given to great realism, Soviet planners cannot help but observe the significant fulfillment of a strategic objective. If this be so, then it must weigh in the scale in consideration of future hostilities with the United States.

From the viewpoint of a Soviet planner it is a distinct signal of United States weakness, and as such is generally considered a sufficient invitation to initiate aggression. It makes little sense, then, to defend ourselves at a cost of \$X billions against Soviet missiles, without accompanying this move by the logical action—taken at the almost negligible cost of shifting supply sources—to remove a potential source of Soviet miscalculation.

THE CONCEPT OF ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP AND THE GEORGETOWN CONFERENCE OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE ON PROBLEMS OF EUROPEAN UNITY BETWEEN OCTOBER 17-19, 1969

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the board of trustees of the American Institute on Problems of European Unity, it gives me pleasure to join my distinguished colleagues ably led by the gentleman from Illinois in analyzing the concept of Atlantic partnership in the light of the recent conference of our institute at Georgetown University which was attended by 44 American and European scholars and research experts.

The institute was founded in the summer of 1968 mainly at the behest of my good friend, Dr. Z. Michael Szaz, at that time associate professor of political science at Seton Hall University, South Orange, N.J., who has since assumed the executive directorship of the organization and devoting his full time to it.

One of the most interesting panels at

this conference has been the one devoted to Germany and the concept of Atlantic partnership, both in view of the geopolitical situation of that divided nation and the past experiences which that nation and Europe underwent during the totalitarian Hitler period. The institute has assembled a distinguished panel, though two German representatives could not come in the last minute, due to the fact that the election of the new Chancellor took place a day after the close of the conference.

Those attending the panel included the professor who has been dubbed as the "German Gallup" for his wide and successful research work on German public opinion and polling procedures and who holds a chair in political sociology at the University of Mannheim, Rudolf Wildenmann. Another internationally known scholar in attendance was Prof. Wolfram Hanrieder from the University of California at Santa Barbara who is teaching this year under a NATO faculty fellowship at the University of Brunswick in West Germany and who has written the best English-language study on West German foreign policy. Other distinguished professors included were Franz Gross, P.M.C. Colleges, the chairman of the political science department at George Washington University, Wolfgang Kraus, the former American Military Government official and author Kurt Glaser from Southern Illinois University, the head of the Conference Group on German Politics of the American Political Science Association, Dr. Charles Foster from the U.S. Office of Education. The Institute for Defense Analyses provided the able chairman, Walter F. Hahn and the analyst on German strategy, the able László Hadik. Professor Maurice Czikkann-Zichy provided his special knowledge of German economics, and James H. Wolfe from the University of Maryland the expertise on German-Czech relations.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I would like to insert the report of this distinguished panel, especially as it deals with the coming trends in Germany under the new regime of Chancellor Brandt:

AMERICAN INSTITUTE ON PROBLEMS OF  
EUROPEAN UNITY  
CONFERENCE ON THE CONCEPT OF  
ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP

*German panel chairman's report*

Panel Members: Walter Hahn, Institute for Defense Analyses (Chairman); Professor Maurice Czikkann-Zichy, Immaculata College; Dr. Charles R. Foster, U.S. Office of Education; Professor Kurt Glaser, Southern Illinois University; Professor Franz B. Gross, P.M.C. Colleges; Laszlo Hadik, Institute for Defense Analyses; Professor Wolfram Hanrieder, University of California (Santa Barbara); Professor Wolfgang Kraus, George Washington University; Professor Rudolf Wildenmann, Universität Mannheim, and Professor James H. Wolfe, University of Maryland.

The discussions of the Panel were overshadowed by the change of government in the Federal Republic of Germany. As a result of the September elections, for the first time since the birth of the Federal Republic, West Germany is to be ruled by a predominantly Socialist government. The questions which dominated the sessions of the Panel were thus urgently speculative ones. Given the basic options open to West German foreign policy, as well as the likely opportunities and constraints bearing upon that policy, in

which direction is the new government likely to move? Specifically, what will be the likely priorities as between the Federal Republic's continued engagement in Western Europe and the Atlantic Community on the one hand, and Bonn's growing ambitions in the east on the other?

*West German shift as a gradual and progressive phenomenon*

There seemed to be agreement in the Panel that the eastern emphasis in West German policy is not a new phenomenon, nor can it be attributed exclusively to the predilections of the Social Democratic Party which now has assumed power. Rather, the change began gradually in the waning years of the Adenauer Administration, became more conspicuous in the policies of Chancellor Erhard and Foreign Minister Schroeder, and gathered momentum under the Grand Coalition of Kiesinger and Brandt. A variety of the interrelated causes were adduced for this shift:

(1) The sobering recognition in Bonn that basic U.S. national interests did not necessarily coincide with West German or Western European interests. This recognition, more than anything else, triggered the incipient change of West German policies under Adenauer, beginning in 1962, and has underlain the quickening search in the FRG for fundamental policy alternatives since that time. The recognition has been fueled by such developments as the deepening U.S. preoccupation with Asia, linked with an apparently declining U.S. interest in the affairs of Europe, and perhaps more significantly by the rising priority assigned by the United States to the objective of stabilizing the U.S.-U.S.S.R. relationship.

(2) The corollary trend of a progressive liberation of the foreign policies of the Federal Republic from the previously overwhelming domination of the United States. This sense of emancipation from U.S. tutelage in the FRG has been abetted by a new form of materialistic nationalism in West Germany, which draws from West Germany's economic successes and momentum.

(3) The dimming of the Adenauer Conception of West Germany's integration into a politically unified Europe as a result of stark setbacks in the movement toward unification and de Gaulle's reinjection of nationalism into the West European political arena.

(4) The gradual undermining of the Adenauer Conception, also, at the hands of interest groups within the Federal Republic which, although they paid homage to the Adenauer idea, nevertheless cast longing eyes toward the East (particularly toward Eastern markets).

(5) Security and economic considerations, which will be touched upon below.

*The likely dimensions of the new Ostpolitik*

Professor Wildenmann presented to the Panel the results of opinion polls and sociological investigations in West Germany, which suggest that the new government under Willy Brandt enjoys an unprecedented level of potential popular (and particularly elite) support, and can translate this support into a broad range of freedom of action in domestic and foreign policies. This finding is notwithstanding the results of the September elections, in which the Christian Democratic Union garnered the largest percentage of national votes. A plurality of West German voters favored the CDU in terms of personalities represented in the Party (epitomized by the respected image of Kiesinger). Yet, a majority of West Germans considers the SPD as the more capable party in a collective sense. This confidence attaches particularly to domestic policies—Brandt prevailed primarily because of his proffered program of domestic reform—but extends also to foreign policy.

There was agreement in the Panel that

*Ostpolitik* would probably loom more prominently in the policy priorities of the new government than comparable efforts in the arenas of Western European unification and Atlantic Partnership. This emphasis by the new government on policies toward the east is not likely to clash with popular and elite predilections. According to Professor Wildenmann's findings, a large majority of West Germany's elite continues to assign highest priority to the task of Western European integration and unification. But almost an equal priority, or implicit desire, is attached by elite opinion to progress in effecting a West German detente with the east.

The targets and tactics of the *Ostpolitik* of the new Administration are not likely to be the same ones that flavored the policies of the Kiesinger-Brandt coalition. The traumatic lesson of Czechoslovakia for the Federal Republic was that any effort to fish in the Kremlin's troubled waters (e.g., Rumania and Czechoslovakia) tends to be counter-productive and dangerous. In the light of this lesson, the main thrust of *Ostpolitik* will henceforth be directed at Moscow, with the objective of engendering a broad detente with the Soviet Union. In pursuit of this objective, the new government will probably sign the Nonproliferation Treaty.

In this quest, also, the Brandt government will probably aim at a comprehensive *modus vivendi* with the German Democratic Republic. The *modus vivendi* will in all likelihood stop short of full, internationally legal recognition of Pankow by Bonn (full recognition is still opposed by an overwhelming majority of West German popular, if not elite, opinion). The rationale of a normalization of relations with the Ulbricht Regime will not be to advance the cause of German reunification; indeed, it is generally recognized in West Germany that an upgrading of the state-to-state relations between Bonn and East Berlin will probably set back the goal of reunification. Rather, the policy toward the GDR is likely to be couched in the more modest aims of overcoming the "Pankow hurdle" obstructing Bonn's approach to the U.S.S.R. and East Central Europe, as well as that of casting some human and cultural links over Ulbricht's wall. The policy of the new government toward the remainder of East Central Europe will probably be characterized by small and relatively inconspicuous steps, contrasting with the somewhat "louder" initiatives of West German *Ostpolitik* prior to Czechoslovakia. The West German perspective of East Central Europe continues to be animated by the hope that tides of reform in the Communist countries will in time bring in their wake a transformation of the Socialist camp and a meaningful East-West confluence in Europe.

The question was raised and debated as to how long the honeymoon between the new West German government and popular opinion would last with respect to *Ostpolitik*—whether setbacks in the East might not quickly crumble the popular base of support. There was no clear answer to this question beyond the recognition that, depending upon the degree of expectations and commitment which the new government will vest in *Ostpolitik*, the Soviet Union and the East Central European countries, notably Pankow, could play a carefully manipulative "hot-and-cold" game vis-a-vis Bonn.

*West German engagement in West European Unification and Atlantic Partnership*

The question was raised: Given *Ostpolitik* as the dominant impulse in the new West governmental constellation, how will this reflect upon the Federal Republic's role and efforts in the Western arena?

The notion was advanced that, West German ambitions in the East notwithstanding, the continued participation of the Federal Republic in Western institutional arrangements is almost predetermined by the legacy of the past 20 years and by the institutions

created by this legacy. The integrative features of the Common Market are a fact, and at least in the realm of economics West Germany is enmeshed to the point where the Federal Republic could not sever its Western links in favor of a categorical embrace with the Soviet Union and the East. Powerful commercial circles in West Germany, at the very least, have too much at stake in the EEC. The task remains to translate economic links into political bonds.

It was pointed out, also, that leading personalities in the new government—e.g., Willy Brandt himself and Defense Minister Helmut Schmidt—are essentially pro-Western in basic orientation. Moreover, at least in terms of its fundamental philosophical outlines and basic objectives, the new *Ostpolitik* contemplated by the new Administration in Bonn should not clash intrinsically with the objectives of Western European unification and Atlantic Partnership, and of West Germany's participation in these processes. The avowed effort in the East, after all, will be aimed not at the restoration of the pre-war German nation or other territorial and political ambitions, but rather at a general conciliation with the East based roughly upon the current status quo. To the extent that a successful *Ostpolitik* might thus rid the Federal Republic of the stigma of irredentism, Bonn's credibility in the Western unification project might also be strengthened commensurately.

It was pointed out, however, that while there may be no inherent conflict between the objectives of *Ostpolitik* and *Westpolitik* in the abstract, the means and tactics invoked by Bonn in support of these policies might very well clash. In short, there is a potential conflict of policy instrumentalities which may harm West Germany's engagement in the West European and Atlantic arenas.

In its West European policies, moreover, West Germany continues to face obstacles both in the objective environment of Western Europe and in its inherent freedom of movement. Thus, the opportunities for meaningful Franco-German cooperation have not risen perceptibly in the wake of de Gaulle's departure from the scene. Moreover, West Germany is chronically reluctant to take the initiative in Western Europe because of the "fear of triggering fear"—the anxiety that any display of German political muscle will heighten apprehensions elsewhere in Western Europe that Bonn is out to dominate the European scene. If anything, West Germany's demonstrated economic strength has exacerbated the dilemma.

The optimism was expressed, nevertheless, that a number of factors may push the new government toward a more effective West German role in Western Europe. One is the imperative of continued economic momentum, which represents the principal mandate to be met by the Brandt government if it wants to remain in power. Another is the prospect of an effective CDU opposition in the Bundestag once the ousted party recovers from its shock and settles into an as yet unfamiliar role.

#### *The security factor*

It was brought out in the Panel that a paradox pervades West German perceptions of military security. On the one hand, the estimate of direct military threats to West Germany's security is relatively low (Czechoslovakia notwithstanding), and on a popular level at least there is implicit belief in American protection. At the same time, however, there are fears for the future. To a large extent, *Ostpolitik* is animated by the desire to find alternatives (and supplements) to the current security arrangements.

It was suggested, also, that the continuing debate in NATO on security issues is to some extent a dishonest one. This is so because a fairly profound sense of security in NATO generally permits the luxury of contending

strategic arguments. This tendency is encouraged by the fact that the principal organized forum of the Atlantic Alliance is a military one, and the dialogue tends perforce to be couched in military and strategic terms. In reality, military arguments and different strategic perceptions reflect more complex political and national concerns.

There was agreement, nevertheless, that, whether or not the security debate is reflective of deeper political meanings, some security interests divide Europe, and particularly Germany, on the one hand, and the United States on the other. Briefly, they are the following:

The United States in its own interest of ultimate survival, has endeavored to contrive as broad as possible a range of options for the defense of Europe; therefore, the American emphasis on such concepts as conventional defense and flexible response. The Europeans, and particularly the Germans, on the other hand, have endeavored to narrow U.S. options in order to tie the United States nuclear guarantee integrally and credibly to the defense of Europe.

The United States, in the same national interest, has been endeavoring to defuse and stabilize its relationship with the Soviet Union—in the case of Europe, on the basis of the status quo. Europeans, and particularly Germans, view the growing U.S.-Soviet bilateral relationship—reflected in the Non-proliferation Treaty, SALT talks, etc.—as a freezing of the status quo in Europe by superpower fiat (the ultimate expression of Yalta), thus barring political change and confluence on the continent.

Largely because of these trepidations, plus underlying political factors, the key problem of the Alliance—and one that must be resolved before a meaningful U.S.-West European partnership can be cast—is that of nuclear decision-making in the Alliance. This problem weighs particularly heavily upon West Germany, which recognizes that it can never muster its own national resources requisite to its defense. On the one hand, an effective West German conventional defense is not a feasible alternative: there are already pressures for reducing the Bundeswehr, which is bedeviled by growing hostility and disrespect from the German populace and is uninspired by any real sense of mission. On the other hand, a national nuclear option is impossible for the Federal Republic.

In short, some solution to the nuclear decision-making problem was deemed by the Panel a key not only to U.S.-German relations, but to the broader problem of U.S.-Western European partnership. In this context, there was some discussion regarding the alternative of an independent European nuclear deterrent. It was suggested that, if politically feasible and militarily effective (and doubt was expressed on both scores), such a European nuclear deterrent force might offer, in the longer run, a more credible deterrent against deliberate aggression from the East—and perhaps a politically more comfortable alternative for the Europeans—than the present arrangement, which is keyed to American decision-making power. It was recognized, at the same time, that the creation of such a deterrent force would not necessarily cater to the requirements of U.S.-Western European partnership—that, indeed, the emergence of Europe as an independent nuclear power might render the United States even more reluctant to link its destiny with that of the continent.

#### *Economic factors*

The discussion in the Panel of the important topic of economic factors bearing upon West Germany's potential role in Atlantic Partnership was unfortunately limited by time. The following basic points were discussed:

The Federal Republic's *Ostpolitik* is fueled also by powerful economic motives. West Germany suffers today from the malaise of

prosperity in the form of a capital surplus which, by being denied outlets, feeds inflationary pressures in the domestic economy.

One short-term solution to West Germany's dilemma might be domestic reinvestment in the neglected realms of German infrastructure and education. It was recognized, however, that eventually such reinvestment (assuming that it can be effectively channeled) will feed back once again indirectly into the producing engines of the economy.

The Federal Republic must find outlets for investment capital abroad. The flow of such capital westward continues to be impeded by institutional barriers—in the United States by anti-trust laws, and in Western European countries by legal constraints bearing upon investment imports and licensing of foreign corporations. At the same time, the opportunities for German investment capital in developing countries have turned out to be relatively unattractive.

East Central Europe and the Soviet Union thus beckon all the more alluringly as fertile areas for West German investment. The agreement, currently being negotiated, between Siemens and the Soviet Union for joint construction of an oil pipeline leading from the Soviet Union to Western Europe epitomizes the opportunities which West German investors discern in the East. It was suggested in the Panel that, given such rising expectations in the West German business community and government circles, the Soviet Union could add some powerful economic bait to a cat-and-mouse game with West Germany.

In any event, the question was raised as to how West German economic potential can be turned more meaningfully westward. A number of suggestions were made in this respect, including the creation of a common West European currency. There was agreement, however, that the fundamental solution to the problem resides in the elimination of institutional and legal barriers, and the encouragement of free flow of capital within the Atlantic Community.

BENJAMIN COHEN: ROOSEVELT  
BRAIN TRUSTER.

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, If ever the title "Architect of the New Deal" could be conferred upon one person, Benjamin Cohen would stand high on most everyone's list for that honor.

"Isaiah in Modern Dress" he was called in a recent Washington Post editorial when the American Jewish Committee selected him to receive its highest honor, the Isaiah Award, "for his search for justice and efforts on behalf of the oppressed."

Others have recognized him as one of the early prophets who foresaw tragic consequences from our involvement in Vietnam and who voiced his opposition on philosophical and moral grounds long before our commitment in that tragic land grew to the massive proportions we see today.

A revealing article in Thursday's Washington Star treats us to another view of Benjamin Cohen: the warm, decent, brilliant, but unassuming human being who is both loved and respected by

those who know him well. Perhaps it is from this very font of humility and humanity that he draws the inspiration for his penetrating commentary on the great issues of our times. The article follows:

ROOSEVELT BRAIN TRUSTER: BENJAMIN COHEN  
STILL ISSUE-ORIENTED

(By Duncan Spencer)

When Benjamin V. Cohen was President Roosevelt's top brain during the New Deal, keeping abreast of the currents of the world was for him a manageable task. Now he finds it hard to keep up—there are too many problems that engage his attention, he says.

Cohen, one of the most important policy-makers of the Roosevelt era, still at 75, devours information at an enormous rate. The easy chair in his apartment is flanked by clipped newspapers and the kind of periodicals that don't use girls on the cover. The room is lined with books.

Cohen, slightly stoop shouldered and somberly dressed, took on a recent interview with a warning: "I don't know what you want to know, exactly . . . I'm not too interested in going over the past."

That might be called a typical comment from the lawyer who was once called the most modest man that ever came to Washington. He lives on Massachusetts Ave. NW with his dog, Mr. Tweed, and struggles with ideas, an occupation that has kept him quiet and retiring amid politicians little known for those qualities.

But Cohen's career with Roosevelt and before, when he served in a succession of important but obscurely named government posts, made the public limelight shine on his sad and scholarly face. He made an indelible impression because his powers seemed mysterious.

It was Cohen who was the intellectual partner of the legislative and persuasive team of Corcoran and Cohen, the best-known of Roosevelt's "brain trust." He became the President's trusted adviser, but he now wonders about his real influence. "As the years go along, people tend to ascribe to you more power and influence than you actually had," he says.

He was responsible for shaping much of the New Deal's legislation—such legal landmarks as the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Federal Housing Administration, and the Wage and Hour Law, provisions that limited stock market operations, and the lend-lease policy at the beginning of World War II.

Thomas G. (Tommy the Cork) Corcoran was Cohen's partner in these activities, as unlikely a match as can be imagined. The free-wheeling, party-going pressure politician Corcoran and the gentle, meticulous shy Cohen shared the same brick house on R Street NE and were known as the "gold dust twins" after a popular soap powder advertising slogan of the time.

Now his thoughts focus on the Vietnam war, and he is one of the few who can honestly say that he was against America's involvement from the beginning. He says it over and over with notes of sadness.

"It was a war we had no business to enter into under our UN commitments, without first at least in good faith trying to see what could be done to heal the situation through the UN," he says. He feels the government dishonestly kept the situation secret and allowed the Pentagon to gradually insinuate itself into policy and budget decisions.

He estimates that scholars will be hashing over now-secret documents 50 years hence and finding little comfort in them. "We hire others to do the fighting, and then we do become involved, and we find it difficult to explain," he says.

Cohen is not all gloom over Vietnam. He finds a ludicrous irony in young draft protesters who flee the country, "a country to

which their forefathers came themselves to avoid the draft." And he sees a new and healthy questioning attitude toward the Pentagon.

Cohen's quiet life is rounded out with a little speechmaking and walks around Dupont Circle with Mr. Tweed, a miniature schnauzer. He dines infrequently with friends and cooks for himself in his small quarters.

But he is not yet out of the business of making large plans for his country. He is working, for instance, on a scheme to make the vice presidency a popularly elected post (he takes it as an article of faith that the presidency will soon be so), but it is not something he has been able to move people about.

"I think it would have a most wholesome effect on the parties in selecting a vice president," Cohen says, shortly after explaining that it was an idea no one was interested in. "Too frequently they select a vice president merely to have the opposite wing of the party represented, so that the man who succeeds in the event of death is not the man most likely to carry out the same policy."

"Also, if there is a real question about the ability of the vice president, the people should have a right to choose who they want . . . I don't mean to cast aspersions on Mr. Agnew, but I think in light of reservations expressed by members of his own party at the time, many people had the feeling they would have preferred someone else for vice president, and it might have been a healthy thing if they could vote that way."

Cohen's quiet voice makes it easy to conjure him explaining things to bemused legislative aides. As he talks, an idea becomes clear and necessary, nothing that reasonable men could not accept readily.

A feeling of frustration emanates from the old insider, though, and it is not all connected with his long years out of official power.

"I don't say I don't miss it and sometimes don't feel the futility of having views on things when you're not in a position to do much about it," he says. Comparing the role he and Corcoran once had with the present, he says: "We were given credit for a lot of things we didn't do and were blamed for a lot of things we didn't do. It so happens that we differ now, for example, on the Vietnam war. If he happened to agree, he would have been able to move mountains, and though I can only refer to the fact I was against it from the beginning, that's evidence of my impotence more than anything else."

The feeling of impotence is joined by thoughts of the waste of the war. The war, he says, is stalling practically everything, domestic policy, foreign relations, business progress.

One gets the worrisome feeling that Cohen sees some coming disaster, but hesitates to mention it. "We express our dedication to those other things but we are unable to do much about them. Because of the inflationary pressures and the demands of the Vietnam war, we haven't the resources to do anything about them."

But Cohen seems able to put the world aside; he may have a strong faith in its durability, even on a dying winter day, and on the downward slope of his own long, self-directed life. He offers no cosmic knowledge. "I find it always easier to talk about specific issues," he says.

"Mr. Tweed was spending the day at the dentist," Cohen explains suddenly. "I'm sorry he's not here to greet you." He has the respect of the whole neighborhood; he has an aristocratic air that I don't have.

"When I walk down the street everyone admires him. He's a very handsome dog; lovely—young ladies stop and pet him—it's too bad I can't run him for President."

LAMEST EXCUSE OF THE YEAR—  
NOMINATION IS SECONDED

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, a Washington columnist and satirist has put into words my exact feelings on the incredible turnabout by the Nixon administration on legislation to control mailing of unsolicited credit cards.

This recent practice, which has become so prevalent, has caused considerable inconvenience—and, in some cases, unnecessary embarrassment—to many of our citizens because of the loss or theft of credit cards which the listed individual never sought or wanted in the first place.

Credit cards are an accepted feature of today's economy and no one is arguing against this means of doing business where both parties—the merchant and the customer—are voluntary participants.

However, increasing numbers of businesses have been making the practice of picking names from mailing lists and even telephone books, then sending out credit cards without first ascertaining if the individuals want them.

LEGISLATION IS IN ORDER

Our Subcommittee on Postal Operations has held hearings on this problem and has accumulated evidence of the evils of these unsolicited mailings. Legislative action clearly is in order to impose Federal controls.

The administration first gave its basic support to control legislation. Then administration spokesmen did a sudden turnabout. The logic of their new position is incredible:

That it would give an unfair advantage to companies which already have flooded the mails with unsolicited—and usually unwanted—credit cards.

Bill Gold, columnist in the Washington, D.C., Post, today nominates the new administration for the 1969 award for the "Lamest Excuse of the Year." I second the nomination.

Mr. Speaker, following is the text of Mr. Gold's remarks in "District Line":

WHITE HOUSE "REASON" WINS AWARD

(By Bill Gold)

Congress has been attempting to write legislation that would put a stop to unwanted credit cards flooding the mails and falling into the wrong hands.

At first, the White House said it favored a prohibition against mass mailing of credit cards. But that stirred the credit cards lobbyists into action, and now the White House has done an abrupt about-face.

A White House spokesman explained this week that to ban the practice now would leave the firms that have already engaged in it with an unfair advantage. He wants to let everybody else do it before we consider prohibiting it.

If we accept his "reason" for the administration's change of heart, then no doubt we ought to rescind the SEC regulations that guard against shady stock deals. There may be a few swindlers left who would like to make their fortunes at the public's expense, just as the manipulators did in the old days.

## LOGICAL FOLLOW-ON

Similarly, the White House would no doubt be opposed to banning the mass mailing of razor blade samples to millions of unsuspecting "Occupants" and their children. Some razor blade companies haven't used this technique yet; to prohibit it now leaves their competitors with an advantage. If a few children get cut up, meantime, that's too bad. We have to be fair.

One of the worst things we've done recently is forbid trick installment contracts and loans that hide the true rate of interest. That law ought to be repealed. There are many honest lenders who haven't taken advantage of the gimmick yet.

The truth-in-packaging laws were a terrible mistake. They work to the disadvantages of companies that never tried to cheat. The prohibition of dangerous drugs and additives left some companies without their share of the loot. Let's bring back thalidomide until everybody gets a fair crack at the profits.

## THEN ANOTHER STUDY

After every enterprising entrepreneur has had his fair chance to make a buck, we can have a committee study the question in depth. If the committee finds that the practices in question are widespread, it will be obvious that nothing can be done about them.

I like your thinking, Mr. White House Spokesman. You can tell your boss for me that whatever he's paying you, it's not enough. Any man who has to defend this kind of "reason" for continuing what is acknowledged to be an unwholesome practice is being underpaid.

Meantime, this column awards to you, sir, its hand-knitted bathtub, symbolic of your having won our 1969 award for the Lamest Excuse of the Year.

## MY COLLEAGUE, HON. GUS HAWKINS, REPORTS TO HIS DISTRICT

## HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, the report of my colleague, the Honorable AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS, to his congressional district in California, has just come to my attention. In his report, Congressman HAWKINS has pointed up the urgent concerns of the Nation. His feeling for the needs of the people and his pursuit in Congress of programs to meet those needs make GUS HAWKINS a most respected and highly valued Member of this body. I am proud to serve with him on the House Education and Labor Committee—and I know why the people of the 21st District of California are proud to have him represent them in Congress. He serves them well as a conscientious legislator and a courageous spokesman for human rights.

I commend the January 1970 report of our colleague, Congressman HAWKINS, to the attention of the Congress:

YOUR CONGRESSMAN, AUGUSTUS F. (GUS) HAWKINS, REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON

## PROGRAMS TO MEET THE GOALS OF THE 1970'S

More jobs, higher incomes, better schools and health care—these are the basic goals we must achieve in our community as we enter the new year, 1970.

These goals must be achieved in opposition to the "hard time" policies of the Nixon administration which are increasing unem-

ployment and welfare rolls, and creating racial strife and urban disorders.

Frankly speaking, we are disgusted with Nixon's statements that minorities and the hard-core unemployed are going to find jobs in private industry at some future but unspecified date.

Again, menial, low-paying, and dead-end jobs are not the answer. If the private sector is willing to hire the unemployed even if it means providing the necessary training and other supportive services so that the cycle of poverty can be broken and persons can truly become self-supporting with dignity, we are most anxious to cooperate, and in recent letters to the National Alliance of Businessmen, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Los Angeles Merit Employment Council, I have so indicated my willingness to work with them on a factual survey of the actual hardship conditions and creation of special programs to get people on payrolls and into meaningful training programs.

But beyond that we cannot wait. The hard-core unemployed need good jobs now. Adult males need adequate wages to support their families in decency and to keep them together. Nor should mothers who head families be forced into jobs which require them to neglect their children.

What is badly needed then is a combination of programs to provide employment, training, basic education . . . and all the supportive services needed to get people into good paying full-time jobs. And if private industry cannot fully accomplish this, it is the responsibility of the Federal government, our State, and cities to meet the need.

This they can do by employing thousands in our schools, hospitals, in social service, recreation, and with law-enforcement agencies. Also, they can expand skill centers, employ local residents in anti-poverty programs, and qualify more minorities for civil service jobs.

We must break the vicious cycle of poverty. We must end the bitter rivalry between our black and brown brothers fighting each other over poverty "crumbs." We must meet the crisis of our cities plagued with poverty, deteriorating schools, and disunity. And finally, we must end the war in Viet Nam so that we can regain our moral balance and make available to domestic programs and worthy purposes the billions of dollars now being wasted.

To these goals this newsletter is dedicated. More Eyoa funds will be made available if final approval is given to the Hawkins amendments to the O.E.O. (Anti-Poverty) bill in Congress. These amendments, added in the House Education and Labor Committee, will provide \$295 million for jobs, Headstart, and other community action programs . . . and will allow more money to be used for such programs as Teen Posts and NAPP. These local groups, whose marching support for more local program funds won the initial victory, deserve high praise. Final approval must await House and Senate action.

## WELFARE AID NEEDS CHANGING

Everyone—recipients, taxpayers, and officials—seems to agree our present welfare system is inadequate, degrading, and keeps people in poverty.

Two recent proposals to change the system have been advanced.

President Nixon advocates an annual cash payment of \$1600 for a family of four. Food stamps, however, would be continued. Individuals and childless couples would not be covered.

The other proposal ("The Heineman Report") advocates a minimum of \$2,400 annually. Unlike the Nixon proposal, this benefit would not be limited to families.

Both proposals recommend that part of additional earned income be retained (50 cents for each dollar earned) so that families will be removed from aid altogether when in-

comes reach a certain total amount (\$4800 under the Heineman plan and \$3920 under Nixon's.)

The major difference in the two plans is the Nixon's requirement that family heads accept training and job offers. This can mean any job refusal will result in the cash aid being cut off, even if it be for good reason such as a low-paying, dead-end job or the unavailability of child care or even transportation.

The Heineman report says it like it is, that until jobs are actually available and training what it should be, such "work incentives" are meaningless.

Personally, I am opposed to this so-called work incentive feature for this and other reasons. It smacks, in my view, of becoming a slave-labor gimmick used to cut people off of aid altogether. Likewise, I believe the cash payment, even at \$2400, is too low for a family of four. The amount should not be any lower than enough to keep a family in health and decency.

In this regard, my views are similar to those of the National Welfare Rights Organization whose chairman is Mrs. Johnnie Tillmon, a resident of our Congressional District and a great fighter for civil rights.

## ACTION PLANS—NEEDED NOW

Two recent government reports on economic and educational deficiencies in the South-Central Los Angeles area showed severe unemployment and critical school problems at a crisis stage.

Unemployment, the Bureau of the Census reports, has risen from 13.2 percent in 1965 to 16.2 percent now. The jobless rate for Negro teenagers is 42.9 percent.

In a national survey of the schools, the children in our area scored well below the average in reading. Actually our schools were among the worst, not because the children can't learn but for some unexplained reasons were not achieving their capability.

Alarming as these reports are they should not panic us into disunity or misdirected community response. They do deserve, however, our immediate attention and concerted action.

Since 1963, millions of dollars have been spent on anti-poverty programs and compensatory education in our areas. Federally-assisted manpower training, skill centers, vocational and adult education are available to disadvantaged persons, as well as multi-purpose service centers and such unique programs as Teen Posts and the Neighborhood Adult Participation Project (NAPP).

Great claims of success have been made by the National Alliance of Businessmen that jobs in private industry have been found for the hard-core unemployed—both with and without federally-subsidized training.

In addition we have succeeded in obtaining Federal money for numerous projects, the construction of which as well as the operation, involves the employment of substantial numbers and the delivery of special benefits and services. These include:

1. The Martin Luther King Hospital
2. Wrigley Field Development
3. UJIMA Housing and Community Village at El Segundo and Avalon
4. A \$40 million postal facility to be located in the UJIMA Complex
5. A new Postal Station "K" for Vernon and Central
6. The Comprehensive Community Health Center in Watts
7. Imperial Industrial Park near the Willobrook-Enterprise-Compton Area.

Why, then, despite all this activity should high rates of unemployment and what appears to be deteriorating schools prevail? Did the benefits go to persons other than local residents? Do those who get the jobs move away? Is local administration faulty? Are community people adequately involved? Why do we have so many school dropouts, unem-

ployed adult males, and families headed by women?

No longer can we tolerate excuses and explanations, more studies, and promises that lack substance and implementation. We need now both factual answers and action programs.

This month I will be meeting with the various Federally-supported groups in Los Angeles to get definitive answers and to promote action programs—those that will actually employ and serve local residents—and which will train, educate, and meet the various needs of our people. I will report on this activity through the local press and broadcasting stations, and more fully in my next newsletter.

#### ADEQUATE COMPENSATION FOR DISPLACED HOMEOWNERS

While our many urban renewal, highway building, and other federally financed construction projects have been of great benefit to our nation, they have inadvertently created the American equivalent of the "displaced person." These citizens are homeowners and small businessmen who are displaced to prepare for a project that promises to bring the "good life" a little closer to reality. But for those citizens who are forced to move—usually the elderly or the poor—the good life seem ever so remote.

The trauma of the relocation is sometimes personal but in many instances it is compounded or even caused by inadequate relocation payments that are far below what is necessary to purchase a comparable home or business.

A number of proposals to provide relocation assistance to displaced persons have been introduced, but they have not been accurately focused on the central problem of relocation—the inadequacy of the relocation payment. These existing relocation payments do not allow the uprooted citizens to finance a comparable home or business.

We are proposing a measure entitled the Comprehensive Relocation Assistance Act, that will attempt to solve this problem. This measure will base the relocation allowance on a formula which is the difference between the acquisition payment for federally acquired property and the cost of acquiring a house comparable in size and convenience to the one taken. We feel that this is the only equitable method of computing the true cost to a person whose home is taken.

#### BLACK EDUCATION COMMISSION

At the request of my office a varied group of citizens concerned about the educational outcome of black youth by the Los Angeles City School System commenced on October 18, 1969, exploration of ideas for improving school services in their schools.

After several grueling weekly meetings a proposal for a Black Education Commission was organized. Its purpose is to focus on school problems e.g. attribution rate, low-motivation, student disenchantment, school drop-out, suspensions, under-achieving, etc.

It is proposed that the Commission will be comprised of twenty-four representatives of the Black community with the following distribution:

- Three educators.
- Three businessmen.
- Two clergymen.
- Five parents.
- Five students.
- Three professionals.
- Three from the community at large.

The Commission proposes to assist the Los Angeles School System in various ways as follows:

1. Assume responsibility for the implementation and success of programs which it recommends to the Board.
2. Define the scope of its work and utilize whatever resources necessary to successfully

facilitate the services of the Los Angeles School System.

3. Monitor the performance of the programs in the target schools.

4. Develop progress reports for submission to the Board of Education and the Black community at large.

#### WHO SPEAKS FOR THE SILENT MINORITY IN VIETNAM?

Many speak for what they want to believe is the Silent Majority but few speak for the very real Silent Minority, our Black fighting men in Vietnam.

They bleed, they die, and hunger for home but their voices are not really heard. They ask such questions as these: How fair was the draft board that tapped me on the shoulder and sent me away?

Am I in Vietnam only because I am Black and poor?

Is there no sound of my voice in high places where policy is made and destiny determined, in the President's Cabinet or at the Pentagon?

He hardly had an opportunity to raise such questions in unfamiliar and often unfriendly induction centers nor would the answers have satisfied him.

The statistics, had he known them, would have revealed: Had he come from Mississippi, the odds he would face a Negro member on his draft board was one in three hundred. In any one of three other states (Alabama, Arkansas, and Louisiana) not a single black face would have participated in the judgment to draft him . . . although in these states, Negroes constitute almost a third of the total population.

And the same 100 percent exclusion of blacks from draft boards would have been true in twenty other states. As a matter of fact, in only three states would the percentage of Negroes on draft boards have been higher than 3 percent. Even in California it adds up to a mere 1.6 percent.

What of the Pentagon where policy is made and the military conducts the war?

Only three Negroes are included in the 523 supergrade positions and this silent black trio is like prisoners "inside the walls" but not a part of "the establishment."

So the black fighting silent minority serviceman in Vietnam fights on . . . a little weary perhaps but with still other unanswered questions on his mind.

Why doesn't the President speak out against the injustice against him?

When will the Congress get around to real draft reform and making things better back home? And if he is really fighting for self-determination for others in far away places, why not for himself?

And so our brave fighting man goes on without the answers, in jungles whose names he never heard in the all-black schools he attended . . . silently fighting for a freedom he himself never enjoyed.

#### IMPAC

The South Central Improvement Council, Inc., is a nonprofit organization founded for the specific purpose of engaging in activities designed to strengthen the social, physical, and economic fabric of South Central Los Angeles. IMPAC convened this meeting of the Banking Committee, Board of Education, officials from various schools, and the Economic Development Administration. The purpose of the meeting was to initiate a training program for the Small Business Administration.

#### CONCENTRATION CAMPS FOR BLACK AMERICANS?

Concentration camps for Black Americans who fight for their constitutional rights may seem unbelievable . . . as far away as Hitler's Germany or America during World War II when Japanese-Americans from our neighborhoods were swiftly trucked away "for their safety."

The bitter cold fact is there is a Federal law, the Internal Security Act of 1950, which

says (under Title II) the Attorney General (in times of emergency declared by the President) may hold in "detention centers" persons whom he believes "probably will engage in . . . acts of espionage or sabotage."

But just what is sabotage, for example? And what set of circumstances suggests the "probability" one will engage in it?

Some Federal officials believe any who fight militantly for civil rights, or who engage in open dissent and protest, are not only "dangerous agitators" but "probably" will engage in acts they define as against the government, meaning of course anti-law and order as enforced by racists.

Our fate conceivably could rest in the hands of two unfriendly persons who happen to be in office at a certain time—a President and his Attorney General.

It is highly possible, for example, these could be a Spiro Agnew and a Strom Thurmond whose lack of compassion for and understanding of race relations and the civil rights movement are generally recognized.

This law, the Internal Security Act, is a vicious law because it vests in certain persons the supreme authority to round up people and jail them without a trial. I have pending in the Congress a bill to repeal it. (H.R. 13452).

Ramsey Clark, former Attorney General under President Johnson, assailed preventive detention in a recent speech before members of the Southwest chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union.

To thousands of young blacks and still more thousands of the nation's poor, preventive detention is a promise of concentration camps, he said.

To endorse preventive detention is to own up to the fact that our present system of justice has failed.

The whole question of preventive detention, he noted, brings to light the essential need for judicial reform in this country.

The country should address itself to move toward rehabilitation if "we are serious about (ending) crimes," he said.

The present system of making subjective judgments about an individual's future, he noted, could be alleviated by scientific supervision of the individual until he can live in the community.

Preventive detention, Clark said, diverts from the need for speedy trials and jail reform.

To the poor, bail has always been "a tax on freedom" to which only those with money were entitled, he said.

Through effective jail and judicial reform, he said, the problem of the repeating offender would be alleviated.

Certain ironies exist in the move toward preventive detention. For instance, he said, the bill does not apply to juveniles who commit proportionately more crimes than any other age group.

There are 26 capital crimes for which bail cannot be set—so there is no need for pre-trial detention, Clark noted.

In the meantime, it is well that we begin to oppose what is already happening in this administration, especially in the Justice Department. The Attorney General is on record as opposing effective enforcement of court orders pertaining to civil rights in education, and recently his Deputy (Richard Klien-dienst) was charged with saying: "If people demonstrate in a manner to interfere with others, they should be rounded up and put in a detention group."

It seems the so-called "law and order" boys are not opposed to violating the constitutional rights of minorities when it helps to pay their political debts to southern politicians.

It all adds up to this: They are opposed to dissent, protest, and civil rights demonstrations; meaningful action and self-determination; citizen involvement in community affairs; and legal services for the poor.

**NEEDED: BETTER RURAL AIRLINE SERVICE**

**HON. ANCHER NELSEN**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, the problems that progressive rural cities are having in obtaining adequate airline service are clearly revealed in an editorial by Ray Stougaard, which appeared in the December 2 issue of the Fairmont Sentinel, Fairmont, Minn.

Mr. Stougaard describes the great difficulties that have been encountered by three of the major cities in my congressional district: Fairmont, Worthington, and Mankato. He suggests:

The CAB, through encouragement of Congress if necessary, needs to re-examine its policy towards communities our size and come up with a program that both the airlines and our communities can live with.

I agree thoroughly with this assessment. The Congress has authorized the expenditure of millions of dollars to build up airport facilities in the countryside to meet existing needs and to encourage industrial growth. This effort is a key to relieving urban congestion. But new jet plane designs have contributed to making our existing rural airfields increasingly obsolete. So there is a great need to re-examine our policies and programs to assure that adequate airline service can be provided to the rural sections of our country.

I include Mr. Stougaard's thoughtful commentary at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

**OUR FEARS COME TRUE**

(By Ray Stougaard)

One year and 19 days after Fairmont and Worthington were told that Fleet Airlines would be good for our communities, Fleet Airlines folded.

The air taxi company announced last Wednesday it was "terminating its operations immediately." No explanation was offered. But really none is needed.

What happened is what our communities were concerned about. Fleet couldn't make it financially.

It was Nov. 7, 1968 that Central Airlines and Fleet officials came here with the proposition that Fleet take over North Central's two daily round trip flights to the Twin Cities. North Central said it was losing money but that Fleet, a third level airline, with its lower operating costs could give us better service and make money.

Alarmed Fairmont and Worthington people said no, and North Central gave up its plans, temporarily at least.

Meanwhile, Mankato whose airport wasn't big enough to accept the North Central Con-Var, agreed to the Fleet substitution at least while its new airport was being completed.

That new airport will be in service probably in January and it will now be interesting to see how North Central follows through in resuming service to that community.

North Central in its pitch to Fairmont and Worthington said it would immediately come in and resume service if Fleet was inadequate or pulled out.

Fleet has pulled out and when Mankato's new airport opens, North Central will have no reason for not resuming service. However, the

comments of a North Central airlines official sound less than encouraging.

Saying his airline has offered its help, the spokesman went on to say it is "possible" but not definite that it will resume service to Mankato. That sounds quite a bit different from the positive "we'll resume service" statements made to the Fairmont and Worthington groups.

However, the long range solution of the problem facing North Central and communities of our size lies with the Civil Aeronautics Board.

The CAB in past years decided that communities our size deserved good commercial air service just as much as the large cities. And it encouraged local airline carriers such as North Central to seek such routes. Part of the encouragement was subsidy money. However, in recent years, the CAB has decided it wants airlines to be self-supporting and has been cutting down the subsidy. This plus the ambitions of North Central to become a trunk carrier has prompted its attempt to abandon such routes as ours.

The CAB, through encouragement of Congress if necessary, needs to re-examine its policy towards communities our size and come up with a program that both the airlines and our communities can live with.

**BIG TRUCK BILL**

**HON. FRED SCHWENGL**

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. SCHWENGL. Mr. Speaker, my editorials for today are from the Yakima, Wash., Herald Republic; the Seattle, Post-Intelligencer; and the Seattle Daily Times, in the State of Washington. The editorials follow:

[From the Yakima (Wash.) Herald Republic, Aug. 6, 1969]

**ONE HUNDRED-FOOT TRUCKS?**

We suspect the Washington State Highway Commission has not yet heard the full voice of opposition to a plan to allow 100-foot-long truck rigs on the state's highways.

In a 90-day test begun on June 30, the commission is allowing the big rigs—30 feet longer than the previous 70-foot-maximum—on Interstate 5, the north-south highway through the Puget Sound metropolitan area.

The 120,000-member Automobile Club of Washington, an AAA member group, has launched organized opposition to permanent approval of the longer rigs. Nine of the rigs are in operation, some of them triple-trailer outfits and others with two elongated trailers.

Last year, when the AAA and the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain launched a publicity campaign against federal legislation allowing the larger trucks, an American Trucking Associations spokesman scoffed at the charges of "triple-trailer trucks." Jack N. Neal, the spokesman, said the newspaper chain distorted the states' part of the picture, and that there was no "guarantee" that such multiple-unit rigs would be given permission to operate.

After the measure—S. 2658—passed easily through the Senate, the opposition campaign brought quick stoppage in the House.

Truckers, through the ATA, and bus operators argued vehemently for the larger size units, especially for a width of 102 inches compared to present width limits of 96 inches. Their argument about greater economy, greater safety and better distribution of weight may be based on hard facts.

But in our view, greater length is an entirely different set of hazards, even on the multiple-lane interstate highways.

It seems to us it is frightening enough, under present limits, to meet or pass one of those overpowering, roaring, highway freight trains. Even 70 feet is a forbidding challenge for a motorist either to pass or to speed along in front of, when a trucker is pouring on the fuel. But 100 feet—and a triple-trailer?

Supposedly the federal law would restrict the big rigs' operation to interstate highways. Yet it seems to us Sen. John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky put it wisely when he said it "is impractical to think that these heavier trucks will just travel on the Interstate System."

It is no secret that the trucking lobby is a powerful organization. Its weight in Olympia during a legislative session is obvious. Opposition to allowing any federally-approved truck rigs on secondary state highways would be hard to generate in the State Legislature. That is not supposition; it is a political fact of life.

Even so, it seems to us the common ordinary motorist has a lobby of his own, and may turn its full power on the Highway Commission when those ordinary drivers find themselves confronted by a 100-foot, triple trailer outfit. Time will tell.

[From the Seattle (Wash.) Post-Intelligencer, Aug. 5, 1969]

**AUTO CLUBS PUSH BATTLE AGAINST 100-FOOT TRUCKS**

Organized automobile clubs yesterday shifted into high gear in their battle against having longer trucks on the state's highways.

The Post-Intelligencer last Friday revealed that the State Highway Commission has approved a 90-day test period in which 100-foot-long truck rigs are traveling on Interstate 5.

Some of the rigs are triple-trailer outfits; others have two elongated trailers. Present length limit for trucks in the state is 70 feet.

Russell W. Van Rooy, executive vice president of the 120,000 member AAA Automobile Club of Washington, said his group will oppose permanent approval of the longer rigs.

The 30,000 member AAA Inland Auto Association of Spokane will join in the fight against the longer trucks, William Merry, director of public affairs for the ACW, told The P-I.

Merry declared:

"These tests make guinea pigs of motorists. If the Highways Commission wants to test public opinion, they ought to ask for it. They didn't in this case.

"The problem of trucks in traffic is the second most common complaint we get from motorists. We're watching the 90-day test (which began June 30) and will vigorously oppose permanent approval of the longer rigs on the highways."

Merry said the AAA here already has received a number of complaints against the test vehicles and has relayed its concern about the situation to the Highways Commission. Some of the complaints are from truck drivers, who, he said, consider the longer rigs unsafe on the highways.

The group's board of trustees will map an opposition campaign at a meeting here Thursday noon, Merry added. AAA officials here met for two hours on Sunday to formulate opposition strategy.

Nine of the rigs, operated by eight truck companies, now are using Interstate 5 during the test. Merry contended this highway doesn't provide a true test—that the longer rigs should be tested on mountain roads, where they would be more likely to affect traffic.

[From the Seattle (Wash.) Daily Times,  
July 25, 1969]

#### THE TRUCKERS TRY AGAIN

(Issue: Larger trucks could transport more goods at lower cost, but are the economic factors cited in favor of proposed trucking legislation worth the safety risks involved?)

Trucking interests are trying to find a detour around a roadblock of public opinion that was erected last year against federal legislation to allow bigger and heavier trucks on the nation's highways.

Provisions of two measures now before Congress are nearly identical to a bill that nearly slipped through in 1968 before it fell under attack by highway-safety groups and the general public.

The truckers seek increases in the allowable width and weight of their highway behemoths—six inches wider and 35 per cent heavier—to make their motor-freight operations more profitable. They are supported by the passenger-transport industry, which wants to put wider busses on the road.

As in last year's bill, the effect would not be an automatic increase in truck size on interstate routes, but individual states could raise their limits to new federal maximums.

Once the federal measure were approved, however, the influential trucking lobby soon would be applying its pressures upon the various state legislatures.

Fortunately, the motoring public is gradually becoming aware of the fresh campaign in Congress. Spokesmen for the American Automobile Association have reminded a House public-roads subcommittee that while super-sized trucks might be accommodated on the modern interstate system, it is obvious that truck trips do not begin or end on interstate highways.

The giant rigs share the whole network of highways, roads and bridges with the millions of motorists who have paid the bulk of the system's cost. Along with greater safety hazards, the average motorist knows that increased axle loadings would reduce the life of pavements now in use and require huge new expenditures to repair old road surfaces and construct new ones.

Trucking-industry spokesmen say the new bill is more palatable than last year's proposal because it contains a "limit" on truck length. But the suggested 70-foot limit is beyond what now is allowed in most states. To pass a truck-trailer combination of that length would be equivalent to getting around two passenger cars and a compact traveling bumper-to-bumper.

In essence, the 1969 bill is just as objectionable as its unsuccessful predecessor and the roadblock established last year must be kept intact.

#### RABBI PHILIP SIGAL'S HANUKAH MESSAGE

### HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, last Sunday I was privileged to join with the congregation in services commemorating the 50th anniversary of Temple B'nai Zion in Bloomfield, N.J. The temple's rabbi, Philip Sigal, has long been a progressive and dedicated leader in our civil as well as religious community, and I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the following article on "The Relevance of Hanukkah in our Troubled Times," which appeared in the Bloomfield Independent Press. We would

do well to take the rabbi's message to heart. It follows:

#### THE RELEVANCE OF HANUKAH IN OUR TROUBLED TIMES

(By Rabbi Philip Sigal)

Matthew Arnold, the great English essayist once wrote, that western civilization is basically composed of two systems of thought and society, Hellenism and Hebraism, the products of ancient Greece and Judea. Were it not for Hanukkah, however, Hellenism, as the culture of the majority, protected by power and wealth, would have submerged Judaism.

Antiochus Epiphanes, the Seleucid Emperor of Syria and the East attempted to bring homogeneity to his Empire by establishing uniform cultural and religious forms through his Empire. When Antiochus sought to establish his paganism over Jerusalem by edict and physical force, the Jews were confronted with no choice but to resist. It was then that the famous Maccabees arose and conducted what was without doubt the first struggle for the freedom of religion in human history.

The victory of the Maccabees saved Judaism and out of this preserved faith arose Christianity and the Western democratic tradition which we hold so dear. Hanukkah therefore, has valid universal significance. It can be commemorated by anyone, anywhere, who believes in the freedom of religion and in the consequences of that struggle—the preservation of the values we hold sacred in our Bill of Rights, all of which may be traced to the Bible.

In our days, however, there are many who question our traditional Biblical-Democratic traditions. Our society is often accused by the young of being hypocritical. There can be no question that we are often guilty of sham and of pretense. Confession would be good for our souls. Penitence could take the form of greater social concern. Synagogues and Churches ought to declare a moratorium on luxury-spending with the vast millions thereby saved being applied to significant projects among the poor and the elderly. The deepest relevance that Hanukkah—or Christmas—can have in the 1970's can come from applying the traditions of the faith of the needs of the hour, by utilizing the spirit that undergird the occasions for the expansion of freedom, the deepening of peace and goodwill.

Hanukkah was won by a determined group of people who believed the future of civilization depends upon the preservation of Judaism. We must be as determined to save our western democratic values today, which are rooted in that same tradition. America in the 1960's has been caught in a quagmire of racial conflict and the ugliness engendered by our activity in Vietnam. It is past the time for recriminations. It is past the time for pinpointing blame. The time has come for a comprehensive effort at surmounting our serious problems, for confronting our future with seriousness and for dedicating ourselves to the salvation of our society.

For when all is said and done there is another side to the American coin. We are a free people who can protest our government's policy, a land where even the president cannot impose a Supreme Court Justice. We are a compassionate people who distribute billions of dollars throughout the world for non-military purposes. We are a humane nation concerned for the well-being of the world community. We are a moral people shocked and abhorred by the possibility of immorality perpetrated under our flag. There is much good to preserve.

The agony and the nightmare of the 1960's will depart. We need the statesmanship displayed by Thomas Jefferson when he was inaugurated on March 4, 1801. The country

was so filled with animosity and militancy between 1797 and 1800 that the people could not even elect a President. The election was thrown into the House of Representatives. It took thirty-six attempts before Thomas Jefferson was elected. Animosity, despair and turmoil was the mood of Inauguration Day. But Thomas Jefferson rose to noble heights and he pleaded for confidence in American principles. "Let us, then, fellow-citizens unite with one heart and one mind . . . and should we wander from them (American principles) in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty and safety".

As we gaze at the lights of Hanukkah we ought to see reflected therein the radiant message of the worthwhileness of our western democratic values rooted in the Judeo-Christian religious tradition. These Hanukkah candles symbolize what the late President Eisenhower meant when, in his famous "Atoms For Peace" speech before the United Nations in 1953, he said, ". . . my country's purpose is to help us move out of the dark chamber of horrors into the light, to find a way by which the minds of men, the hopes of men, the souls of men everywhere, can move forward toward peace and happiness and well-being".

#### AND ROME FELL

### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the following words were spoken by Captain Diodorus in a speech to the Roman Senate during the fall of the Roman Empire:

#### AND ROME FELL

He rested his hands on the lecturn and looked at the Senators. He smiled, not pleasantly but with rage. "You, Romans, friends, countrymen, have heard me before. I shall speak today in the name of Rome for the last time. Then I shall be silent." He drew a deep breath and his breast filled with passion and strength. "I come not to honor Rome but to bury her."

A voice shouted, "Treason!"

Diodorus smiled again and bent his head. "It is always treason to speak the truth."

"In this very senate, not many years ago, a Senator was done to death because he spoke the truth. Not by knife or sword or spear was he murdered, and not by honest stones. No honorable hand struck him down, for there was no honest hand here. He spoke of Rome. He cried out that Rome was no longer a Republic, and that she had become a bloodthirsty empire, ruled not by men of wisdom and not by law, but by Caesar and his legions, and his generals and his rapacious freedmen and his palace politicians. The Senator stood on this very podium and he wept for the Republic. He wept that emperors were not elected by the people, but by infamous legions and the idle and the ravenous mobs who wished only to devour the fruits of the granaries and the treasures and be amused by charlatans and mountebanks, and singers and gladiators and pugilists . . . at public expense."

The Senators fell into a hard but intent silence, but some of the older men bent their heads, remembering their shame, and were enraged against the tribune that recalled their shame to them. The soldiers paced slowly at the doorway and listened, and turned their faces toward Diodorus, and some were young and patriotic and their hearts beat faster.

"For greed, that young Senator cried to you, the mobs in this city supported evil Caesars, who lusted only for power, because those Caesars promised them loot from the public treasuries. Venal Senators supported those Caesars, for profit and power. The lying Caesars spoke to the mobs and told them that our country could not defend itself against the barbarians without allies, who must endlessly be bought, cajoled, and flattered. And traitorous Caesars plotted against their nation, mad with the lust to be gilded like gods by the whole world, and to be acclaimed by millions of thieves and beggars and wrestlers and freedmen and the pusillanimous who never felt a pulse of patriotism in their vultures' hearts."

"Those are not my words, though I have said them before to you. They are the words of the Senator you did to death in this very chamber."

"Rome was conceived in faith and justice, and in the worship of God, and in the name of the manhood of man. Return our country to the rule of law and strike down the rule by men. Restore the treasuries. Withdraw our legions from foreign lands which hate us, and will destroy us at a moment's notice when it serves their purpose. Repeal the taxes which crush those who work hard and industriously. Tell your multitudes that they must work or they shall starve. Drive from the Palatine the puny freedmen who say 'yes, yes' to Caesar, and bow before him as though he were a god and not human flesh! Cleanse this chamber of rascals and mountebanks and demagogues who declaim in rounded phrases that the welfare of the people is close to their hearts, but who really mean that they will do the will of the mob in exchange for vile plaudits and power and bribery!"

Diodorus lifted his hands in an attitude of importunity, and his fierce eyes filled with tears as he surveyed the motionless Senators.

"Romans! In the name of God, in the name of Cincinnatus, the father of his country, in the name of heroism and peace, of manliness and freedom and justice, I beg of you to restore yourselves as the guardians of Rome, to cast out the usurper of the powers which rightfully belong to you, to impeach and punish those who seized those powers in order to pervert the laws of our fathers! Let your Roman hearts speak and your Roman spirits cry out against the expedient and the corrupt, against the vainglorious and the traitors, against Caesars who anoint themselves as gods and hold court for the deprived and ambitious and those who would dissipate the strength of our people, our constitution, and our traditions! If you turn from your country, then she will die, and a thousand legions shall not save her, and a thousand bloody Caesars will vainly shout to the wind!"

#### NLRB NEEDS A TRANSFUSION

### HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, if there is any agency in the Government that is in need of new blood it is the National Labor Relations Board. It is believed that no openminded person can study the decisions that have been made by that Board without coming to that conclusion.

The present administration will soon fill a vacancy on the NLRB, a position now held by Sam Zagoria. The President will also determine the next Chairman of the Board. Let us hope that before

making a decision in this instance the President will strive to pick an appointee who will give the NLRB a better balance. The President is pursuing that objective in filling vacancies on the Supreme Court. The power of the NLRB is awesome and many of its actions are in reality hardly subject to meaningful review.

Everyone knows that the present members of that agency are predominantly prounion. Indeed the present Board has been referred to as an adjunct to the AFL-CIO. And scores of decisions seem to warrant that criticism. If a balance with respect to ideology on that agency is desired, it would seem imperative that the President fill Mr. Zagoria's place with an objective-minded appointee.

#### NLRB AND J. P. STEVENS CO.

A glaring example of prolabor bias on the part of the NLRB is found in the repeated actions by that agency as applied to efforts to unionize the J. P. Stevens Co. As is well known, from the very beginning that company has insisted on fair, supervised elections by employees to decide whether they wanted to be represented by a union. The Textile Workers Union has left no stones unturned in its determination to organize Stevens' 50,000 workers. In pursuing this course the union has time and again been aided and abetted by the NLRB. It has been a sad, lopsided treatment of an issue.

Recently newspaper stories appeared which referred to a denunciation of J. P. Stevens Co. by Judge John R. Brown, chief judge of the Fifth Federal Circuit, in holding the firm guilty of an unfair labor practice. The case grew out of an attempt to unionize Stevens employees and involved the discharge of three or four employees, allegedly for union activities.

Judge Brown referred to the tenacity with which the employer—Stevens—persists in deep-seated antiunion activities. He referred to four other similar cases which Stevens had lost in the courts.

The judge's gratuitous remarks, however, did not affect the fact that the Stevens case glaringly illustrates the persistent and startling bias repeatedly shown by the NLRB in favor of attempts to unionize employees—with or without their approval.

The fact that Stevens lost seven cases before the NLRB and five in the Federal courts since 1963 as a result of the controversy has been widely reported. But other facts have not. The truth is that the Textile Workers Union has lost a whole series of elections where Stevens employees voted on whether to organize.

Moreover, the unions had all the advantages in these elections. They could, in effect, choose the time and place. The NLRB ruled—and was upheld by the courts—that Stevens had to furnish a list of workers, with addresses, who were eligible to vote. The union had tremendous resources at its command, including millions in the AFL-CIO treasury, in addition to its own resources. And it had professional organizers and skilled propagandists.

In addition, the NLRB at one time

ordered Stevens officials to convene the workers and to read what amounted to a confession of guilt at one of its plants. To sum up, the NLRB used every weapon and resource at its command to force Stevens to surrender. It is a tribute to the courage of J. P. Stevens and other Stevens officials, that they stood their ground. It will be recalled that Mr. Stevens as a former Secretary of the Army made a distinguished record in that capacity.

#### STEVENS HAS FOUGHT FOR RIGHTS OF EMPLOYEES

The propaganda war unleashed against Stevens has been sustained and successful to an extent. It has probably led some to think of Stevens as defiantly antiunion when in fact the main thrust of his policy from the beginning has been to protect the employees in the exercise of freedom of choice. It is true the firm has on occasions informed its employees that the advantage of joining the union was questionable. It has the right to so state, although the NLRB takes a dim view of the rights of management to present its side of the case. Time and again those employees have voted against unionization.

It will be recalled that during the Johnson administration the AFL-CIO put tremendous pressure on the President to cancel defense contracts held by the Stevens Co. on unfounded grounds. Stevens was in violation of the law. This effort failed.

The present administration surely owes no political debt to the extremists in the labor movement. It must be assumed, therefore, that President Nixon being committed to a concept of "balance" in the composition of such tribunals will act accordingly in filling the vacancies which arise on the NLRB. The terms of four of the five NLRB members expire prior to 1972. This presents a great opportunity for President Nixon to select replacements who can be counted on to exercise impartiality in dealing with the important issues that arise in labor-management relations.

I repeat, Mr. Speaker, that the record is replete with instances where the NLRB has gone to extreme lengths in pursuing the vendetta against Stevens. In case after case that board has accepted the flimsiest evidence to sustain the union and has rejected the most convincing evidence in favor of the company. The Board, and its trial examiners, have indulged in the most fantastic reasoning to justify this practice.

In one instance a trial examiner, Boyd Leedom, when confronted with testimony of several hundred reputable citizens whose reputation for veracity was unassailable, used this strange doctrine to justify his decision to discount and ignore such testimony:

And so either believing or rationalizing that their position is just, they (the witnesses) engage in the common error of fighting real or pretended "evil" with evil. A dual standard of conduct—that is, one standard for the individual and another for an organized effort—has been recognized and applied throughout the history of mankind. War, out of which national heroes are born and are greatly honored by us all, is the prize example.

This explanation is simply weird. Here Mr. Leedom portrays the witnesses for J. P. Stevens as a fanatical group of people who are so convinced that their cause is just—whatever that means—that they, apparently, were impelled by group hypnosis to lie in unison. This is, of course, preposterous. One could just as easily conclude that the witnesses for the union, convinced that their cause was just also lied in concert. That is, if the same reasoning is applied.

Yet, it is on the basis of just such findings that Stevens has been ruled guilty in five court cases growing out of the alleged unfair labor practices, one of the cases leading to the castigation by Judge Brown.

Unfortunately, the courts seem to defer to the so-called expertise of the NLRB and its staff in so many of their decisions. They are not disposed to go behind NLRB actions to find out what the real facts are. Bearing on that point, let me quote from a recent exchange between Senator ERVIN and Judge Haynsworth:

Senator ERVIN. I would like to make one thing plain. That is, the way in which factual decisions are made in the courts and the way in which factual decisions are made by the National Labor Relations Board are based upon different legal principles; are they not?

Judge HAYNSWORTH. Yes. The fact as found by the Board the court must accept if there is support in the record for them.

Senator ERVIN. In other words, courts in making factual decisions are required by law to base those decisions on what we lawyers ordinarily call the greater weight of the evidence?

Judge HAYNSWORTH. Yes, sir.

Senator ERVIN. However, the National Labor Relations Board is the sole judge of the evidence and any decision which it makes on a question of fact cannot be reviewed by the courts except upon the allegation that it is not supported by substantial evidence?

Judge HAYNSWORTH. That is correct, sir.

Senator ERVIN. *Often I, as a lawyer, have wondered what is substantial evidence—whether it is 5 or 10 percent or what of the evidence. But whatever it may be, if it be, say, 5 percent and the National Labor Relations Board bases a finding of fact on that 5 percent of the evidence and the finding of fact is inconsistent with 95 percent of the evidence, the courts are bound by it; are they not?*

Judge HAYNSWORTH. *They are.* (Italic supplied.)

Senator ERVIN. So when the court approves the finding of the NLRB, it doesn't necessarily do so on the basis that it is the proper finding on the evidence but because the court is bound by the statute giving the National Labor Relations Board the power to find the facts?

Judge HAYNSWORTH. Well, we would accept the findings of the Board whether we think we would have found the facts the same way or not.

Senator ERVIN. Yes. In other words, courts in many cases do actually support and uphold and implement the findings of the National Labor Relations Board notwithstanding the fact that the court itself believes those facts as found by the National Labor Relations Board were erroneously found?

Judge HAYNSWORTH. Oh, yes.

With all due regard to Judge Haynsworth, I am of the opinion that the NLRB and the courts also have emasculated all attempts by Congress to restore and maintain balance in labor legislation. In 1947, with the passage of the

Taft-Hartley Act, Congress tried to take away some of the awesome power given the unions by the Wagner Act. Again, in 1959, with the passage of the Landrum-Griffith Act, Congress tried to do the same thing. The NLRB is contemptuous of the law and Congress, in my judgment. Deliberately and cynically, the agency ignored the statutes in order to side with the union officials, for oftentimes union officials give the workers very poor representation indeed.

The NLRB and the courts have muzzled employers, while giving union spokesmen the right to speak as they please. The secret ballot to decide union representations has been altered until the card system, in which workers generally sign cards given them by union organizers, has been substituted in many instances. How a card system can be substituted for the secret ballot provided by law is beyond me. Many of the rulings by the NLRB in favor of unionization are so one sided that they are incredible, and, if language means anything, contemptuous of the provisions in the law. Some of the rulings by the Supreme Court itself genuflect before union officials and seem to regard the workers as subject completely to the orders of the labor bosses. Some decisions have been widely criticized, even by the liberal press and liberal judges.

One notable instance was the NLRB against Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Co. a couple of years back. In a 5-to-4 opinion, delivered by Justice Brennan, the Supreme Court held that a union could fine a member who continued to work during a strike called by the union. This was too much for Justice Black, who indignantly said that the effect of the decision was to put the rights of the union to control its members ahead of the rights of the individual worker. The Washington Post denounced the decision and, in effect, called for remedial legislation.

Later, the Supreme Court went even further and decided that a union had the right to fine a member who exceeded the productivity quota set by the union. It is strange that a court which has had so much regard for the individual rights of criminals and Communists over the years has had so little regard for the rights of workers.

Now, another reference to the Stevens case. The NLRB decided recently that the Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, had been elected bargaining agent for workers at the Black Hawk Warehouse unit of J. P. Stevens at Greenville, S.C.

This is a smelly ruling and followed 2 years of litigation. To reach the desired result, the NLRB counted 17 challenged ballots. The agency decided that 14 of those ballots were for the union and three were against, bringing the total vote to 36 for the union and 27 against. But listen to what a Stevens spokesman had to say about the NLRB action:

The Board concedes that a majority of employees working in the warehouse voted against the union. Now it has counted ballots of persons not working at the warehouse when the election was held. And upon such additional ballots the Board declares that a majority has voted for the union.

The Board has done this while the very

question of the voting eligibility of these additional individuals is still pending before the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals. While the court still has before it the question of whether these votes are valid, the Board goes ahead and counts them and declares that the union represents all the warehouse.

The Board's approach is to take action while it is still arguing before the court as to the validity of such action. The fact is that the labor board has little regard for anything except to put the union in.

Let me give you another example of the ruthlessness and high-handedness of the NLRB in its dealing with Stevens. At the company's Statesboro, Ga., plant, the agency this year ordered Stevens to bargain with the union on the basis of authorization cards signed by the workers and presented by the union in early 1968. Yet, afterwards, the Board conducted an election which the union lost by a sizable majority. Despite this result, the NLRB fell back on the cards previously presented. This is what a Stevens spokesman said of this action, and let me say I heartily concur in his sentiments:

The Labor Board was set up for the purpose of protecting the rights of employees. At the request of the union, the Board conducted an election to determine whether the employees of the Statesboro plant wanted a union or not. The employees voted decisively against the union. Now the Board reverses its own election and rules that the union shall come in, regardless of how the employees voted.

It seems to us that the Labor Board has completely lost sight of its duty and is violating the very law which it is supposed to be carrying out.

#### IT IS TIME FOR A CHANGE

Mr. Speaker, the President has an opportunity to make court appointments and other appointments which will affect our entire system for years to come. The American people undoubtedly want these changes made, the courts and the agencies put in proper balance, and a return to sanity in the administration and interpretation of our laws. Already we know, from the encounter in the Haynsworth nomination, that attempts to change the pattern is not an easy course to follow. But let us hope that the President will persevere, because democracy cannot endure if power resides largely in the hands of a few powerful groups. We can be assured of one thing: the American people want a change.

And as I have said, no agency of the Government is in more urgent need of a change than is true of the NLRB. As one man put it: Any employer today who is charged with an unfair labor practice by a union goes before the NLRB in the unenviable position of a man charged with horse theft before a vigilante committee in the Old West.

I repeat that we must assume that in pursuance of the President's policy of achieving balance in decisionmaking tribunals, he will fill Mr. Zagoria's vacancy with a man the American people can trust to be impartial—neither pro-union nor promanagement—in the discharge of his duties. That will be a significant step the effect of which will be strengthened by replacing other members of the NLRB as their terms expire. A transfusion in that agency is imperative.

## NEW CAREERS, 1968-69

## HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, there are numerous ways in which we can fill the unmet needs of our community for education, health, welfare, and law enforcement and at the same time find job opportunities for the underemployed and unemployed.

One of the most imaginative and successful job-training programs has been the New Careers programs. Since its inception in 1966 as an amendment I sponsored to the Economic Opportunity Act, it has provided thousands of citizens with an excellent chance to gain both economic security and job satisfaction.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I would like to insert a recently published report on the purposes and progress of the new careers programs written for the Ford Foundation by Mr. Alan Gartner. I wish also to place in the RECORD a more specific report by Mr. Sumner Rosen, a study of a Labor Department-funded program for establishing an upgrading program for nurses aides in New York City. This training program has achieved a noteworthy success in little more than a year.

The reports follow:

## NEW CAREERS, 1968-1969—A REPORT TO THE FORD FOUNDATION

(From New Careers Development Center, New York University; Frank Riessman, director; Alan Gartner, associate director)

## WHAT IS THE STATE OF NEW CAREERS

Are there jobs for new people?

Large numbers of community people have been hired by schools, anti-poverty agencies, and increasingly health and welfare programs.

Are jobs restructured, careers available?

The "Scheuer" program has moved several thousand people ahead, and the new Office of Education Career Opportunities Program promises to do the same. But most paraprofessionals are still in dead-end jobs.

Are new careerists organizing?

A National Association has been established, and local groups are developing, but a clear national movement has yet to evolve. Is there acceptance within the Government?

An Office of New Careers has been established in HEW; upgrading expanded into the entire Public Service Careers Program of the Labor Department; Headstart now requires career development in all programs.

Is there acceptance by agencies?

The use of paraprofessionals has quite clearly been established; their upgrading is less firmly so, and the development of new work even less. Agencies have not been reorganized, and professional work remains largely unchanged.

Is there acceptance by employee associations?

Some unions—AFSCME District Council 37, Local 1199 of the Hospital Workers, AFT—and some professional groups—NEA, NASW, APHA—have begun to give significant attention to paraprofessionals.

What about credentials, licensure, and civil service?

These all continue to be impediments. Some states—Massachusetts, California, New York, New Jersey, Minnesota—have made changes in each of these areas but no sharp changes anywhere.

What has been the legislative impact?

Most proposed manpower programs contain significant new careers language and components, *viz.* the O'Hara Manpower Act, Carl Perkins' new education bill. Presently, some 100 grant-in-aid programs require or allow the implementation of some or all of the new careers system components.

What are colleges and universities doing?

Many of them are admitting people whom they had not previously, some are giving credit for new activities such as work experience, a few are restructuring entire courses of study, a handful are engaging community and agency people as faculty.

What are new directions for New Careers?

Increasingly programs are addressing themselves to the relationship between new careers and such efforts as community control and new systems of accountability.

Where is it at?

There is, as yet, no fully developed new careers system. Components are being implemented, new concepts developed, new constituencies enlisted. Perhaps, one can say that new careers is at the "take-off" stage.

This has been a decisive year for new careers—a year of new actions, new programs, new institutions, and, indeed, of new definitions.

It is, perhaps, these new definitions which are of the most fundamental and far-reaching consequence. The change—or more exactly shift—in the definition of new careers has come to add two dimensions, implicit in earlier conceptualizations but not fundamental. *The two new foci are concerned with service delivery and relationship with community control issues.*

## NEW DEFINITIONS

The original new careers design of meeting the human service agency manpower shortages by looking to the large numbers of people in poverty had an underlying concern with the quality and character of the agency's service—health, education, community development, etc. But it is in the past year that these issues have come to the fore. Increasingly not only is it asked whether an agency's personnel vacancy is filled or a career made available to a poor person, but *what does the hiring of a person as a paraprofessional contribute to the work of the agency, and to the services received by its consumers.*

*Questions of accountability have been joined with issues of community control where new careers programs are seen as part of a community participation process.* Not simply that community people are hired as paraprofessionals, but they come increasingly to play community leadership roles and the movement of community people up a career ladder may become one of the ways to bring the human service agency into closer harmony and rapport with the community it is to serve.

Illustrative of these two developments are the draft guidelines of the new Career Opportunities Program of the Office of Education. Essentially a new careers in education program, and although authorized under a training act (the Education Professions Development Act), it nonetheless lists as its first objective the improvement of the learning of low-income children, and prescribes as its primary evaluation issue the effect of the program upon the children's learning.

New careers is construed within the context of community control with the incorporation of the demand for such programs in Harlem's I.S. 201, Brooklyn's Ocean Hill-Brownsville district, Boston's Roxbury, Detroit's Miller District, and East Palo Alto's Community School.

## OFFICE OF NEW CAREERS

*Major new developments have taken place at the federal level.* On July 10, 1969, the establishment of the Office of New Careers, within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, was announced by the White House. The establishment of such an office

within the federal department most concerned with the delivery of human services and within the office of Assistant Secretary James Farmer is illustrative of the two new definitional areas noted above—service system delivery and community control. Within the DHEW, three major program activities are also getting underway: the previously noted Career Opportunities Program; concentration by Assistant Secretary Egeberg upon returning servicemen, especially paramedics, to meet the health manpower shortage; and programs of new careers within HEW for that Department's more than 100,000 employees.

The Labor Department has expanded new careers concepts in the most recent cycle (MA5) of the JOBS private sector program, as well as in the new *Public Services Careers Program*. Both of these programs incorporate the concepts of job first, training built in; career advancement; use of indigenous persons as support personnel; and the packaging in a single comprehensive program the full array of services needed.

The Office of Economic Opportunity has played a leading role in the new careers programs through the employment, training and upgrading of paraprofessionals employed in community action programs.<sup>1</sup>

Among the activities undertaken by OEO have been:

Implementation of the Career Development Program in Headstart with special and additional funds set aside for upgrading.

CAP's attention to career advancement with two major national technical assistance contracts, and a pending revision of community action agency personnel requirements which will require career advancement programs in all CAP agencies.

The Comprehensive Health Services Program grants to develop new staffing models, along with Legal Services' funding a study of new uses for paraprofessionals.<sup>2</sup>

## LEGISLATION

*Pending legislation carries forth the thrust already underway.* The current situation is highlighted by the examination of all existing federal legislation and the issuance of a compendium<sup>3</sup> of the more than 100 different grant-in-aid programs administered by eight departments and agencies which require or permit new careers activities.

The "Manpower Act" proposed by over 100 Congressmen explicitly incorporates new careers ideas in terms of upgrading the role of the government as an employer, and career opportunities.

The President's special manpower message states that jobs alone are not enough, and that careers are necessary.<sup>4</sup>

The "Nationwide Education Excellence Act," introduced by Congressman Perkins at the behest of the American Federation of Teachers and based upon a study by Leon Keyserling proposes one aide for every two teachers—a nearly ten-fold proposed leap from the present 188,000 aides in schools to some 1.5 million by 1973.

## MOVEMENT

*New Careerists and their supporters have come together in a variety of groups, to forward the program and counter efforts to dilute or subvert the program's designs.*

The National Association of New Careerists was established, as was the National Council for New Careers; both organizations co-sponsored a Washington Action Conference in September to focus attention on new careers issues.

Groups of new careerists are coming together—on a statewide basis in California and North Carolina, in community chapters in New York City, across two counties on Long Island, as the Association of New Professionals in Pittsburgh, in some 30 cities.

Dramatic action was taken by new careerist groups in Topeka, Kansas, and at Lincoln

Footnotes at end of article.

Hospital in the South Bronx, to put forth their demands for real careers and meaningful services from the agencies where they work.

Unions are recognizing the opportunities and challenges presented by these new workers—District Council 37 (AFSCME) and UFT Local No. 1 have vied for the right to represent the aides in New York City's public schools; Chicago's Teachers Union demanded and won an additional 1,800 aides as part of its most recent contract; and Local 1199B brought national attention to Charleston with its organizing of nonprofessional hospital workers there.

Professional groups have undertaken a variety of supportive activities. These include the American Bar Association, the American Public Health Association, the National Education Association, the National Association of Social Workers, the American Medical Association, the Council on Social Work Education, the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower, and the National Academy of Sciences.

#### RESEARCH

*Research activities are beginning to look at new careers programs, their results, and consequences.*

A national survey of the "Scheuer Amendment" new careers program gave evidence of the program's holding power, commitment of agencies to career ladders, and ability of the programs to recruit, hold and provide salary increases for disadvantaged people.<sup>5</sup> This finding of program holding power, increased income, useful work is corroborated by an in-depth follow-up study of over 100 persons trained by the National Committee on Employment of Youth. Similarly, this study affirms the absence of major breakthroughs in the credentials barrier.

The University of Minnesota has produced a series of reports on the new careers program in Minneapolis addressing such issues as recruitment, dropouts, the work done, the effect of professionals upon the paraprofessional, college admissions, curricula, and supportive services, etc. Particularly striking is the finding that the new careers participants, rather than losing their ties to the community as some feared, have in fact come to identify more closely with the community during the course of their participants in the program.<sup>6</sup>

The New Careers Training Laboratory has conducted a survey of OEO funded community action agencies throughout the country. The most significant findings include the report that over 90% of the CAA's have some professional positions occupied by persons who first came into the agency's employ as a non-professional; nearly one-fifth of the professional positions are occupied by persons who had been non-professionals; and some 66% of the CAP agency employees had been poor when hired.

The New Careers Development Center issued a broad ranging report, "Do Paraprofessionals Improve Human Services: A First Critical Appraisal of the Data," examining reports of paraprofessional workers in education, health, mental health, social services, research, legal services, and senior citizen programs.

#### CREDENTIALING

*Changes have been made in credentialing and civil service programs.* Civil service agencies at the federal, state and local levels have developed new classes, while state boards of education have established procedures for the use of paraprofessionals in instructional as well as supportive activities.

New York State and California have passed new laws authorizing the performance of classroom instructional activities by paraprofessionals.

In several states, including Colorado, Minnesota and New York, state departments of education have issued new regulations en-

couraging the employment and upgrading of paraprofessionals in a career ladder program.

In Massachusetts and Washington procedures are underway to establish new systems of teacher certification of all levels. In both states primary emphasis is to be placed upon performance in the classroom as opposed to sole reliance on courses taken.

In California, Massachusetts, Minnesota and New York civil service system changes have been instituted. In Massachusetts a new civil service classification, special service assistant, has been established. In California, a statewide Career Opportunities Program was established by order of the Governor.

And in the new Career Opportunities Program (USOE), state departments of education are committed to endorsing not only the use of paraprofessionals but also the establishment of career lattice programs.

#### COLLEGES

College and universities are admitting new students, granting credit for new activities, establishing new courses, engaging new people in a faculty role, and giving courses at new sites.

Over 200 colleges—most involved in "Scheuer Amendment" programs and Headstart Supplementary Training Programs—are admitting persons without normal preparation, including many who lack a high school diploma.

A recent study<sup>7</sup> reports that at least 60 colleges now grant credit for work activities. For example, in a new degree program at the University of New Mexico, two-thirds of the required credits are granted for work experience.

And at the University of Minnesota, persons who came to the General College as students as part of the new careers program are, while continuing their own undergraduate work, acting as co-teachers in a series of graduate courses on urban affairs.

#### NEW ADVANCEMENT PROGRAMS

While employment of paraprofessionals is widespread—an estimated 400,000 in various human agencies—career advancement is less broad. However, career development programs in OEO's CAP and Headstart programs, as well as the Office of Education's Career Opportunities Program, are all designed to advance those presently in paraprofessional positions.

Nearly one-fifth of the professional positions in community action agencies are held by those who had been non-professionals.<sup>8</sup>

In New York City's hospitals a model has been set up so that persons can move from aide or orderly to LPN to RN, as a built-in part of the job.

A nationwide survey of "Scheuer Amendment" programs indicates that participants had average incomes over \$4,300, compared with the average annual income prior to entering the program of \$2,100 for the 11% who were employed, while the remaining 89% were either unemployed (61%) or on welfare (28%).

In Oakland, the entire New Careers Program is administered by those who had been new careerists themselves, and nationally the Career Opportunities Program plans to upgrade some 8,000 persons in its first year.

#### NEW SERVICE ROLES

New careers programs have often in fact meant old careers for new people. However, new service roles are beginning to appear, in health, social service and educational programs.

The Hunts Point (Bronx, N.Y.) Health Center now engages a person as a "Health Advocate," while the role of Physician's Assistant and Nurse Practitioner is gaining attention. A survey conducted by HEW has identified some 30 such programs.

The thrust to separate income transfer from social services in welfare programs has

led to new paraprofessional roles in both areas.

At the Highland Park Free School (Roxbury, Mass.), a "Community Teacher" operates as a partner of the traditional teacher. Reports from a nationwide study,<sup>9</sup> indicate that not only are new roles developing for aides, but their introduction into the school leads to new roles for teachers. As a report from Greenburgh, New York, indicates,<sup>10</sup> the teacher must become a "diagnostician." And the guideline for OE's Career Opportunities Program, calls for new professional roles including diagnostician, manager, or orchestrator of learning, resource teacher, etc.

#### THE CENTER'S WORK: AN OVERVIEW

The New Careers Development Center has been an initiator of as well as reflected and responded to these new developments. Its technical assistance, reports, papers, newsletters, conceptualizations have all been part of these developments.

*Technical assistance* is the most extensive way in which NCDC affects new careers developments. This technical assistance has occurred at the federal, state and local levels, in education, health, social service, community development and anti-poverty activities, to unions and professional and paraprofessional associations, colleges and private industry.

*At the federal level*, assistance has been provided to the Office of the Secretary, DHEW, in the establishment of the Office of New Careers; to the Office of Education in the Career Opportunities Program and in Vocational Education; to the Public Health Service; to the Labor Department re. the Public Service Careers Program; to OEO's CAP, Headstart, Legal and Health Services programs.

*At the state and local level*, assistance has been given to New York and California, Philadelphia and Cleveland, Nassau County and San Francisco.

*In health*, help has been provided to New York City's Hunts Point, Washington Heights-Inwood and NENA comprehensive Health Centers, the California State Department of Health, The American Hospital Association, unions such as Local 1199 and District Council 37, the Johns Hopkins University Health Study Group, the UCLA Allied Health Professions Curriculum Project Mound Bayou (Mississippi) Health Center, the NYU Institute of Rehabilitative Medicine, National Planned Parenthood-World Population, the Yale School of Nursing, the New York City Health Department on a dental careers program.

*In education*, work has been done with the Gary (Indiana) public schools, OEO's Career Opportunities Program, Detroit's Miller School District Parent's Council, New York City's IS 201 and Ocean Hill-Brownsville District, the Highland Park Free School (Roxbury, Massachusetts), the White Plains (New York), New York City, Philadelphia and Bristol (Pennsylvania) school districts, the New York State University, and the Nassau County (New York) vocational education programs.

*In social services* with the National Association of Social Workers, the Cleveland, Detroit, Westchester and Nassau County Health and Welfare councils, the Jacksonville (Florida) Neighborhood Service Project, the New York Social Work Recruitment Center, the State of Washington New Careers Program, the National Day Care Council and its New York City affiliate, the Institute on Gerontology (Gainesville, Florida), the Child Study Association, the American Public Welfare Association, and the United Fund.

*In housing*, there has been a study of new career opportunities in planning and community development work, and a project to demonstrate new career opportunities for poor people to build homes for other poor families.

Among colleges work has been done with Cleveland College, Columbia University and

Footnotes at end of article.

Lehman College, the Cornell School of Labor, Purdue and Indiana Universities, the University of Miami, NYU's Center for the Study of the Unemployed, the University of Minnesota, and Kent State University.

There has been work with civil service departments in Philadelphia and New York City, and the states of California and New Jersey.

Special attention has been given to Nassau County working with the County Executive, the Health and Welfare Council, the OEO, and the public schools, relating to establishing a county Manpower Development Office, conducting the planning for a demonstration Guaranteed Employment Program, proposing new designs for vocational education programs; and to Cleveland working with the Mayor's Office, the Health and Welfare Council, the CEP, and Cleveland College.

Assistance has been provided to paraprofessional groups in Syracuse, Philadelphia, Topeka, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, New York, Detroit, Nassau and Suffolk Counties, and on a statewide basis in North Carolina and California.

Other technical assistance activities have included TVA, the Meat Cutters Union, the 4-H, the Midas Corporation, the McGraw-Hill Company, the New England Trade Union Training Program.

A score of different papers has been issued on education, health, gerontology, manpower, social welfare, model cities, adult education, colleges, training, funding resources—all told exceeding 100,000 copies, as well as the "New Careers Newsletter," which now has a press run of over 15,000.

Key papers have included the "New Careers Funding Manual," a paper "Do Paraprofessionals Improve Human Services: A First Critical Appraisal," two papers reviewing the prospects in the health field, "New Careers in the Hospital" and "New Careers Beyond the Hospital"; a review of the status of new careers programs in education, "The Instructional Aide: Current Developments." Papers by staff persons have been published or republished in a dozen professional journals.

The "Newsletter" has been expanded in terms of distribution and scope of coverage, and its format sharpened. An evaluation study, including a canvass of readers, assisted in these developments.

Testimony was presented before various federal and state legislative bodies including the Senate Committee on Labor and Welfare, the Senate Special Committee on the Aging, the House Education and Labor Committee, and the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Employment.

#### SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

Beal, Carr, Hannah, Paniagua, "A New Careers Guide for Trainers of Education Auxiliaries," \$3.50.

Gould, "Guide to Funding New Careers Programs," Revised Edition, \$3.50.

Gartner, "Do Paraprofessionals Improve Human Services: A First Critical Appraisal of the Data," \$1.50.

Jackson & Paniagua, "The Audio-Visual Film Discussion Stimulator," \$1.50.

Paniagua & Gould, "Instrumented Training: A Tool for Developing Teamwork in New Careers Agencies," \$1.50.

Paniagua & Jackson, "Role Play in New Careers Training," \$1.50.

Acosta & Gartner, "Lincoln Hospital Mental Health Services: The Politics of Mental Health," 25c.

Gartner, "New Patterns for Young and Old," 25c.

Gartner, "The Use of the Paraprofessional and New Directions for the Social Service Agency," 25c.

Gartner & Jones, "A New Career Development Plan for Community Action Agencies," 25c.

Gartner & Riessman, "Law and Order, A New Approach," 25c.

Lynton, "New Careers Potentials: In The Hospital," 25c.

Lynton, "New Careers Potentials: Beyond the Hospital," 25c.

Riessman, "New Struggle for the Paraprofessional," 25c.

Riessman, "Some Basics About Group Processes for Trainers," 25c.

Riessman & Gartner, "The Instructional Aide: New Developments," 25c.

Riessman & Gartner, "Do Paraprofessionals Improve the Learning of Children?" 25c.

Rosen, "Credentials: Two Strategies," 25c.

Rosen, "Better Mousetraps: Reflections on Economic Development in the Ghetto," 25c.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> See below for a report on the study conducted by the New Careers Training Laboratory re. upgrading of paraprofessionals in community action programs.

<sup>2</sup> "Professionals in Legal Service Programs: A Feasibility Study," Institute for Justice and Law Enforcement, Washington, D.C., 1969.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Gould, *Manual of New Careers Programs*, Revised Edition, New Careers Development Center, New York University, 1969.

<sup>4</sup> The first two paragraphs state. "A job is one rung on the ladder of a lifelong career of work." "That is why we must look at manpower training with new eyes: as a continuing process to help people to get started in a job and to get ahead in a career." August 12, 1969.

<sup>5</sup> Testimony presented before the Committee on Labor and Education, House of Representatives, May 21, 1969, by Dr. Jacob Fishman, University Research Corporation, Washington, D.C.

<sup>6</sup> Margaret A. Thompson, "Contamination of New Careerists by Professionalization: Fact or Fancy," *New Careers Research Program*, University of Minnesota, June, 1969.

<sup>7</sup> "Community Action Curriculum Compendium," National Student Association, Washington, D.C., 1969.

<sup>8</sup> Based on a survey conducted by the New Careers Training Laboratory, New York University.

<sup>9</sup> Garda Bowman and Gordon Klopff, *New Careers and Roles in the American School*, Bank Street College of Education, New York City, 1969.

<sup>10</sup> Cited in material distributed at the "National Conference on Paraprofessionals, Career Advancement, and Pupil Learning," co-sponsored by TEPS-NEA and the New Careers Development Center, New York University, Washington, D.C., January, 1969.

#### UPGRADING NURSES' AIDES—A CAREER DEVELOPMENT SUCCESS STORY

(By Sumner M. Rosen)

Results to date indicate that the upgrading program for nurses' aides in the New York City municipal hospitals will end up a smashing success. Under a grant from the U.S. Department of Labor, 422 nurses' aides completed a 14-month training program to enable them to become licensed practical nurses. The program combined work and study; students worked 20 hours per week at their regular jobs, and attended classes and clinical training sessions for 25 hours per week. To make this work-study combination possible, the full-time LPN curriculum, which normally is completed in one year, was stretched to 14 months.

Most LPN training is for young high school graduates. This program was designed to provide an opportunity for upward mobility to those already at work, including persons who did not possess high school diplomas or equivalency certificates. Trainees ranged in age up to 61, with up to 21 years of service as a nurses' aide. They were trained in three groups, each cycle spaced at three-month intervals. The first cycle began in September 1967; the third group graduated two years later. The total group included by design 94

trainees chosen despite the fact that their academic credentials and test scores fell well below the standard normally required for LPN training in New York.

The results to date are impressive:

Of a total of 463 enrolled, 422—91 percent—successfully completed training. Some who had to leave training re-enrolled in later cycles. Of the 41 who withdrew and did not finish, 24 did so for personal or job-related reasons. Only 17 of the 463—17 percent—were academic failures.

In the special group of 94, 75 successfully completed training, or 80 percent. With more remedial and tutoring help, this percentage would have been higher. Among those who passed the course, success in the state licensure examination has been equal to that achieved by the larger group.

In the first cycle, 85.6 percent passed the state licensure examination the first time; of the remainder, 18 of 21 passed on their second try. This means a licensure rate for the group as a whole of 97.9 percent; the second cycle achieved a licensure rate the first time of 89.2 percent, so one can expect at least as high a success rate for the entire group.

The program was enormously attractive to workers; for 450 funded slots, there were over 3,000 applicants. If this program is re-funded on a continuing basis—as it should be—significant numbers of the working poor will find a new opportunity to upgrade their skills, status, earnings, and contribution to patient care. It is in this direction that new strategies must be developed to deal with the problem of serious shortages in professional help in health, hospitals and the other areas of human service need.

The program stimulated the City of New York, through the Health Services Administration, to develop a companion program, now under way, which will enable LPN's to be trained to become registered nurses. Some graduates of the original program will be included in this new phase, thus demonstrating the possibility of a career ladder which stretches from the unskilled, entry-level job up to the fully professional-level.

Originally highly skeptical that this program could succeed, the top officials of the municipal hospital system have now adopted career development as a major program priority for the future. They recognize not only the direct effects of dealing with shortages, but the larger effects on morale and motivation which the existence of career opportunities exerts on all workers.

The program demonstrated the positive results which can be achieved when union and management agree to cooperate in the resolution of common problems. The initiative in this program was originally taken and energetically pursued by the union—District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO)—and accepted, with considerable ambivalence at the outset, by management. The difficulties, which have been detailed elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> stemmed from two basic factors:

(1) union officials who made the proposal were seen by management and the nursing professionals as unqualified to deal with matters which they considered their special areas of competence and responsibility;

(2) a union-sponsored program, in which the two parties would share responsibility, was seen as a threat to the integrity of managerial prerogatives.<sup>2</sup> This resistance was successfully overcome.

The program has spread beyond the municipal system; it impressed union and man-

<sup>1</sup> Richard A. Bumstead, "LPN Training: It's Worth the Struggle," *Training in Business and Industry*, April 1968.

<sup>2</sup> Sumner M. Rosen, "Building Career Ladders in Health Occupations—Opportunities and Obstacles," and "Union-Management Cooperation—Is There an Agenda for Tomorrow?"

agement in the voluntary hospitals sufficiently that in their 1968 collective bargaining agreement they agreed to establish a jointly-operated training and career development program, funded by employer contributions, to provide a wide range of career advancement programs for employees in the New York voluntary hospitals.

Training was done by an accredited school of practical nursing. In the interests of a fully developed career system, future programs should utilize the resources of two-year and four-year colleges, so that training will include the acquisition of credentials needed for further advance up the career ladder.

The program has proven that working adults, normally excluded or neglected from many manpower programs, offer first-class potential if the training program is integrated with their work, permits them to preserve their income and support their families, and leads directly to higher status and income. Trainees in this program persisted because the city had *guaranteed* them jobs as LPN's if they successfully passed the state licensure examination. Their pride in their achievement and in their having proved their ability to move up the career ladder was what most impressed their teachers, union representatives, supervisors, coworkers, project staff, and anyone else who came in contact with them. By enabling entry-level workers to move up, such programs make room for new entrants who will find themselves not in the traditional dead-end job but at the first step in a career system which has been shown to work for people like themselves.

Support for programs of this sort badly needs expansion. Despite diligent effort, the Department of Hospitals and District Council 37 have not yet been able to secure assurances of continued funding of programs of this sort. It is of the utmost importance to the future effectiveness of the nation's manpower effort that this kind of support be provided.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GENERAL FARM LEGISLATION

### HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to present the following list of recommendations for general farm legislation which was submitted to me and the other members of the House Agriculture Committee when we were on a tour of the farms and ranches in the 13th Congressional District of Texas.

Our committee has been studying problems faced by the agricultural industry for a long time, and I have found that this list of recommendations has been an invaluable aid, not only to myself, but to the entire committee in coming up with some good, sound improvements in farm legislation. I have been deeply impressed by the similarity between this list and the voices raised by farmers and ranchers from all over the country. I must commend this group for providing an accurate summary of what is on the minds of rural Americans.

I am presenting the list to share with my colleagues the sincere efforts of the members of the farm industry to come

up with sound, creative, and positive solutions to the problems of rural areas. It is encouraging, and certainly a milestone in the history of farm legislation, to see farmers, farm groups, and businessmen in the agricultural industry working diligently with each other and with those of us in Congress as we all strive to strengthen and support what we consider to be the very backbone of our economy.

The recommendations follow:

#### GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Reinstate the Agriculture Act of 1965 with modifications and additions.

Modifications to the Act by commodity are:

1. Cotton:
  - A. Maintain competitive one-price cotton with flexible supplemental programs that would increase the offtake and eventually achieve full utilization of the U.S. capacity to produce.
  - B. Provide for a loan level of 90% of the world price with the determination of such price being made in a manner which will accurately reflect market conditions for the immediately preceding year or years.
  - C. Provide for dependable supplies of American cotton which are fully adequate to meet the requirements of modern competition at home and abroad.
  - D. Provide that an anniversary type loan be adopted and that the release of government stocks may occur only at price levels, clearly defined by legislation, which will allow the marketing system to function effectively in adjusting supply-demand relationships between the different qualities of cotton, and which will permit farmers to make maximum use of normal trade channels in selling their current crop.
  - E. Establish an acreage allotment system aimed at providing the production actually needed each season for domestic consumption, some form of "open end" production plan for exports, and a carry-over adequate for an expanding offtake.
  - F. Facilitate the sale and lease of allotments by urging: a. that no limit be placed on the acreage allotment which may be transferred from farm to farm within a county; b. that the period during which transfers are permitted be as long as practicable.
  - G. Recognize that the industry's most urgent problem is to reduce production and marketing costs; and place maximum possible emphasis on a crash program of research and education to overcome that problem and permit the industry, within a reasonable time, to achieve self-sufficiency in meeting price competition.
  - H. Recognize that in the immediately foreseeable future some form of cost adjustment must be provided in order for producers to sell at a competitive price and receive a reasonable return for labor, management and investment.
  - I. Provide that such cost adjustment be made to the commodity rather than to the producer.
  - J. Strengthen the crop insurance program to provide adequate protection for high cost, high risk crops such as cotton.
  - K. Strengthen to the greatest extent possible industry advice and participation in the administrative decisions made with respect to the cotton program.
  - L. Small acreage allotments should not be penalized for failure to plant their allotments.
  - M. Subsidy payments should be based on actual production without a dollar ceiling, rather than projected production.
  - N. Loan or support prices should be designed to prevent disaster rather than to operate as a market for crops thus building surpluses that depress market prices as long as they exist or at times are dumped by the USDA.

O. Agricultural products should be marketed through established trade channels and not bartered or dumped by less well qualified Federal agencies.

P. In our national accounting Federal donations of food and fiber should not be charged to agriculture; instead it should be charged to the many forms of relief or anti-poverty programs.

Q. Acreage should be controlled on soybeans.

2. Wheat:

A. Congress should terminate the International Wheat Trade Agreement.

B. Put production of wheat back in the hands of the commercial wheat farmers where it belongs with a mandatory clause or amendment.

C. Require that the miller pay the certificate in full.

D. Repeal the rule of use of U.S. ships to export wheat.

E. Endorse the sale, lease or exchange of wheat allotments similar to the cotton program.

F. Allow for some kind of return on diverted acres to be made. At present the care and cost of this acreage is even more expensive to maintain in a proper way than it would be to harvest a crop.

3. Feed Grain and Wheat: In the sale and leasing of feed grain base acreage, allow full substitution of wheat allotment acres and feed grain acres and vice versa.

4. Alternate Crops: Castor beans, flax, guar, safflower, sesame and sunflowers.

A. Permit crops in short supply to be harvested from (a) Long term retired acreage, (b) Conserving base acreage, (c) Base crop diverted acreage (mandatory and voluntary).

5. Dairy: The import system is fine as is but should only be increased in proportion to population increase.

6. Cattle: Limit all cattle and meat product imports to protect U.S. producers but allow a provision for increase commensurate with population increase.

#### ADDITIONAL GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The group was opposed to any land retirement program.

2. Continue present ACP and SCS programs including the Great Plains program.

3. The U.S. Agriculture Department should support and conduct an all out research program of mesquite eradication.

4. We are opposed in principle to limitations of payments on any farmers benefits under government farm programs.

5. Farmers should be compensated for compulsory diversion of land, or in lieu of payment, should be allowed to harvest alternate crops.

#### ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP

### HON. DONALD E. LUKENS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 10, 1969

Mr. LUKENS. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished colleague from Illinois and many others participating in this special order have ably analyzed many of the findings of the conference on the concept of Atlantic partnership of the American Institute on Problems of European Unity, Inc., which was held between October 17 and 19, 1969 at Georgetown University.

At this point, as a member of the board of trustees of this scholastic organization I would like to add a few words about the organization and its work for the past 15 months. Besides the conference on the concept of Atlantic part-

nership which has seen the assemblage of many first-class academic and research experts on both sides of the Atlantic at Georgetown University, the institute also conducted other studies and projects. In July 1969 it finished a 110-page study on "American Policy Alternatives Toward East Central Europe," a project on which eight professors and one U.S. Representative cooperated; they are Profs. James D. Atkinson, Georgetown University; Brutus Coste, Fairleigh Dickinson University; L. A. D. Dellin, University of Vermont; Jerzy Hauptmann, Park College; Vladimir Reisky de Dubnic, University of Virginia; William H. Roberts, Catholic University of America; James H. Wolfe, University of Maryland; and Z. Michael Szaz, now the executive director of the institute, and also the distinguished gentleman from Illinois. The findings of the report which have not yet been published in print were at that time circulated among the interested Government agencies and departments.

Two other studies of the institute are just about completed. They are a 400-page manuscript on the "Strategy and Tactics of the Hungarian Communist Party, 1918-48," planned as volume 1 of a two-volume study of the Hungarian Communist Party, written by Prof. Z. Michael Szaz and Prof. Maurice Czikan-Zichy from St. Joseph's College in Philadelphia, Pa. The manuscript is being submitted to the Johns Hopkins University Press for publication purposes this month. The second is a 10-article symposium on "Hungary and Central Europe," including both professors and researchers from U.S. universities, some of them Hungarian, others of non-Hungarian origin, including the senior fellow of the Council on Foreign Relations and former member of the State Department planning staff, Dr. John C. Campbell. This manuscript, which also includes a contribution by my distinguished colleague from New York (Mr. HALPERN), is being submitted to St. Martin's Press in New York for publication in paperback form.

In addition, the institute sponsored luncheons and panels on important issues in European politics and strategic affairs. Some of my colleagues attended the luncheons held at the Rayburn dining room in June which featured Prof. Edward Teller on European security and the American ABM decision on June 17 and the February 26 luncheon featuring the French counselor Jean-Pierre Cabouat on French policy toward European integration. In New York, the institute sponsored a panel with the founder of the European integration movement, Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi as the main speaker, and Profs. O. Carlos Stoetzer, Z. Michael Szaz, Edward Lilly, and the dozen of Hungarian politicians-in-exile, Dr. Tibor Eckhardt, former vice president of the Pan-American Union, as members.

Ambassador Kenneth B. Keating, a close friend of the institute though not officially connected with it because his judicial functions before his assumption of ambassadorship, was given a very successful farewell reception by the institute on May 13 at the Madison Hotel

where 160 friends of the Ambassador and the institute met the departing Ambassadors, including dozens of House and Senate Members.

The institute has further research and conference plans for 1970. A second conference on the concept of Atlantic partnership to be held in Paris with the cosponsorship of the Centre d'Etude de Politique Étrangère is now under consideration for June, and active plans are being made for a major research project on East Germany with the help of outstanding American and West German professors.

May I at this time congratulate the leadership of the institute, Mr. John Chamberlain, syndicated columnist; and Dr. Z. Michael Szaz, the executive director whose initiative led to the establishment of the institute and who helped to coordinate the activities of the research advisory board and hope that the institute which has only a short past, will continue to grow and provide us with studies not only of academic, but also policymaking interest.

#### BIAFRA MAKES GREAT NATIONS LOOK SICK

HON. JACK H. McDONALD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. McDONALD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, on February 5, I joined with a number of my colleagues in cosponsoring House Concurrent Resolution 127 urging an immediate ceasefire in Biafra. Unfortunately, the killing and starvation continues with no end in sight. I am appalled and embarrassed by the lack of concern that is expressed over this deplorable situation.

In the December 8 issue of the Detroit News, columnist John Chamberlain made some dramatic and poignant observations about the Biafra conflict. I wholeheartedly commend his article to my colleagues for their consideration.

The article follows:

#### BIAFRA MAKES GREAT NATIONS LOOK SICK

(By John Chamberlain)

The late Senator Robert Taft was critical of the Nuremberg trials, arguing that the prosecutor should not also be the judge. One can see why Taft was concerned. No nation ever emerges from a war with clean hands.

If the Allies had lost World War II, they surely would have had trouble in court trying to justify the bombing of Dresden. The Soviet could have been hung for the massacre of the Polish officers in the Katyn Forest. Pearl Harbor was a moral blot on the Japanese but Hiroshima stains our own record.

And now, if the prejudgment stands up, there is My Lai to put against Hue.

The great powers, seeking political advantage from the moral lapses of others, turn to a diplomacy of hypocrisy. The case of Biafra makes all the great nations look sick. It is almost too much to comprehend. Maybe one has to be touched by personal tragedy to have feelings about it.

At any rate, the strongest voice speaking out in the U.S. Senate on the Biafra tragedy is that of Senator Edward Kennedy. The Russians and the British have supported the

central Nigerian government in its efforts to end the secession of Biafra. The United States, not wishing to offend either London or Moscow, has followed a hands-off policy.

The UN, as Kennedy has said, "chooses silence over leadership." Hypocrites, all of us.

Before the hand-wringing began over My Lai, Kennedy tried valiantly to spark some senatorial action on Biafra. For months, he reminded his colleagues, the survival of three million persons, mainly women and children, in Biafra had depended on mercy airlifts operated by the International Red Cross and Joint Church Aid.

But since last June the Red Cross has not been able to get into Biafra. Joint Church Aid sticks at it but can't do much. The combatants can't arrive at a mercy agreement.

So, as Kennedy says, the death rate "stands at nearly 2,000 a day, according to some reports." The "2,000 a day" have to be added to the 1,500,000 persons who have died from starvation since 1968 in this totally unnecessary struggle.

Kennedy says he is "distressed to learn that what we are prepared to do is apparently measured more by what the federal Nigerian government is willing to tolerate than by the maximum capabilities of Joint Church Aid in delivering food and medicine into the Biafran enclave."

It is hard to know why the British and the Russians care whether Nigeria is one country or two countries. If the Biafrans want to live by themselves, or to work out a federated arrangement with neighboring African states, why not let them?

Can oil diplomacy be behind the British engagement on the Nigerian side of the struggle? Recently there were reports of Biafran attacks on the Shell-British Petroleum consortium that has been extracting most of Nigeria's oil.

Do the Soviets need Nigerian docks to service the ships they send around the Cape of Good Hope to help sustain the North Vietnamese in their fight to end the freedom of South Vietnam?

If oil and naval rights explained the British-Soviet united front against independence for Biafra, what explains the U.S. refusal to speak out in the United Nations?

Kennedy is specially concerned about some of the projects in our AID requests for Nigeria. The AID requests for fiscal 1970 include "the rebuilding of key road sections" as part of "short-term rehabilitation assistance to federal Nigeria."

The road repair would enable the Nigerian government to move troops more easily against the Biafran enclave. Is this our business? Must we help prolong one war while we are so desperately trying to terminate another?

#### ARTS AND HUMANITIES

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join my distinguished colleague (Mr. AYRES) in introducing the administration's proposal to extend the life of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities for an additional 3 years. I consider it a privilege to associate myself with Mr. AYRES' remarks and to call attention, once more, to the President's fine message to the Congress on this matter today.

One passage from the President's message seems particularly significant to me:

Too many Americans have been too long denied the inspiration and the uplift of our cultural heritage. Now is the time to enrich the life of the mind and to evoke the splendid qualities of the American spirit.

I believe that an appreciation of the arts, participation in the creative process, and an understanding of the humanities are fundamental requirements in our effort to improve the quality of life for all Americans. The President's commitment to this effort is an indication that this administration is determined to encourage the arts and humanistic studies in every area of our country.

The work of the two endowments which make up the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities has had an impact in every State of the Union. I note with considerable pride the projects undertaken by the two endowments in my own State.

In Michigan, for example, the National Endowment for the Arts has made special grants to a large number of programs which can have a lasting effect on the lives of the people, not only in my district but throughout the State.

This year, for example, three major modern dance companies—Alwin Nikolais, Alvin Ailey, and Jose Limon—made a number of appearances in Michigan under the auspices of the coordinated residency touring dance program of the national endowment. The program, administered by State arts councils in the region, involves not only public appearances by the companies but also a concentrated program of workshops and seminars with dance teachers and students. Among the communities in which the companies appeared were Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti and reports from sources there indicate that their appearance was highly successful and productive.

The Arts Endowment has provided assistance, also, for experimental theater through the professional theater program at the University of Michigan, a training ground for new playwrights, directors, and actors which can be a creative investment in the future of the theater in our country.

The Goldovsky Opera Co. has toured in our State with its production of Bizet's "Carmen" and the Detroit Symphony Orchestra, a major cultural resource for our State, has been given a recent grant for the development of a special project.

In the field of the humanities, several grants for special studies and fellowships have been made to teachers and students at the University of Michigan. Grants in this area have totaled \$81,813 since the beginning of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities 4 years ago. Most recently a grant of \$9,878 was given by the Humanities Endowment in support of a conference series for the Center for Comparative Ancient and Modern Studies at the University of Michigan.

Perhaps most significantly, from Michigan's standpoint, has been the highly effective growth of the Michigan State Council on the Arts. The council's programs, supported in part by annual grants from the National Endowment for the Arts through section 5(h) of the act, have brought projects in every arts field to more than 300,000 Michigan residents

during the past year—fiscal year 1969. Total support by the National Endowment to the Michigan Arts Council during the past 4 years has exceeded \$110,000.

Included in the endowment's grants was one for \$6,700 which enabled the Michigan State Arts Council to fund an "artrain"—converted railroad cars which have been turned into a traveling museum. The indications are at present that the "artrain" will reach every community in our State where railroad tracks and siding are still usable. The project has been hailed by professional artists, museum directors, and critics as one of the most innovative and imaginative in recent times.

Quite clearly, the Endowment for the Arts and the Endowment for the Humanities have used small amounts of money to encourage and initiate creative, imaginative programs.

It is equally obvious that, in the case of either endowment, these small amounts of money have been used to stimulate private and non-Federal support in a variety of ways.

In the case of the Endowment for the Arts, for example, each dollar provided from Federal funds has produced an estimated \$3 from private, business, State, and local government sources.

As "seed money," the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities' appropriations have been productive and profitable. I commend the President for his message on this small but highly important agency.

I urge my colleagues in the House to study the message sent by the President. It is a compelling indication that the Nixon administration intends to work closely with private sources, State governments, and communities in a concerted effort to make possible a better way of life for all Americans.

#### JOE KEENAN'S PRIDE

### HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to share with my colleagues a tribute paid to Joe Keenan, a true statesman of organized labor, which appears in today's Washington Evening Star. Joe's distinguished career epitomizes the very best ideals and aspirations to be found in the labor movement, and his interest in the well-being of all workingmen is properly acknowledged in this exceptionally well-written article:

KEENAN'S PRIDE

(By John Herling)

Joe Keenan's pride is trade unionism. Just like that. He does not lend himself to fancy talk, doesn't pretend to be a labor statesman, is often bemused by the complicated language wheeled into action in labor-management relations. But, in or out of government, people want Joe Keenan to be on their side.

What shines thru in this veteran trade union leader is dedication to his cause, loyalty to his associates and integrity of personality. An electrician by trade, he became a local union officer about 47 years ago, then

was elevated to the secretaryship of the Chicago Federation of Labor, historically one of the great and stormy labor movements.

He has played a significant role at various stages in the development of the labor movement in the past thirty years. He carries so much strong but gentle muscle that when a tough job needs to be done, the call goes out for Joe Keenan. The certainty is that he will never turn down a difficult assignment, the kind of task that many of his associates might consider suspect because it requires a re-examination of their own ideas and practices.

This has happened in the field of civil rights where Joe Keenan has been able thru his earnestness, his sympathy, his identity with fellow trade unionists, to win them around to a steady abandonment of anti-minority practices. The fact is that Joe Keenan relieves the memory of the struggles which his own people have had to endure to reach a place in the community, recognized and comparatively secure. He has felt the wet thru his shoes, remembers the scorn of the complacent and he'll simply be damned if he ever gives up on people, of any color or creed, white or black.

In 1940 he came to Washington as the AFL representative on the National Defense Council, where he served with the late Sidney Hillman, and then became associate director of the War Production Board. By this time it had become known that Joe Keenan was the man who could—if anybody could—build bridges to CIO unions and in his labor advocacy would excite admiration rather than hostility.

It was logical therefore for Joe Keenan to be sent to post-war Germany as General Lucius Clay's labor advisor. For nearly three years Joe Keenan helped educate some of his associates in aims of the labor movement, and he became a sensitive comrade and guide to the German trade unionists who were remaking their trade unions, one of the earliest casualties of the Hitler regime.

When the American Federation of Labor decided to move into the political arena in an organized way in 1948, Mr. Keenan became the director of Labor's League for Political Action. Then he was chosen secretary of the Building and Construction Trades Department and is now the secretary of the prestigious, 900,000-member International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. As a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, Vice President Keenan becomes the man President Meany inevitably taps for service. He is on President Nixon's Task Force on Low Income Housing, he works with John W. Gardner on the Urban Coalition Committee, and when the strike fund was established for the General Electric strikers, Joe Keenan became a rock on which to build.

I've never met a man in whom religious faith operates so uninterruptedly. He projects kindness as well as purpose. When Joe Keenan is in motion, people want to move along with him.

#### WELFARE EXPLOITATION

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, there have been despicable movements—but undoubtedly the National Welfare Rights Organization is the most contemptible of all. The NWRO, an activist organization of welfare recipients, admittedly is organized to extort larger welfare checks, coerce charity, and make more provisions for its members and potential re-

cruits. It is not certain that the membership is limited to welfare recipients, although it does appear that the officers of the organization live elegantly off the welfare rights movement.

The head welfare righter is a Dr. George Wiley—holder of a Ph. D. degree and an able-bodied young male. There would seem no reason physically or mentally for this person to be in need of welfare relief, so one must assume that he has other reasons and motives for his organizational activities.

Presenting himself as a helper of the poor he exploits the poor to further other purposes—his own or his superiors. Knowing that most people of good will cannot refuse help to those in need, Dr. Wiley is able to use his little army—wrapping himself in the sympathy accorded the unfortunate—to shake down foundations, businesses, and even politicians. His army is very mobile, thanks to the beneficent Supreme Court's guarantees of instant housing, instant welfare, and soon instant voting.

During the November 15 Washington moratorium, Wiley's welfare rights women manned the mobile field kitchens to feed Hanoi's fifth column friends who marched in the Nation's Capital. Feeding marchers is apparently one assignment for Dr. Wiley's units. It is not clear where the welfare children were, or who was feeding them.

Last Friday, at a gala convention by a splinter segment of the Democratic Party, Dr. Wiley is reported to have crashed the party, commandeered the microphone, and pressed his demands for the \$5,000 annual minimum wage and distribution of free food stamps to all. It was not clear whether he was making his pitch for his "poor" or for Hanoi's street marchers.

The politicians present were shaken down to defray the travel expenses of Dr. Wiley and 30 organized welfare mothers. It was not clear who was doing the babysitting while the mothers were politicking.

Conventional armies advance behind artillery, supported by tanks—this guerrilla band and its recruiters advance behind the camouflage of poverty supported by psychological weapons.

Several related clippings follow:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Nov. 16, 1969]

CROWD AT MONUMENT SWAYS TO SONGS  
(By Christopher Wright)  
THE REVOLUTIONARY DIET

At half a dozen places amid the crowd the National Welfare Rights Organization set up metal horse tubs full of water on cinder blocks with fires underneath. Manned by heavy women, they supplied an endless number of soft drinks, hot dogs and rolls, apples and potato chips, the staples of the revolutionary diet.

[From the Washington Post, Dec. 5, 1969]  
HAPPENING GREETING DEMOCRATIC STUDY GROUP  
(By Mary Wiegert)

The liberal Democratic Study Group had all kinds of entertainment plans for its "glorious" 10th anniversary fund-raising dinner last night at the Sheraton-Park Hotel. And it also got all kinds of unplanned entertainment.

The Democratic Study Group is composed of liberal members of the House of Representatives. It was formally organized in September, 1959, but its origins date back to January, 1957, when House members organized the group to "counterbalance the conservative coalition" in Congress.

Last night the 1969 members of the DSG held a \$100-a-plate 10th anniversary banquet. They had asked Mayor Charles Evers of Fayette, Miss., to be the main speaker before the crowd of 700 persons.

This, together with the appearance of Democratic presidential hopefuls, they hoped would provide an entertaining evening for all.

But the DSG got more than it bargained for.

As the dinner-goers drove up to the door of the Sheraton-Park, they were met by pickets from the Emergency Committee on the Transportation Crisis, who described themselves as fighting against freeways and for rapid transit. The committee was mad because at least one member of the DSG, had voted for the combined Three Sister Bridge and subway proposal.

The pickets held signs reading "DSG—damn silent group." And "stronger than dirt but can't stop pollution."

When the 700 guests filed into dinner, they were serenaded during their lobster and crabmeat cocktail by the pickets who sang their own version of "America the Beautiful."

*"Oh beautiful for spacious roads,  
That spread from slum to slum.  
The smog is gray, the homes decay,  
But see the profits come.  
Suburbia, suburbia, there is profit there to glean.  
Pollute the air but they don't care,  
They're selling gasoline."*

After scattered applause for that rendition, the guests were addressed by Dr. George Wiley of the National Welfare Rights Organization, who had just spent the week attending the White House Conference on Food and Nutrition. He was introduced by the chairman of DSG who allowed him to take the podium to make a brief statement.

Wiley told the guests that it was 30 organized welfare mothers who turned the conference around and "made Richard Nixon's conference relevant."

"Can you do less than support the position that Richard Nixon's finky conference did," Wiley challenged the DSG.

He was talking about the NWRO's demand for a \$5,000 yearly annual minimum wage and distribution of free food stamps to all.

—asked the DSG diners to contribute cash to "defray the expenses of delegates" from the NWRO who came to the conference.

After that it was time for the regular entertainment.

[From the Evening Star, Dec. 8, 1969]  
ONE HUNDRED DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA POOR TO GET CREDIT FROM WARDS

About 100 of Washington's poorer residents will receive credit from Montgomery Ward under a national agreement between the firm and the National Welfare Rights Organization.

Each will receive up to \$100 in credit during the next year for purchases in the stores and through the catalog.

The 100 local residents are among 3,000 NWRO members who will take part. Welfare recipients and other poor people are included in the welfare rights organization.

WILL STAMP OUT CROOKS

Mrs. Etta B. Horn, chairman of the NWRO Credit and Ways and Means Committee, to-

day hailed the agreement as a "great thing. This is something we have been fighting for. We feel like it's going to work."

Mrs. Horn, who also is chairman of the Citywide Welfare Alliance, said credit with a firm like Montgomery Ward "will stamp out the credit crook."

Edward S. Donnell, president of Montgomery Ward, said that "a pilot program to provide credit to responsible welfare recipients is a worthwhile step to make Ward's services uniformly available to all financially responsible consumers. We believe that our mutual efforts in this pilot program will demonstrate that large numbers of welfare recipients will be able to enjoy the same credit account benefits as other customers."

One Washington department store is carrying out an experiment in credit for poor people in cooperation with the United Planning Organization, the local antipoverty agency.

Ashley D. DeShazon, credit vice president of Montgomery Ward, said the program will be inaugurated as fast as Ward's and NWRO chapters are able to clear credit applications. NWRO members in Baltimore, Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Fort Worth, Dallas and Oakland also are taking part. Several additional locations may be added early in 1970.

Those taking part will be issued a Ward's credit card that will be honored at all stores, with a revolving credit limit of \$100. The usual Ward procedures for billing and repayment schedules for credit accounts will be used.

#### CHILDREN'S PRAYERS

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, each week I am inserting five children's prayers into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the benefit of the Nation's public schools.

The Supreme Court has outlawed all prayer and Bible reading in our public schools and this incredible decision is strongly opposed by the vast majority of Americans.

Our Nation's schools can recite these prayers inserted in the RECORD at their morning devotionals without interference from the Supreme Court because prayer has not been banned in the Congress.

Until a constitutional amendment is passed reversing these damaging decisions, our children must be allowed to offer a prayer if they so desire.

The children's prayers follow:

1.  
Lord, let us learn from the experience of today the lessons which Thou meanest today to teach.

2.  
He who directs the sparrow's tender flight,  
And sees him safely reach the heartless ground,  
Guide thee in all thy passages aright,  
And grant thy course be sure, thy resting ground.

3.  
My Lord, I am ready on the threshold of this new day to go forth armed with Thy power, seeking adventure on the high road, to right wrong, to overcome evil, to serve Thee bravely, faithfully, joyously.

4.

Bless all who worship Thee, from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same.

Of Thy goodness, give us;  
With Thy love, inspire us;  
By Thy spirit, guide us;  
By Thy power, protect us;  
In Thy mercy, receive us now and always.

5.

Thine is the day, O Lord, and Thine is the night, grant that the Sun of Righteousness may abide in our hearts to drive away the darkness of evil thoughts.

## ATLANTIC UNITY STRESSED

## HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 10, 1969

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, today I am joining my colleagues ably led by the distinguished gentleman from Illinois in discussing the concept of Atlantic partnership and the work done by the American Institute on Problems of European Unity at its October conference at Georgetown University.

The institute is a recent development, it was founded only in the summer of 1968. Its research advisory board consists of 21 well-known professors and research experts from various universities, one of them even from my area, Prof. William G. Andrews, who also served as the chairman of the French panel at the conference. The work of the institute is divided between research studies and conferences on Western Europe and east central Europe and its research board includes experts in both fields.

The conference was devoted to trends in Atlantic partnership and European integration for the next 5 years assuming that some progress would be reached enabling the Western European nations more and more to speak with a united voice on global politics and regional security. The underlying assumption of the panels was that Europe forms a cultural and historical unit which transcends the present partition of the continent and that no true integration in Western Europe is possible without some reattachment of the countries of east central Europe.

In this regard past work of the institute has been very informative. Mid-July a report was written up with the participation of eight professors and the distinguished gentleman from Illinois which was sent to interested governmental departments entitled "American Policy Alternatives Toward East Central Europe."

The present report deals with Atlantic partnership. This is an area in which Congressman FINDLEY and I have shared a deep interest by cosponsoring a resolution aimed at convening an Atlantic conference to discuss future economic, political and cultural integration of the Atlantic community.

Thus, I join Mr. FINDLEY in welcoming the interest and the work of this institute in the fields of Atlantic partnership.

## A SERIOUSLY SICK SOCIETY

## HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, last week two bright young gentlemen, one from Riga and one from Moscow, were in Washington as guests of my good friend FRANK BRASCO. These gentlemen had indeed been quite lucky since they were allowed to immigrate to Israel. They, however, left thousands and thousands of Jewish comrades who remain locked in the Soviet Union persecuted because of their culture and religion and unable to leave. This unbelievably inhumane situation appears to be worsening as Soviet society tends to take on more and more the coloration of Stalinist days.

In this regard, Mr. Speaker, Jewish News of Newark, N.J., published the following hard-hitting and forthright editorial:

[From the Jewish News, Dec. 5, 1969]

## A "SERIOUSLY SICK SOCIETY"

Because of our preoccupation with Soviet anti-Semitism and the Kremlin's venomous policies in the Middle East we sometimes tend to pay scant attention to other aspects of life in the USSR which reveal the nature of that harsh, totalitarian society. This is unfortunate, because if we fail to understand, for example, what is currently happening to the writer, Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, and other intellectuals who are regarded as intolerably dangerous by the regime, we will lack essential perspective.

Harassment of cultural and political dissidents testifies to the fact that the Soviet Union is indeed a "seriously sick society," to use Solzhenitsyn's phrase. And he should know. His works have not been printed in Russia for four years because the Kremlin obviously fears the impact of his novels. Thus, two of his books, "The Cancer Ward" and "The First Circle," are best-sellers in western countries but are unavailable to Russian readers. The reason? They sharply criticize Stalinist practices such as the confining of millions of political prisoners in slave labor camps and other brutal aspects of life in the USSR.

The Russian Writers Union, a complete tool of the regime, is presently defaming Solzhenitsyn in the same general terms as those employed against Kuznetsov and others who strive to write and speak honestly. They are variously accused of being traitors, of slandering their country, of selling out to the imperialists, of being mentally incompetent—in which case they are clapped into lunatic asylums rather than prison camps.

The awful tragedy of it all lies in the fact that there is really nothing strange about the foregoing, at least not in Russia. Abuse of Jews, writers and intellectuals who are brave enough to speak out is part of a tradition that goes back to the days of the Czars. Similarly, Czarist imperialism in its present-day guise under the Red Banner has swallowed up much of Eastern Europe and has resumed its historic thrust and proings into the Middle East, Asia and Africa.

The Bolshevik Revolution, culminating in the triumph of the paranoiac, Stalin, whose evil policies have been perpetuated since his death, changed relatively little in Russian life. As a matter of fact, many reputable scholars believe that Russian progress in certain areas such as space technology and science would have been achieved even if there had been no Revolution. As always, the people of that unhappy land are the principal victims of tyranny and repression.

It is in the above context and in this perspective that realism compels us to analyze and understand Soviet aims and techniques which appall us with their utter cynicism and bizarre cruelty.

## KENT H. SMITH IS HONORED

## HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, as far as Kent R. Smith is concerned there is no substitute for excellence. He brings that quality to every task he undertakes. It is a hallmark of his character, his personality, his tireless endeavors for the Cleveland community in which he lives. He is a rare and wonderful human being, deserving of the many honors he wears so modestly and well.

The latest tribute came last Sunday evening, December 7, when he was presented by the Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland with its highest honor, the Charles Eisenman Award. As the Plain Dealer put it editorially, Kent Smith "properly fits the Eisenman Award pattern: The unostentatious community leader who quietly volunteers and does a tenacious and excellent job for his town."

All of us who hold Kent Smith in warm regard are very proud of his newest recognition as an outstanding American.

The material follows:

[From the Cleveland Press, Dec. 8, 1969]

## KENT H. SMITH WINS EISENMAN AWARD

(By Julian Krawcheck)

Lifelong involvement in community affairs as both general and foot soldier has won Kent H. Smith one of Cleveland's most coveted awards.

Smith, retired founder of the Lubrizol Corp. and former head of the Greater Cleveland Associated Foundation, was presented the Charles Eisenman Award at the Jewish Community Federation's 66th annual meeting in Park Synagogue last night.

In presenting the award, Fred N. Hauserman paid tribute to Smith as "a quiet, scholarly man who shuns publicity but whose life has been dedicated to his community and his fellow man."

Hauserman, president of the Cleveland Community Fund, was head of the award committee also comprised of Tom Boardman, editor of The Press; Robert M. Ginn, president of the Welfare Federation; Mrs. Alex Miller, a trustee, and Lloyd S. Schwenger, president of the Jewish Federation.

The formal citation presented to Smith, together with a check for \$1000, called attention to his "extraordinary creative involvement in the affairs of this community" and noted that "achievement is his way of life."

In a brief acceptance talk, Smith paid tribute to the Jewish Federation as a symbol of "the real strength of Cleveland" and returned the check to that group to be used in one of its programs.

The 1969 Eisenman Award winner is a native Clevelander who attended East High School and earned science degrees at Dartmouth and Case Tech. He served two years as acting president of Case and is or was a trustee of Holden Arboretum, Cleveland Institute of Art, Euclid-Glenville Hospital and the Museum of Art.

Last night's principal speaker, Sol M. Linowitz, said an antidote must be found "to the poisons of dissension, distrust and dis-

respect that strain relations between races and generations."

Linowitz, head of the American Education Council's Committee on Campus Tensions and former U.S. ambassador to the Organization of American States, called for "a thoughtful analysis of our social ills . . . which have led people to American Education Council \* \* \* transform the quest for individual freedom into ugly outbursts of mob violence."

Silver medallion awards were presented to Alfred A. Benesch, M. E. Glass, Samuel Goldhamer, L. W. Neumark, Rabbi Israel Porath, Leonard Ratner and William C. Treuhaft.

[From the Plain Dealer, Dec. 8, 1969]

JCF HONORS KENT SMITH OF LUBRIZOL

The Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland last night presented its highest honor, the Charles Eisenman award, to Kent H. Smith, founder of the Lubrizol Corp. The award came at the federation's 66th annual meeting.

Before a crowd of about 500 at Park Synagogue, the federation's awards-committee chairman Fred N. Hauserman cited Smith for his "extraordinary creative involvement in the affairs of his community."

The award was established in 1923 in memory of the federation's first president. The winner is selected by a panel of federation and community leaders.

Smith, 75, of Woodstock Road, Gates Mills, founded Lubrizol in 1928. He was an acting president of Case Institute of Technology and a trustee or director of numerous educational and cultural institutions in Greater Cleveland.

The keynote speaker of the meeting, former industrialist and past U.S. ambassador to the Organization of American States, Sol. M. Linowitz, told federation members America has had enough of violence—on and off the campus.

Linowitz, chairman of the American Council on Education's Special Committee on Campus Tensions and former board president of Xerox Corp. said, "It is time to find an antidote to the poisons of dissension, distrust and disrespect that strain relations between races and generations."

Federation President Lloyd S. Schwenger, in the annual president's report, called on members "to bring to bear timeless Jewish principles on the timely concerns that press upon us."

He praised young American Jews, saying their elders must take note of their demands for more social action by Jewish institutions.

Schwenger called for continued and increased efforts by the federation to aid the inner city. "Suburbs exist only if the central city remains alive and vital," he said. "Rot and decay cannot be limited within corporate limits."

Six women were among 54 nominees to the federation's board of trustees. Schwenger said that is the largest number of women accorded the honor in the federation's history.

Receiving silver medallions, a special award in recognition for service to the organization, were Alfred A. Benesch, Myron E. Glass, Samuel Goldhamer, L. W. Neumark, Rabbi Israel Porath, Leonard Ratner and William C. Treuhaft. All are life trustees of the federation.

#### EISENMAN WINNER

Kent H. Smith, tireless worker in the vineyard of civic improvement, has won the Charles Eisenman Award, given yearly by the Jewish Community Federation.

Smith, 75, founder of the Lubrizol Corp., has poured his energy as well as other resources into philanthropy, the arts, museums and natural history and botanical and educational institutions of Cleveland over a long stretch of years.

One of his alma maters, Case Institute of Technology, chose him at one important

juncture to be its acting president. The other, Dartmouth, has conferred on him an honorary doctor's degree.

Smith properly fits the Eisenman Award pattern: The unostentatious community leader who quietly volunteers and does a tenacious and excellent job for his town.

#### BIG TRUCK BILL

### HON. FRED SCHWENGL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. SCHWENGL. Mr. Speaker, my editorial for today is from the Burlington, Vermont Free Press, in the State of Vermont. The editorial which was published July 22, 1969, follows:

#### AUTO ASSOCIATION POINTS OUT HAZARDS OF HEAVIER TRUCKS

WASHINGTON.—Bigger, heavier trucks on the highways would result in premature damage to pavement and bridges and would constitute a major hazard to others using the traffic lanes, the American Automobile Association told Congress.

In testimony to the House roads subcommittee, George F. Kachlein Jr., AAA executive vice president, said this was an "anti-safety bill" almost identical with the big-truck bill which failed of passage last year.

Basic research into the accident hazards posed by larger, wider trucks is lacking, Kachlein charged. "It does not seem logical to us," he said, "that Congress should be called upon to make a decision on this important matter without the factual information enabling it to estimate the safety effects of that decision. The lives and property of more than 100 million drivers are involved in such a decision and we cannot ask them to be guinea pigs by increasing the sizes and weights and then researching the effects. The research should be done first."

Public opinion as reflected in the news media, was strongly against last year's bill, he said. A review of editorial comment, he told the subcommittee, leads to the "inescapable conclusion that Americans were not last year, and are not this year, ready to accept the proposition that bigger trucks are good for them."

Kachlein quoted trucking industry statistics showing heavy trucks account for only 1.54 percent of vehicle registrations and 5.33 percent of total mileage, but are involved in 11.6 percent of fatal accidents.

"When a truck collides with a passenger car, it is the operator and passengers in the smaller vehicle who are most likely to be killed," the AAA official said.

He reported there are 0.3 fatal injuries per 100 persons in collisions between passenger cars and a tractor-trailer combination, but "When the collision is between a passenger car and a tractor-two-trailer combination—a vehicle encouraged by the 70-foot length limit in this bill—the rate increases drastically to 13.3."

On the basis of extensive studies of the effect of heavier loads and axle weights on pavements and bridges, the AAA official said: "Men who have been charged with the responsibility of constructing and maintaining our highway plant at both the state and federal level have made it known that the increases in axle loadings permitted by the legislation will not only reduce the life of pavements in use, but will also necessitate the expenditure of billions of dollars for reconstruction of older pavements, and additional costs in highways yet to be constructed."

#### CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT— THE FINEST IN AMERICA

### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently it has become popular in our country to declare open season on the policemen of America. One gets the feeling that all over this Nation there is a concerted effort to discredit the police departments and I confess I am unable to suggest any valid reason for this phenomenon. But I do say that if those who discredit the police institutions of this country should succeed, the very survival of our Republic as an institution of freedom will be jeopardized as never before.

Right now there is widespread discussion about a tragic shootout which took place in Chicago last week when two members of the Black Panthers' organization were killed by police as an attempt was made to search their apartment. The police had search warrants and in the exchange of shots fired, the two individuals were killed.

We shall leave to subsequent investigation the determination of all the facts involving this shooting, but I fear that with the growing tensions under which our police departments operate, such shootings may very well substantially increase.

Our list of policemen killed in the line of duty is constantly growing and all over this Nation policemen are beginning to realize that under certain hazardous circumstances, if they stop long enough to ask a question, they are dead before they can hear the answer.

Society must try to find a better way to protect both our policemen and the citizens they serve.

We can find no comfort for an easy solution to this problem in the recent report on the causes of violence issued by the National Commission appointed by President Johnson. The Commission warned that America faces anarchy if selective disobedience of law is tolerated.

It is for this reason that I am today placing in the RECORD an excellent series which recently appeared in the Chicago Tribune and was written after exhaustive research by Mr. Casey Banas, one of the Tribune's outstanding writers.

Perhaps in better understanding the problems of the policeman and the methods he is using to cope with his day-to-day problems of mounting crime and social unrest, we can start a dialog on how better all of us can help in improving the situation. Chicago has developed the finest police force in America and it would be a gross mistake to judge the police on the basis of one or two heavily publicized incidents. It is the day-to-day effort of our police to curb lawlessness that makes Chicago's police force the best in the Nation.

Mr. Banas and the Chicago Tribune have performed a notable service in bringing this in-depth study to our attention.

The Chicago Tribune series follows:

## CITY POLICEMAN: IS HE A FRIEND OR FOE FOR YOU?

(By Casey Banas)

Just around the corner may be a disturbance requiring a Chicago policeman to make a split second or hair-splitting decision which may have a profound effect on the lives of citizens he is charged to serve and protect.

His response to the disturbance confronting him may result in the saving—or the ending—of a human life. Or his initial reaction to a volatile situation may spell the difference between peace on the street or an outbreak of violence and pillage.

The experts disagree on how well he is performing. But they do agree that his task is one of the most difficult in society, and that it is becoming tougher day by day.

## KERNER COMMISSION COMMENTS

Of today's urban policeman, the Kerner commission said:

"He must deal daily with a range of problems and people that test his patience, ingenuity, character, and courage in ways that few of us are ever tested. Without positive leadership, goals, operational guidance, and public support, the individual policeman can only feel victimized."

One of society's myths is that the policeman only enforces the law and does not sit in judgment of his fellow man. That supposedly is solely left to the courts.

But the Presidential Crime commission observed:

"Law enforcement policy is made by the policeman, for policemen cannot and do not arrest all offenders they encounter. It is doubtful that they arrest most of them. A criminal code, in practice, is not a set of specific instructions to policemen but a more or less rough map of the territory in which policemen work. How an individual policeman moves around that territory depends largely on his personal discretion."

## QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED

If it is shocking to read that policemen do not arrest all the offenders they encounter, ask yourself these questions from the commission's report:

When does "noise" become "disorderly conduct?"

At what point does a "quarrel" become a "criminal assault?" When one man pushes another? Or when he punches him in the nose?

Every policeman, however complete or sketchy his education is an interpreter of the law, the commission said. And often, his judgment requires the wisdom of a Solomon, as in this theoretical case outlined by the commission:

A boy hurling a rock through a school window obviously is committing the crime of vandalism. But it is not quite clear whether the community will be served better if the boy is arrested or if he is taken home to his parents.

Will his parents properly chastise him? Can they control him? Has the boy, unbeknown to the policeman, broken many windows?

But the policeman catching the boy in the act—at say 10:16 p.m.—must make his decision on the spot.

Lawyers take months to contemplate what a policeman must decide in a split second, observed Capt. Richard Lionhood, commander of the police department's task force.

And now the policeman finds himself in a relatively new crossfire described by the Kerner commission:

"One side, disturbed and perplexed by sharp rises in crime and urban violence, exerts extreme pressure on police for tougher law enforcement. Another group, inflamed against police as agents of repression, tends toward defiance of what is regarded as order maintained at the expense of justice."

Spokesmen for the latter group will often

charge that the police is "an army of occupation in the ghetto."

## COMMUNITY SUPPORT NEEDED

Underscoring this idea, the Kerner commission said:

"It is axiomatic that effective law enforcement requires the support of the community. Such support will not be present when a substantial segment of the community feels threatened by the police and regards the police as an occupying force."

Further complicating the law enforcement process is the seemingly growing public practice of winking at crime and injustice. The Presidential Crime commission observed:

"Each time a citizen fails to report an offense, declines to take the common sense precautions against crime his police department tells him to, is disrespectful to an officer of the law, shirks his duty as a juror or performs it with a biased mind or a hate-filled heart, or refuses to hire a qualified man because he is an ex-convict, he contributes his mite to crime."

The law enforcement task for Chicago's 12,174 policemen is becoming increasingly difficult because of what Police Supt. James B. Conlisk calls "the permissiveness of society." Veteran police watchers, such as Virgil W. Peterson, executive director of the Chicago Crime commission, agrees with Conlisk that lack of respect for police is on the upswing, particularly among young people.

## ANTAGONISM, DERISION COMMON

"The minute police are required to perform a proper police function," Peterson said, "they often meet with antagonism, derision, or even violence. Whenever a confrontation involves police, the immediate tendency is to place the blame on the policeman. People start out with the premise that the police must be wrong."

In some ghetto areas, the police and some elements of the community are at war with each other.

In one example of less than three weeks ago, three policemen were trapped in a burning elevator in a near north side housing project while investigating a report of a rape. Someone short-circuited the elevator, trapping the men, police said.

The officers said that when they tried to escape by climbing out of the top, residents pelted them with bottles, garbage, and finally, flammable liquid which started the fire. The policemen said their attackers fled when reinforcements arrived.

## PHYSICAL FORCE SUPPORTED

Some policemen will even argue that physical force is necessary when ghetto residents heap verbal abuse upon them. Four policemen, three white and one black, told a reporter they do use force to repulse some taunts. If they did not, they contended, the same antagonist might come at another policeman the next time with a knife or a gun instead of with his words.

Jay A. Miller, executive director of the Illinois division of the American Civil Liberties union, said citizens "are at the mercy of the policeman's best or worst judgment. He has no restraints."

Police officials quickly dispute Miller's charge. They point to the internal investigations division which orders a probe of every complaint brought against a policeman. But they do not give details on the number of police brutality charges.

Miller does not blame the individual policeman for his plight. The policeman—who reflects "the establishment"—is left frustrated because "society is unwilling to deal with the causes of crime and disorder," he said. "If society dealt with the causes of crime, we would only have left a few professional criminals."

The Presidential Crime commission offered this analysis on why crime is highest in the slums:

"The conditions of life there, economic and

social, conspire to make crime not only easy to engage in but easy to invent justifications for. A man who lives in the country or in a small town is likely to be conspicuous, under surveillance by his community so to speak, and therefore, under its control.

"A city man is often almost invisible, socially isolated from his neighborhood and therefore incapable of being controlled by it. He has more opportunities for crime. At the same time in a city, much more than in a small community, he rubs constantly, abrasively, and impersonally against other people; he is likely to live his life unnoticed and unrespected, his hopes unfulfilled."

Today, a new type of policeman is needed for Chicago, Miller said. "He needs a tremendous amount of sensitivity and must be a social anthropologist as well as knowing techniques of police action," he emphasized.

"The police officer must have a greater background in social philosophy," agreed Conlisk.

## POLICE TRAINING INCREASED

In the view of many, Chicago's police department took its biggest leap forward in training at the beginning of 1969. It increased its academy program from 14 to 31 weeks. Much of the new training is college-level instruction in the behavioral sciences.

The new recruits will need the added training to cope with a society in turmoil because their profession is growing increasingly dangerous. In 1968, 41 Chicago policemen were wounded in the line of duty. This year, that mark was passed during August.

Altho the new training program places an unprecedented emphasis on the value of college-type education, top Chicago police officials oppose any suggestion to start a management training program to attract college graduates into law enforcement careers.

Regardless of educational qualifications, the new policeman begins at the lowest rung of the ladder of a patrolman. There is no entry part way up the ladder as in business.

Top officials interviewed were unanimous in contending that a management training program would have a devastating effect on morale. They all reached the top by starting from the bottom. And of the 70 top policemen, less than half have college degrees, Conlisk said. He is among the "less than half" group.

## TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

Like other metropolitan police departments, Chicago has not fully tapped technological resources to fight crime.

The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence said: "The technological revolution which has affected nearly every aspect of our life has largely bypassed law enforcement; the principal reason is the low priority we as a people have placed on crime prevention research compared in other technological goals."

And the Presidential Crime commission observed: "More than 200,000 scientists and engineers are helping to solve military problems, but only a handful are helping to control the crimes that injure or frighten millions of Americans every year."

## UPDATED TRAINING TURNS OUT A NEW BREED OF POLICEMAN

(By Casey Banas)

Chicago's police recruits study in a 112-year-old building, but the training program is an up-to-date effort to develop a new breed of policeman that is psychologically equipped to deal with a society in turmoil.

The Chicago Police academy, 720 O'Brien st., one block from the fading Maxwell street market, is housed in a building once branded unfit for school children. But the program is undergoing rapid change as the police department continues its philosophical shift

about training from just vocational instruction to vocational instruction plus liberal arts education.

Last January, training of police recruits was increased from 14 to 31 weeks, or from 490 to 1,085 class hours. For several years, Capt. Robert McCann, academy director, has been trying to gain approval for more emphasis on what he calls the "real people" subjects. He finally has succeeded.

#### MOSTLY SERVICE CALLS

Only 26 per cent of citizens' requests for police are for criminal-type calls. The other 74 per cent are service calls—such as family spats—where the handling of people may be the key ingredient for restoring peace. Until this year, the academy had given little training in instructing Chicago's future policemen on understanding the people and cultures that will confront them.

"When I became a policeman 23 years ago, I had only two weeks of training," recalled Lt. Stephen Flaherty, academy training director.

"Most recruits expect to learn how to write tickets, use handcuffs, shoot a revolver, and direct traffic," explained Lt. Gerald J. Pierce, another academy officer. That's just a very, very small part of their training.

When a recruit in Chicago completes the nation's longest police training course, he will be instructed in 146 subject areas. In addition to the traditional types of police vocational training, he will have had a variety of experiences ranging from how to deliver a baby to a philosophical discussion of the Kerner Commission report.

#### FIVE-WEEK FIELD TRAINING

Five weeks is devoted to field training with the recruit spending two weeks with the patrol division, and one each with the detective and traffic divisions and in a district station. The recruit will work side-by-side with a beat patrolman, lockup keeper, desk officer, and detective.

For many, the experience is an eye-opener, like the recruit who recalled answering a disturbance call with a veteran patrolman. Some in the crowd threatened the recruit, who blurted out: "What are you doing? I'm a policeman!"

Recruits spend 35 hours in the driver simulator trailer, sharpening their skills behind the wheel. The academy does not assume that a recruit is a good driver, and trains him thru the technique of driving in a mock-up car while viewing films of traveling along streets.

"Look at how slow they are on the brake," grumbled Patrolman Gus Banakis, the instructor, as a class of recruits failed to respond fast enough when a car cut in front of their "auto" on the screen. "What will happen when they get in a patrol car?" he asked.

Other innovative training sessions are the all-day crime scene and mock trial. In the crime scene exercise, recruits watch as an outdoor armed robbery is staged. Two detectives chase and catch two suspects, cornering them after shooting at the suspects [blank cartridges, of course] The scene is moved indoors for interrogation.

At the mock trial, recruits observe actual attorneys and judge to learn, then analyze in detail, what happens in court.

But the most intriguing part of the intensified program is in the social science unit, increased from 37 to 287 class hours. Now, recruits study the equivalent of 12 semester hours of college-level courses, including two in law enforcement and two in behavior science. They also are in an experimental course in applied psychology totaling 70 class hours.

The key move in the new training came last year when McCann and Oscar Shabat, City college chancellor, worked out a program for 12 City college instructors to teach 25 per cent of the 31-week course. Recruits

study at length the role of the policemen in urban society, current social problems, and the philosophical and historical background of contemporary law enforcement.

#### KERNER REPORT DISCUSSED

Robert Stout, assistant professor of political science at City college's Loop branch, said the hottest discussion in this behavioral science class developed the day recruits took up the Kerner report. For discussion purposes, he asked the recruits to assume as true the Kerner report charge that white racism is the root of the nation's social problems.

"Then," Stout suggested, "shouldn't only black policemen be in the ghetto?" Most recruits vigorously disagreed.

"When you hear police lament, 'We're not appreciated,' what they're really saying is that they want more respect and status in society," Stout said at another session. He exposed the recruits to a generous portion of anti-establishment views.

"In the police subculture," Stout continued, "the police tend to enforce laws that the dominant part of society wants enforced. Policemen tend to be instruments of those benefitting from the status quo."

#### CRIME STATISTICS QUESTION

"There's a tendency on the part of police to negate all criticisms. It is said that part of the police's role is to produce statistics to show they are doing their job. There's a big battle about the significance of crime statistics. There is suspicion that statistics are controlled. . . ."

During the class, one recruit was visibly upset with the textbook, a paperback on the sociology of a policeman. Finally, he rose and charged the author was anti-police, then added, "Some of this stuff implies that police aren't much more than morons." Stout disagreed, and the pair had an animated discussion.

In a class on law enforcement, Capt. John Ascher, retired chief of detectives, lectured on police history. The recruits were told that for years the ward committeeman had control of half the detectives in his area. They heard how the spoils system affected police department appointments until the civil service system of competitive examinations brought change.

McCann's most innovative project is to refine a New York police training experimental course on family crisis intervention to meet Chicago's needs.

#### PILOT PROGRAM DEVELOPED

A sociologist found that 22 per cent of policemen killed in the line of duty were answering disturbance calls. So New York developed a pilot program to train policemen in a Harlem district on what to do when answering a call involving a family fight. The result has been no police fatalities from such disturbances in that district.

This is the academy's applied psychology course, but McCann has expanded the content to include what a policeman should do in other disturbances, such as barroom brawls and fights between motorists at accident scenes. Over the years, policemen have learned that combatants may suddenly join forces to turn against them upon arriving on the scene.

McCann is even considering inviting black militants and gang members as guest speakers at academy classes to help the recruit understand what's in store. But he emphasized such a move would need to be handled "pretty gingerly."

That would mean discussions on militancy and gangs before and after the speaker's appearance. These subjects are topics in other areas of the training program now.

#### COP TRAINING COMPARED

Here's how the curriculum of the police academy has changed since the switch from a 14- to 31-week program:

Instructional area, old:	Hours
Administration	39
Criminal law unit	91
Firearms and drill unit	50
Physical training unit	36
Police operations unit:	
Department standards	13
Field procedures	138
General and special studies	26
Investigation	73
Staff services	23
Social science unit	37
<b>Total</b>	<b>490</b>
Instructional area, new:	
Administration	85
Criminal law unit	120
Firearms and drill unit	92
Physical training unit	62
Police operations unit:	
Department standards	28
Field procedures	305
General and special studies	32
Investigation	46
Staff services	28
Social science unit	287
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,085</b>

#### MORE SENSITIVE POLICEMEN?

Will this new type of training produce a more sensitive policeman attuned to current urban needs?

McCann emphasized the difficulty of the academy to change a human being in 31 weeks that society has been molding for 20 or more years. But he added that the younger the recruit is, the more likely the training will make him sensitive.

"It's quite difficult to change a man's attitude after 26," he explained.

"We try to tell recruits, 'Don't act according to how you feel, act according to what the law says.' But in a pressure situation on the street, they may forget what they learned here."

Who are the men who become policemen and what measures are taken to insure they are fit to wear their badges!

#### RECRUITS MOSTLY WHITE

Police officials made available results of questionnaires completed by six classes of recruits. Average age: 23.3 years. Of 183 recruits, 150, or 81.9 per cent, were white, and 27, or 14.2 per cent, were black. Six were from other races.

Officials said the number of Negroes applying is declining, ostensibly because of the growing view in black communities that black policemen are "Uncle Toms" and traitors to their race. Five years ago, the department made specific efforts to recruit Negroes, but is not doing so now. The reason given is a huge backlog of applications.

Of the 183 recruits, only nine are college graduates, altho 97 did attend college at some time. In most cases, this was one or two years in a junior college. In a class of 35 recruits, usually one, or at best two, is a college graduate. Academy officials eagerly pointed to one class with six college graduates, a rare exception.

Previous jobs of recruits included truck drivers, machinists, stock clerks, construction workers, bank tellers, bartenders, office managers, salesmen, police cadets, and Chicago transit authority policemen.

#### PASSING SCORE OF 70

Of every 100 men who apply to take the civil service examination for policemen, only eight will enter the academy. Candidates must receive a passing score of 70 on the test.

"We try to get policemen with an intelligence quotient of 105," explained John C. Bucher, police department personnel director. "This insures, we hope, they will have the intelligence to take the training."

Along with the civil service test, candidates

take three psychological exams. Results are evaluated by a psychological consultant firm, then are forwarded to detectives to help in background checks. Candidates, meanwhile, will have been given medical examinations, and 50 per cent fail.

The background check results in elimination of another 40 per cent of remaining candidates. Detectives interview former employers, teachers, and neighbors to determine if the candidate has personality and character flaws that might make him unfit to be a policeman.

Even after a candidate is accepted for training, academy instructors look for psychological problems. They have held sessions with a psychiatrist to learn how to spot signs of mental and emotional problems.

If an instructor suspects a recruit has such a problem—and this does happen—he tells the academy director. The recruit is ordered to report for an interview with a three-member psychiatric board, and he might be dismissed after the session.

But 92 per cent of recruits beginning training graduate from the course. In 1968, 1,163 recruits successfully completed training from the 80 instructors.

The physical setting for the classes can be most charitably described as deplorable. When asked about the building's age, officials quickly point to the concrete slab over a second-floor window which proclaims, "Foster School 1857."

#### JOKE ABOUT CONDITIONS

"You can still hear the wailing of the suffering from Camp Douglas," wryly noted Capt. Ascher. Camp Douglas was a Civil war camp on the south side, and the academy building was used as a hospital for its wounded.

The roar of the trucks from the adjacent Dan Ryan expressway often drowns out lecturer and recruit during classes. And the smoke wafting into classrooms from the Vienna sausage factory across the street is a standing joke among recruits and academy officials.

And one recruit, asked what part of the training he disliked the most, replied: "The day we went to the fire academy to see their modern, air conditioned facilities."

#### RADIO DISPATCHERS CALL THE SIGNALS FOR POLICEMEN ON PATROL

(By Casey Banas)

The unsung hero—and the quarterback—of the Chicago police department is the radio dispatcher.

He is the link between the citizen calling Police 5-1313 for help and the patrolman on the street in the squad car. During peak week-end evening hours, he will talk non-stop until relieved, attempting to keep up with the citizen calls.

But the dispatcher is frustrated because of the mounting number of noncrime calls for which he must, by department directive, assign a patrolman.

In 1966, citizens dialed Police 5-1313 a total of 2,817,804 times. The figure for 1967 was 3,105,292 and in 1968 there were 3,261,738 calls. And statistics show that the increase for the first eight months of 1969 exceeds the increase for all of 1968.

#### INSTANTANEOUS INFORMATION

With computerized services at their fingertips, the dispatchers can provide near instantaneous information to the policeman on the beat. Three examples:

A policeman detaining a suspect wants to know if the man is wanted for any other offenses. At the dispatcher's side is a "computer inquiry terminal" with a screen and keyboard. Information about the suspect is typed out, and the computer will flash back information on the suspect's background.

A motorist stopped for a traffic violation cannot prove he owns the car. The patrolman calls the dispatcher, who calls the "hot

desk" in an adjoining room. The "hot desk" clerk has four by five inch microfilm cards, each with information on 1,000 automobiles. By projecting the card on a screen, the clerk can find the license plate number, owner's name and address, serial number, and make, year, and model of the car. If the car is not listed on the microfilm card, the clerk has a direct teletype link to the secretary of state's office.

A suspect arrested says he just came to Chicago from Florida. The "hot desk" has a teletype link to the National Crime Information center in Washington.

A clerk typing the suspect's name and description receives a reply within seconds that he is wanted in Florida. The computerized answer even confirms the suspect has tattoos of two panthers and a girl on his back. Information on all persons arrested is routinely checked with N. C. I. C. Nearly every day, the computer finds someone wanted out of state.

But overshadowing the technological abilities of the communications center is the issue of whether the police should respond to all calls of citizens. During times of normal loads, a police car will be sent when a citizen calls—regardless of how trivial the request is.

Noisy ball games in streets, injured squirrels, and family quarrels are among the types of noncrime calls that police must answer.

Dispatchers interviewed were unanimous in urging that the police department institute a policy of screening calls. "People constantly call on stuff that doesn't amount to a hill of beans," said one supervising sergeant in the communications center.

#### PLAGUE OF FALSE ALARMS

Just as the fire department is plagued with false alarms, so is the police department the target of phony calls. While a reporter was monitoring calls from the public, a citizen called to say a policeman was being beaten at a south side corner. The dispatcher immediately issued a "policeman needs help" call. Three cars responded, but there was no activity at the corner.

Two separate high level studies on improving police operations will recommend that the police department screen calls to determine whether a policeman really is needed. But screening faces an uphill struggle.

Police Supt. James B. Conlisk is dead set against it.

"I think it would be a mistake to do this," Conlisk said. "I think we are responding to the most important thing in the mind of the caller."

#### PUBLIC RELATIONS CITED

Conlisk candidly admitted that a second reason for his stand is the public relations aspect to answering calls for service. He noted that "too frequently, the contact with a policeman is unpleasant." So getting that cat out of the tree or chasing the noisy teenagers off the corner helps the police image with the citizenry.

The close attention to the service function of the police became department policy after O. W. Wilson became police superintendent in 1960. Conlisk has intensified the policy. During the Wilson era, a squad car would not be dispatched unless the caller gave his name.

Now the caller is asked, "Would you like to give your name?" If he declines, a squad car still is dispatched to check out the complaint.

"Compare this to a little snowball," one dispatcher said "When it gets to the bottom of the hill, it's monstrous. We can't handle all the calls. It's beautiful to have public relations, but this is ridiculous."

#### A WEST SIDE SHOOTING

During one hour, only one call handled by the dispatcher involved a crime. A man was shot on the west side. The others were a variety of domestic and teen-age disturbances.

The policy of providing service often backfires when no cars are available to answer bona fide emergencies. One high police official revealed that on an August week-end, 240 emergency calls went unanswered because policemen were too busy.

The communications center keeps a log of times when districts have no cars available because of the flood of calls. The "no cars available" report for the 4 p.m. to midnight watch on Aug. 18 showed 26 entries, including periods of up to one hour, 34 minutes when a district had no squad cars free for assignment.

Activity is so hectic on a Friday or Saturday evening that overworked dispatchers will assign calls to squad cars in pairs. A policeman will be told to check on teen-agers in an alley, then a domestic disturbance. When he's finished, there's a backlog of other calls to answer.

#### COMPLAINT MAY BE FILED

If a dispatcher fails to send a police car to answer a citizen's call, the citizen may file a complaint. The internal investigations division must initiate an investigation. The dispatcher, his supervising sergeant, the watch commander and the communications center director all must answer to the complaint of why the squad car was not sent out.

Last July 4 during an eight-hour period the communications center answered 8,186 calls on Police 5-1313. Most were complaints about open fire hydrants and fireworks.

When disturbances erupted in the wake of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in April, 1968, Mayor Daley announced a 7 p.m. curfew for people under 21 years of age. The police received 19,000 calls about the curfew. People asked whether the curfew applied to them. Among the callers was a young man who said, "I'm big for my age."

Several dispatchers asked a reporter: "Have you heard about Detroit?"

#### DETROIT PROGRAM DESCRIBED

In 1965, the Detroit police department formed a communications committee. A prime objective was to recommend some action to insure vital police service was available when needed. Calls for service had been increasing 50,000 a year.

The committee recommended that calls be screened. In the first year of operation, the number of times a police car was dispatched decreased from 765,095 to 658,617. Detroit has specific guidelines on when a policeman should not answer a citizen's call.

"Family trouble is basically a civil matter," the order said. "It is not a police function to arbitrate or undertake negotiations in marital difficulties." So the Detroit dispatcher has the names and telephone numbers of agencies to refer the caller. In Chicago, a policeman will be sent to the scene.

#### FIVE-YEAR PLAN CONSIDERED

The Detroit guidelines include instructions on where to refer citizens calling about injured or dead animals, minor traffic accidents, misdemeanor assaults, destruction of property, larcenies, landlord-tenant troubles, and sick or injury calls. A Detroit policeman is not sent to the scene except in specified unusual circumstances.

The Chicago police department has formed a communications committee to develop a five-year plan to improve operations. The key recommendation for the first phase under consideration is to equip all beat patrolmen in squad cars with portable radios next year so they can call for help if emergencies arise while answering calls. An experiment of the portable radio concept is undergoing testing in the Town Hall district.

The tentative recommendation for the second phase—for 1971—is a policy of screening calls. A program similar to Detroit is envisioned by some police communications officials.

But high police officials said the only way a screening policy will be accepted by the

public is if top city officials work diligently to show the public it will be served better if more policemen are available to respond in emergency situations. Only the concerted efforts of the mayor and the police superintendent could persuade citizens that screening is in their best interest, policemen said.

#### ANTIQUATED SYSTEM UNTIL 1961

In seven inner city police districts and in the communications center, the department has a "power shift." Extra men and extra cars are on the street in the peak hours from 6 p.m. to 2:30 a.m. But still the need for outstrips the manpower.

Police communications have made giant leaps forward in the last decade. Before the present communications center went into operation in 1961, the ability of police to respond to any call—much less an emergency—was severely limited by an antiquated system.

If you called a decade ago, here's what would have happened:

The person answering the call would have written the necessary information on a card. The card would be routed on a conveyor belt into another room to one of three dispatchers.

Perhaps 30 minutes later, the dispatcher would assign a squad car to respond to your plea.

#### CRIME "LOST" ON FLOOR

Even worse, police officials admitted, the card might have fallen off the conveyor, and a crime would have been "lost" on the floor. Periodically, someone would look on the floor for lost cards.

Asked how rapidly a citizen can now expect the police in an emergency, Conlisk replied: "We aim for two minutes." The routine call may take an hour or more to answer, but priority is given to the emergency call.

If your call is not answered within 12 seconds, it goes to an auxiliary desk. If it's not answered within 30 seconds, the call is automatically switched to a third position. More than half the calls are answered within 12 seconds, and only 8 per cent result in waits of more than 30 seconds.

In the communications center, the city is divided into eight zones. These correspond to eight groupings of telephone exchanges so a citizen's call is automatically routed to a console serving his zone.

#### EIGHT ZONES IN CITY

Calls are routed directly to dispatchers at three-man consoles. Two take the citizens' calls and the third assigns cars to answer those calls. When a citizen starts talking, the dispatcher will write the information on a card.

An illuminated map above the console shows the boundaries and numbers of all patrol car beats. If the car is patrolling the beat, the light is on; if the policeman has been assigned to answer a call, the light is off. At a glance, the dispatcher can see what cars are available for assignment.

Each assignment card is stamped three times in a time clock: when the person calls, when a car is assigned, and when the policeman reports he has completed the call. All conversations between citizen and dispatcher and policeman and dispatcher are recorded. Tapes are kept for 30 days.

The police department thus has both a written and oral record of all calls for service and what has been done about them.

#### FIGHTING CRIME IS JUST PART OF POLICEMAN'S JOB

(By Casey Banas)

What is your first mental impression when the word "policeman" is spoken?

A callous, tough-looking man ready to swing a club? Two men in blue with revolvers drawn chasing two fleeing robbers down the street? Someone writing out a ticket for that red light which you obviously did

not run? Or that of a dedicated public servant?

A Chicago policeman devotes only 26 per cent of his time to crime-related activities. The remainder is spent providing services to citizens.

The policeman patrolling the streets in his squad car, said Capt. Robert Woodburn, 16th district commander, becomes much more than a policeman. He's a priest, a judge, and a social worker.

"Take a family quarrel. He wants her arrested, she wants him arrested. The policeman must be a Solomon to know which way to go. If at all possible, he doesn't arrest either."

#### ON PATROL IN 2 AREAS

On successive Fridays, this reporter rode the 4 p. m. to midnight watch in two contrasting areas—the beats covering the Addison-Harlem area on the far northwest side and the Madison-Kedzie neighborhood on the west side.

Tomorrow's editions will include an account of an evening in Fillmore, the police district with the highest crime rate. Today's story is about a ride with a policeman in the Jefferson park district, which has the least amount of crime in Chicago. This is how it went:

Patrolman Howard Hagen, 25, is the relief driver for beat 1610, the squad car patrolling the 2.5 square mile area bounded by Central, Belmont, and Oriole avenues and Irving Park road.

Hagen scans the district's crime report for the last 24 hours. It has only six items—two stolen cars, three thefts of various articles from autos, and a burglary of a radio and record player from the educational building at Chicago State hospital.

#### ASSIGNED TO CITIZEN'S CALL

"I'll start with a cup of coffee," Hagen says leaving the station for what is expected to be a leisurely pace. But after eight minutes on the street, he is assigned by a radio dispatcher to answer a citizen's call about "a theft from auto."

Six minutes later, a business man is telling Hagen that a stereo tape recorder had been taken several hours earlier from a convertible with its top down. He interviews the citizen, looks over the car, then leaves.

While sipping a cup of coffee, Hagen fills out the first report of the watch, only to discover he failed to get the license plate number of the convertible. Returning to the scene, he finds the car is gone, but the reporter notices 150 feet away what appears to be an abandoned auto.

All tires on the 1957 model car are flat, the windshield is smashed, and the interior is slashed. The squad car's appearance creates the biggest crowd of the watch for Beat 1610—six adults and seven children.

A state driver's license examiner comes out of his house to complain that the car has been there for six weeks. A tow sticker was put on the window several weeks ago, but nothing was done. The owner of a nearby cleaning establishment says that one of his workers is sore because the car has occupied his usual parking space. Others tell how teen-agers sleep in the car at night and use it for necking sessions.

Hagen checks with his dispatcher to determine if the car is stolen [it isn't], places another tow sticker on the window, and fills out an abandoned auto report. The process takes 28 minutes.

Back on patrol, Hagen waits for a light to change at Addison street and Laramie avenue. "There goes a car thru a red light," he exclaims, and gives chase eastbound on Addison. Two blocks away, at Lavergne avenue, the car is curbed.

The motorist has a Texas driver's license, which cannot be used as bond on a ticket. So Hagen instructs him to follow the squad car to the station. He is not permitted to tell

the driver the amount of cash bond he must post at the station [it is \$25, and the man won't find out until more than 30 minutes later.]

On the way to the station, Hagen observes another driver running a red light, but ignores the offense. He can't pursue him because "one person is my primary responsibility," and that person must not be abandoned.

Once at the station, Hagen calls the "hot desk"—the records and inquiry section—at police headquarters to find out if the driver has any other warrants outstanding against him. But the "hot desk" computer has broken down, and it takes 26 minutes for someone to check manually and report to Hagen that the man has no record.

Meanwhile, the man, his wife, and fidgety 3-year-old daughter stand and wait. At last, the policeman at the desk, Sgt. George Murphy, asks the driver: "Do you have \$25 United States currency with you?" The man finally learns the amount of his bond, posts it, and leaves the station. Hagen urges him to tell his side to the judge at his court appearance.

"Most cases going to Traffic court are dismissed," Hagen said, "It bugs me, but sometimes that piece of paper [the traffic citation] makes a better driver."

#### AUTO CURBED BY POLICEMAN

Driving on Central avenue near Giddings avenue, Hagen sees gas spilling out a tank of the auto ahead. He curbs the car, is told by the driver that the gas tank cap has been stolen, then instructs the man to buy a new cap promptly.

Twenty minutes later, Hagen is directed by radio to answer a "damage to property" call. On the way, four children in an adjoining car wave and offer a cherry, "Hi, policeman." The squad arrives on the scene nine minutes after receiving the call. That will turn out to be the longest elapsed time of the seven calls of the watch.

A woman takes Hagen to her rear porch and points to a ripped screen. She says she spotted a young man reaching inside the screen to open the back door. Upon confronting the intruder, she quoted him as asking, "Is Bob here?" Then he ran into the alley and disappeared.

After six minutes of talking with the woman, Hagen writes the report. It takes 17 minutes.

"What's that crowd doing here?" Hagen asks, as his squad car approaches Hutchinson street at Daramie avenue. Moments later, he sees one car smashed against an apartment building and another wrapped around a tree. Bystanders say that a woman and two children were seriously injured, but were taken away by ambulance.

Back on patrol, Hagen recalls a burglary two days before when a diamond ring was taken from a bedroom while a woman was mowing her front lawn. He wonders if the young man asking for Bob and the ring thief are the same person.

Then comes another call: "Ball game in street at 4100 Parkside avenue."

Who called? "Probably some older people who want peace and quiet," Hagen answers.

#### BALL GAME NOT FOUND

There was no ball game at 4100 Parkside av. "Would you believe a 2 E-Edward?" Hagen asked the radio dispatcher. [In police code, "2" stands for "disturbance, teen-age" and "E-Edward" for "perpetrator gone on police arrival."]

Four hours of patrol have gone by and Hagen pulls into a restaurant at Addison and Harlem for dinner. But he spots three teenagers frantically trying to smother with a blanket a carburetor fire in a car parked in the alley.

Hagen reaches for his fire extinguisher and motions the boys away. But the fire extinguisher doesn't work. A teen-ager races across

the street, comes back with another fire extinguisher, and quickly puts out the blaze. Fifteen teen-agers gather, and most express dismay that the fire is out.

Back on patrol 37 minutes later, Hagen is directed by radio to assist Car 1611 on a call about "a vicious man in a store." For the first time, he switches on his blue bubble light and flashes his spotlight to and fro to warn cars ahead to the curb. In five minutes, he drives 3½ miles to the scene.

But there's no disturbance. The patrolman driving Car 1611 is being told by a supermarket manager that a man was "lurking around the safe for 10 minutes at closing time." He called the police because he wanted to be "safe rather than sorry." The man left by car moments before Car 1611 arrived.

Only eight minutes elapsed after leaving the scene before the next assignment, "theft of bicycle." A mother told how her son won an \$80 bicycle by selling 300 boxes of candy in a Boy Scout contest. Usually the bike was stored in the garage, but it was left out that night for a special reason.

The mother, clutching a pack of party invitations, explained her son was going to deliver them to notify her daughter's friends of a surprise birthday party. But somebody stole the bicycle from the back yard. The bike had been registered with the police department. Hagen explained that the police recover hundreds of bicycles but are unable to find the owners. So the bikes are auctioned periodically.

"That's four paper jobs already," Hagen said, sitting in the squad car to write a theft of bicycle report. "We're above average." "Average" for him is two or three.

#### LOOKING FOR A BICYCLE

"I'd like to find that bike," Hagen said. He drives thru nearby Merrimac park and past two schools on the outside chance the thief might be there. The three areas are deserted.

Hagen hears the district's vice car report on the radio it has arrests at Irving Park road and Linder avenue. "Probably teens drinking," he says, heading for the scene.

An unmarked police car is parked at the curb at Portage park, and two detectives have in custody five youngsters—all about 13 years old. One boy denies drinking. "Suppose I take you to your father and let him decide," the detective offers. There is no reply. A squad car comes and takes the five away to the station where they will be released to their parents.

"Now let's take care of the special attentions," Hagen says.

A "special attention" is a specific request by a citizen for service. Hagen has three orders: The first to check a house on Nora avenue because the family is on vacation, the second to watch a vacant house on Plainfield avenue because a neighbor has reported that teen-agers have broken in and have damaged property, and a third from a business owner on Belmont avenue who said teen-agers wander on his roof at night and park in the rear parking lot to drink.

Hagen checks the Belmont avenue store. No one is there. The two other "special attentions" went unchecked during Hagen's watch.

On the radio, he heard that his supervisor, a sergeant, was meeting another patrolman at a closed gas station at Irving Park and Central. Patrolmen in the district normally have their reports checked by their sergeant during the watch, so Hagen heads for the gas station.

The next call came at 10:57 p.m.: "Dogbite at Northwest hospital." A hospital must call the police on any dogbite case because of the threat of rabies. A 4-year-old girl was bitten on the upper lip by a neighbor's dog and needed three stitches.

The dog's owner, a mother with two young

daughters, was petrified as Hagen filled out the report and told her she must take the dog to her veterinarian or the city pound for a 10-day rabies check. The woman chose her veterinarian, but didn't know his name. She said she had it at home.

Hagen went to her home, and asked to see tags for rabies shot and dog license. The woman had only 1968 tags and was informed she would receive a nontraffic summons and be required to appear in court.

#### ADVICE TO A DOG OWNER

Only the supervising sergeant has the nontraffic summons book, and Hagen phoned him and waited. "Will I be fined?" the woman asked. Hagen said probably not, provided she showed the judge proof of a current rabies shot and a dog license.

At 11:55 p.m., 58 minutes after receiving the dogbite call, Hagen left the owner's home.

Since Hagen started patrol at 4:30 p.m. [roll call was 4 p.m.], he was to be on the street until 12:30 a.m. There was yet one more call, "a suspicious man in an auto."

For the second time, Hagen switched on the blue light and drove at speeds up to 50 miles an hour to reach the scene 2½ miles away in three minutes. There was no suspicious man, but a woman came out of a tavern to say the man had just left.

She said the man was her ex-husband, who was tampering with her car as part of a continual pattern of harassment. Hagen told her to start the ignition, and the engine ran normally. The policeman explained that she could go to court to get a warrant for his arrest. The judge may order him to stay away from the woman and her property for six months, he said. If the order is violated, he could be sentenced to jail and fined for contempt of court.

Finally, Hagen drove back to the station, ending his watch. He had made no arrests, fired no shots, and seen no crimes committed. As usual, his primary role was in providing service to the people.

#### FILLMORE IS PRIME BATTLEGROUND FOR CHICAGO'S POLICE

(By Casey Banas)

Patrolmen Gerald Gregg, 24, and Tyrone Foster, 26, cover beat 113, a six-square-block area in the vicinity of Fifth and Central Park avenues. Their Fillmore district, which has the city's highest crime rate among 21 police districts, includes the west side areas leveled by fires and plagued by rioting in April, 1968.

Fillmore has two men in most, but not all, squad cars. It is a district where the beat policeman considers himself in danger at all times. Foster, a Negro, drives home that point in his first comment.

One rear door of the squad car is stuck, so the Tribune reporter and photographer team use the other rear door to climb in. Foster takes pity on the reporter sitting next to the jammed door.

#### JAMMED DOOR MAY BE TROUBLE

"You might have to get out of the car in a hurry," he explains. "The car may come under fire, or bricks may be thrown at it."

Fillmore's crime report for the preceding 24 hours includes 30 items. Among these are one murder, 12 burglaries, a variety of stolen autos and attempted thefts, and one attempted rape.

Within one minute after leaving the station, the first call is received over the police radio: "Disturbance with teens." In six minutes, Gregg and Foster are on the scene, a three-story dilapidated tenement on Fifth avenue. A group of blacks standing on the sidewalk eye the policemen with suspicion.

The caller is supposed to live in a third floor apartment, but the woman who opens the door insists she did not call. "Somebody

probably changed his mind after calling," Gregg notes.

#### HEAT, HUMIDITY, CLUSTERS OF PEOPLE

The temperature is in the 80s, the humidity is high, and clusters of people are on the streets to escape the heat of the apartments. "On a day like this, we wish for rain or a hailstorm," Foster says.

"When it's hot like this, a lot of people are milling around," Gregg adds.

"They stay up later and drink more," Foster continues.

"What time is your lunch break?" the reporter asks. The question hits a tender nerve. The two policemen explain that department regulations forbid two patrolmen from taking the 30-minute lunch period together.

"Send him to lunch and I get killed," Foster said, pointing to Gregg. "Send me to lunch and he gets killed."

The thinking at headquarters, Gregg theorizes, is that top police officials want a squad car in a high crime area on the street throughout the entire eight-hour watch. He explains that instead of following the only-one-policeman-can-eat-at-a-time policy, they quickly grab a hamburger in the car together, then resume patrol.

Their next assignment is a burglary call. As the squad car pulls in front of a house, a dozen teenagers are chatting on the front porch. "There's 12 suspects right there," Foster says.

Inside, a husband and wife tell the policemen that a burglar has stolen a \$300 stereo set, a diamond ring, four pairs of tailored pants, a collection of pennies, and 20 record albums out of a collection of 100.

"I'm getting tired of this," the wife says, explaining it's the second burglary in two weeks in their home.

#### BURGLARS COULD BE NEARBY

Foster takes the husband aside and says: "Man, they're right out there." He tries to convince the man that the burglar probably is right on his front porch, but he refuses to believe it.

As Gregg writes the burglary report, Foster explains how the Fillmore policeman—under constant pressure is dealing with the seamy side of life—must find comical aspects in his job to help ease the strain.

He told an anecdote about the time he and a new partner just out of the police academy answered a disturbance call. Foster was attacked by a man.

"We started in the apartment and wrestled all the way down the stairs," he recalled. "Man, we did the whole thing."

"My partner was just standing there. Finally he said, 'You're doing a terrific job.'"

#### CLEAR'S WIFE IN STABBING, DIES

There was the case, Foster continued, of the man who was stabbed and claimed he rolled over a knife while peeling apples. He said the victim was stabbed by his wife. "He cleared her, then died three days later," he said.

Foster's story telling was interrupted by a "man with a gun" call. Gregg turned on his blue light and raced to the scene in four minutes. Three young boys approached the squad. "We're ones that called," one said. They said a man pulled a gun on them while they were playing in a vacant lot. The boys pointed out the house where the man lived and described the gun.

The man said he had a gun, but denied threatening the boys. He said he owned the vacant lot and didn't want the boys on it. The gun he produced did not match the description the boys gave of the gun.

Continuing on patrol, Foster said one problem in Fillmore was the possibility that someone might shoot a policeman without any notice.

Gregg told how his regular partner answered a disturbance call, and a man pulled a

knife and threw bleach in his face. The policeman immediately shot and killed him. "When somebody comes at you with knife and throws bleach in your face, you have no recourse," Gregg contended.

"Write about the fire hydrant at this corner," Gregg suggested.

"Why should I write about the fire hydrant?" the reporter asked.

#### EXTORTION OF UNWARY DRIVERS

Gregg and Foster related how boys often opened the fire hydrant to flood a railroad viaduct a few feet away. An unsuspecting motorist starts thru the viaduct and gets stuck in several feet of water. A crowd of boys descends on him, each demanding 50 cents to push the car out. If the motorist refuses, the boys pelt the car with rocks.

Almost always, the motorist quickly pays. Why can't the police stop it?

"When we come, they scatter," Gregg explains. The answer, Foster suggests, is for the city to develop a new hydrant cover that could not be easily opened by teen-agers.

Open fire hydrants in ghettos on hot days is a recurring call for policemen. "Isn't the water department supposed to shut off hydrants?" the reporter asked.

"I'll show you the hydrant key in the trunk," Foster offered.

"We're the water guys," Foster added.

"There should be no one-man cars here," Foster asserts, passing a squad car with one white policeman. This is a bitter point with patrolmen in the inner city.

The lull is broken by a "disturbance at door" call at 3451 Monroe st. Foster and Gregg find there is no disturbance at the door. In fact, there is no door because there is no such address.

"Police officer needs assist" is the next call 10 minutes later. Within two minutes, Foster and Gregg are on the scene—along with six other squad cars. A policeman has two people in custody. Fifty young people are in the street, with another 100 persons leaning out of apartment windows.

Two young men were quarreling over a girl. When a patrolman moved in, the girl and the young men threatened him. He called for help.

#### DISTURBANCE THAT CAN BE SPARK

It is this type of disturbance that police officials fear could develop into something serious on a hot summer day. But this time it did not.

The two patrolmen then stopped at a snack restaurant for their dinner: hamburgers and soft drinks. Altho they are allotted 30 minutes for the meal, they were back on patrol in 13 minutes.

Gregg was asked to resume his discussion on Fillmore policemen.

"We only have one set of car keys between two guys," he explained. "We need two keys."

Why? "We're supposed to lock the squad car when answering a call," Foster explains. "Suppose a policeman is scuffling with someone, has the keys in his pocket, and needs help. The car door is locked."

The squad car continued to crisscross on the west side. Foster and Gregg pointed out two places where policemen were shot in the last month.

"These are known spots for ambushing policemen," Foster said, as the car headed west on Taylor street parallel to elevated railroad tracks. "People can stand on the track and either shoot or throw rocks at the squad, and make a getaway by running down the south side of the elevated tracks," he added.

The car turns down Madison street west from Pulaski road. "See that red window in that store," Foster says. It's a window between two doors. Foster explains that until recently, the window was clear glass and was often broken. Looters could enter at will at night without the patrolmen in the squad car realizing the window was broken.

Store officials installed red glass. Now, they have gone one step farther by placing a large steel post directly in front of the window.

#### CALL FOR "DOMESTIC DISTURBANCE"

Next came a call for a "domestic disturbance" in a basement apartment. The man at the door says he wants police help to stop his brother-in-law from making advances to his wife.

"Do you let him in your place?" Gregg asked.

"Yes," the man replies.

The two policemen suggest that he call while his brother-in-law is in the apartment. The man explains he tries, but since the phone is upstairs, the brother-in-law leaves as soon as he is suspicious. Foster and Gregg suggest that the man keep the brother-in-law out of the apartment.

Only one minute after leaving the apartment there is a "disturbance in house" call. On the way to the scene, Foster spots a man, obviously out of gas, pouring gas into his tank from a one-gallon can. "If we were up north in some district, we would stop and help," Foster admits. "But not here. We're too busy."

Foster and Gregg reach the address, and a man comes to the squad car. "He stole my two garbage cans and sold them," he says. "And he owes me \$58." The complainant says the alleged thief lives only two doors away.

"Maybe he's trying to get money to pay you," Gregg wryly replies.

Foster volunteers to mediate the dispute between the pair. "Both say the cans are theirs," he reports back, "but the guy says he's got a suit against him."

The reporter suggested that perhaps another agency should be created to answer calls such as the garbage can dispute, thereby freeing police to devote more time to fighting crime. "They'd get their heads blown off," Gregg replies.

The evening shadows lengthen at 7:25 p.m. and activity for policemen is expected to increase as more people start standing on street corners and the taverns are filling with patrons.

Two minutes later comes the call, "suspicious person in basement."

That call kept the two patrolmen occupied for 3 hours and 4 minutes.

"I think there's a dead man in there," says a man who has been waiting for the police. He is right.

A man is lying face down on the blood-covered floor next to a bed. "Possibly murder," is the initial comment of another policeman called to the scene. Detectives later said no foul play was involved.

Gregg and Foster determine from interviewing residents that four alcoholics were living in the basement. One had died. Perhaps hemorrhaging was the cause. Or maybe in a drunken stupor, he fell out of bed, hit his head on the concrete floor, and died. These were among their theories.

Because they were the first policemen on the scene, Foster and Gregg had the responsibility of "securing the crime scene" so that nothing in the room would be disrupted. They also had to call their sergeant, homicide, the crime laboratory, and a deputy superintendent.

Gregg interviewed several residents in the building, but none offered much help. "I went upstairs to talk to the woman on the first floor," he said. "She said she didn't want to get involved."

Much later, Gregg returned to the Fillmore station to fill out a "hospitalization case report" on the dead man. Completing the report took 29 minutes in a drab interrogation room.

#### INTERRUPTED BY SCUFFLING

His efforts were interrupted several times by scuffling in an adjoining interrogation

room where a man was being questioned. "Mr. ———, would you like to take a sobriety test?" a policeman was overheard asking.

The response was the sound of bodies banging against walls coupled with an abundance of profanity directed at the policeman. Gregg and a half dozen policemen immediately charged into the room to help rescue their colleague.

With the report completed, Gregg and Foster returned to patrol with only 29 minutes of their watch left. Calls over the police radio continued without abatement.

"It's just starting to roll," Foster says. He expresses sympathy for policemen on the midnight to 8 a.m. watch who "come right out of roll call into the middle of this stuff."

Then came the final call of the watch: "Policeman needs help." In three minutes, the patrolmen reached the Madison street address, but there was no activity. The squad car turned the corner, and a crowd milled in front of a tavern on Pulaski road. A man had pulled a gun on a policeman on Madison, then fled for the sanctuary of the tavern. Police had found him.

Foster and Gregg left the scene and returned to the station to turn over the squad car to the next watch.

Even tho the activity for Beat 1113 was less than usual, one impression was left. What sociologists term as the "we-they mentality" between the police and the community seemed to permeate Fillmore.

The "we-they mentality" simply means that police and some segments of the community view each other as the enemy.

#### FIVE HUNDRED SPECIAL POLICE WORK TO KEEP YOUNG FROM LIFE OF CRIME

(By Casey Banas)

The curly-haired 14-year-old boy sat sobbing in a corner, rivulets of tears streaming down his face.

He had just been arrested for the 19th time in four years.

Across the drab youth officers' room in the Englewood police station sat a second white 14-year-old. It was his first arrest.

#### JUVENILE ARRESTS RISING

Police picked up the pair after a citizen reported that a burglary was in progress in a southwest side tavern. They were found on the tavern roof beside a skylight where three windows had been broken. Apparently they were out to steal liquor.

Arrests of juveniles, such as these two young men, are on the upswing in Chicago. In 1965, police made 38,521 juvenile arrests. By last year, the figure had soared to 46,372, a 20 per cent increase in three years.

Responsibility for handling juvenile offenders—and for attempting to prevent juvenile delinquency—rests with the police department's youth division, 500 specially-trained policemen and policewomen. They work closely with a myriad of community agencies and churches in a seemingly ever-uphill battle.

"America's best hope for reducing crime is to reduce juvenile delinquency and youth crime," emphasized the Presidential Crime Commission.

#### COMMUNITY HAS FAILED

"Once a juvenile is apprehended by the police and referred to the juvenile court," the commission continued, "the community already has failed."

The community seemingly has failed 19 times with the diminutive, sobbing 14-year-old boy described by one youth officer as "cute as a button." Tho cute and tho small for his age, the boy has shocking credentials. His record showed a variety of shoplifting and burglary charges.

Because of his size, older boys have used him to go into small places to pave the way for burglaries of television sets, radios, and clothes. He has crawled thru air vents in

the Ford City shopping center to gain entrance into stores, then opened the doors for the older boys who carried out the merchandise.

#### ASKS FOR MERCY

"Give me a break, give me a break," the boy cried repeatedly after being told he was again headed for Family court. "I've given you two breaks in the last month," replied Edward Earl, the youth officer.

"What about his parents?" a reporter asked.

"They don't give a damn," answered James Mulligan, another youth officer. He could have given the same answer to countless cases of juvenile arrests.

On the far side of the room, the father of the other boy was discussing the attempted burglary with Richard Siles, another youth officer. "We will refer your son to a neighborhood agency for counseling," Siles explained. "This is not punishment."

#### THREE THINGS POSSIBLE

When a juvenile [boy under 17 years of age, girl under 18] is brought to a police station, one of three things will happen. The juvenile is always turned over to a youth officer who will fill out a juvenile information report, a community adjustment report, or a referral to Juvenile court.

If a juvenile information report is made, the youth officer records the incident and the child is released.

In a community adjustment report, the youth is referred to a neighborhood agency for a follow-up counseling session to determine what went wrong. This is designed to be a preventive measure against future delinquent behavior.

If the youth is referred to the court, he has a hearing before a judge.

The ideal community adjustment system, said Youth Officer Joseph Haughey, would be a "big brother" system providing a one-to-one relationship between counselor and offender. Because the need far outstrips the availability of services for the delinquent, a counselor may have a caseload of 40.

"Our objective is to try to provide a vehicle whereby the individual headed toward a life of crime is directed toward a path where appropriate counseling can be provided," explained Capt. Thomas M. Frost, youth division director. But Frost and his youth division needs much more help from the community, and especially from parents.

Why is youth crime on the increase? "I can give you four reasons," Frost answered. "The general tenor and attitude of young people is contrary to the traditional concept of discipline and law and order. Young people are participating in more recreation outside the home. They have more opportunities for crime.

"Then there's the shifting role of the family with its attitude of more permissiveness. Finally, modernization of police techniques such as the communications center result in more youths getting caught."

Youth Officer Mulligan: "The need to belong is becoming more important. Coupled with this is that kids have so much unsupervised time and have money. This is the reason juvenile crime is up."

His analysis was backed by the Presidential Crime commission which said:

"The typical delinquent operates in the company of his peers, and delinquency thrives on group support. It has been estimated that between 60 and 90 per cent of all delinquent acts are committed with companions."

Police department officials believe this estimate would hold true for Chicago.

#### WATCH NEW GROUPS

Part of implementing the youth division's philosophy of preventing juvenile crime rests with surveillance of emerging groups. In recent days, Mulligan has kept close watch

over a group of 15 youth on the southwest side who have started using chains and baseball bats in neighborhood fights.

Mulligan was planning to call a meeting of parents to enlist their cooperation to break up the group. "In many cases," he explained, "denial of use of the family automobile will knock them out of the box. A car is just used for joyrides, but the kids pick up bad habits."

Youth officers get mixed reactions from parents whose children are in trouble with the law. Sometimes an irate parent, called to the station when a son or daughter has been arrested, will offer this opening shot at the youth officer: "Why don't you go catch burglars instead of chasing kids?"

#### BURGLARS ARE YOUNGSTERS

Sometimes the burglars are little kids.

Asked the age of the youngest child he saw arrested, Mulligan told about the 6-year-old who crawled thru a transom in a burglary attempt. And he recalled the case of a 7-year-old arsonist who set a school and several apartment buildings on fire.

"This kid loved to set fires," Mulligan said. "He would wake up in the middle of the night from a dream about setting a fire."

The parents were shocked to learn their child was an arsonist, but they cooperated in permitting the boy to be sent to the Institute for Juvenile Research for extensive psychiatric study.

#### COURT OF LAST RESORT

The youth division often serves as a court of last resort for the parent unable to control the son or daughter. From time to time, parents walk into the police station to admit their offspring are stealing cars or are on narcotics. A father bringing in a daughter using harmful pills helped the youth division uncover a ring of teen-agers staging pill parties in a southwest area forest preserve.

And parents still come to police stations to ask that their children be given what Mulligan calls the "boogieman routine." They want the policeman to instill fear into the young child so he will obey the law. Affluent families as well as those from a lower economic status still make this request which policemen always refuse.

In seeking to find youthful suspects, police have discovered that their nicknames may provide the only clue.

#### SUSPECT IS LOCATED

Last August, a 14-year-old boy hurled a rock from a Chicago transit authority bus at 55th street and Kedzie avenue. It struck a passer-by, severely lacerating his head. The boy fled from the bus.

Other teen-agers on the bus were questioned. They didn't know either his first or last name, but knew his nickname was "Baby." Police checked the nickname file on "Baby," came up with one living in the area, and tracked him down. He was the same boy.

A sex offender known only as "Animal" and a murderer called "Dracula," were also apprehended because of their nicknames.

#### ONLY SECONDARY GOAL

But apprehension remains as a secondary goal for the youth division.

"Our job is to keep kids out of jail," Mulligan asserted.

The new youth officers must take a special one-month course. In this year's training, 31 university professors, psychologists, attorneys, and judges taught without receiving any compensation.

#### THE POLICE TASK FORCE: TOUGH, OFTEN A TARGET OF CRITICISM

(By Casey Banas)

The Chicago police department has a unit that literally is "on the land, on the sea, in the air, and in the hole."

This is a description of the 837-member task force offered by its commander, Capt.

Richard Lionhood. Its members can be found in boats patrolling Lake Michigan, up in the two police helicopters keeping a watchful eye over a demonstration, on the street faking drunkenness to trap a would-be robber, and under ground patrolling the subway stations.

The primary mission of the task force, Lionhood explained, is "to combat specific crime a district is unable to cover because it doesn't have enough manpower." Its men are deployed over and above any policemen assigned to a specific district or police division.

#### UNORTHODOX METHODS USED

The task force often uses highly unorthodox methods to combat tough crime situations. Its men are deployed in an area for no more than five days, then are shifted elsewhere. The idea is to keep the criminal from being able to trace a task force pattern so he can strike where they aren't.

But among some elements of the black community, the task force is under severe criticism as a hostile force that should be barred from Negro neighborhoods. Sociologists who have studied police departments say one liability of the task force concept is that ever-shifting policemen never do get to know the people in any area.

#### CRIME PATTERNS WATCHED

Altho the task force has a myriad of special assignments, such as providing bodyguards to VIPs and patrolling beaches, its main force is a tactical unit assigned to take on the biggest street crime challenges in the city.

Tactical unit members are assigned specific missions in a given area. The detective division's operations analysis office develops reports on crime patterns. These are used to chart most task force missions. Or a district commander, unable to assign enough of his own men to fight a crime pattern, may ask the task force for help.

When one neighborhood was plagued by a rash of robberies in cleaning stores, the task force sent in units to stake out several stores. Tactical unit members hid in back rooms waiting for a robber to strike.

When a pattern of robberies of truck drivers became evident, the task force swung into action. Cartage companies were asked to lend trucks to the task force. Members posed as truck drivers, and in playing the role, made four arrests of potential robbers.

#### OFTEN IN PLAIN CLOTHES

The task force member may or may not be in uniform.

Among the most unusual—and certainly the most dangerous—assignments for any Chicago policeman is being a member of the TUF squad [for tactical undercover force]. Periodically, the TUF squad takes to the streets with the assignment of trapping would-be strong armed robbers. Its latest assignment was on west Madison street.

One squad member deliberately sacrifices himself as the "pigeon." He may pretend he is drunk, setting himself up as a potential robbery victim. The "pigeon" is covered by five other squad members. Several may be lurking in darkened doorways and others may be in a disguised truck.

#### TASK FORCE OPOSED

The "pigeon" is wired for sound. When he is attacked, he yells, "Hit! hit! hit!" His colleagues race to the scene to help him fight off his attacker. Injuries to the "pigeon" are not uncommon.

Opposition to the task force by some in the black community has developed because of its tactics. One example: handling traffic violators.

A regular patrolman confronting a traffic violator will issue a ticket and the motorist will be on his way. Not necessarily so with a task force member.

In high crime areas, Lionhood explained, most criminals use autos and may carry

weapons in their cars. A task force member may stop a car for a traffic violation, then search the car for weapons or narcotics.

The law-abiding black citizen understandably may consider the tactics as harassment. If this happens several times, he may readily develop a contemptuous view of the Chicago police department.

#### DEFENDS UNIT'S TACTICS

"We're just trying to do our job," Lionhood replied when asked to justify the tactics. Police officials maintain citizens should not be upset at the inconvenience because it is done for their own protection to reduce crime in their neighborhoods. "We stop people in white areas, too," Lionhood emphasized.

But the task force does deploy its men primarily in black areas. "Our operation is where crime is heavy," Lionhood explained. "According to the statistics, it's in the inner city. But we have worked in every district in the city."

Asked for an example of a task force mission in a white neighborhood, Lionhood referred to disturbances at Kennedy High school, 8325 56th st. For two weeks, 20 task force members were deployed at or near the school.

#### WATCH FOR TRUANTS

One of Lionhood's current concerns is daytime burglary. "Most daytime burglary is done by truants," he explained. So an ongoing mission is for some task force members to patrol the streets during school hours and stop every school-age child and ask him what he's doing. If the child is a truant, the task force men immediately take him to his school.

Adding to the constant controversy swirling about the task force is the presence of its 46 extra members—the canine unit. The use of dogs in the police patrol has led to criticism. When blacks in some neighborhoods assailed the deployment of canine units in the areas, they were removed.

But the task force and the department's planning division have made a study to determine what effect, if any, canine units have on crime. In 1967, five areas were selected for study: Canine units were assigned. In 1968, they were replaced by regular police patrols. This year, the dogs are back for another test.

Use of the canine units, Lionhood said, has resulted in a decline in crime in the five areas.

#### JOB OF CROWD CONTROL

Another task force assignment is crowd control, including, of course, demonstrations and riots. Task force members were among the Chicago policemen involved in handling demonstrations during the 1968 Democratic national convention.

When a peace march was held a few weeks after the convention, task force members were assigned to patrol. But they all were subjected to a special psychiatric examination, Lionhood said, to find if they had the "emotional stability to face a provoking situation without going overboard."

In the last year, the task force by default has inherited yet another assignment—patrolling the city's subways. For years, subway duty was considered "a penalty post" within the department. If some commander wanted to punish a patrolman, he arranged to have him relegated to patrolling a subway station.

#### PATROL IS INCREASED

When the Tribune and other newspapers began to bring to public attention increasing crime in the subways and elevated trains and stations, the number of policemen assigned to Chicago transit authority installations was increased.

The task force was given this responsibility and it formed a CTA unit. In recent months, Lionhood said, concerted effort has been made to shake off the "penalty post" image of subway patrol. Captains give "pep

talks" to emphasize how vital to public safety the patrol is.

Emphasis on neat appearance is stressed so much, Lionhood said, that the unkempt policeman faces action by his superiors. One example of such action is making the policeman work on one of his days off.

The task force, which prides itself on a marine-type esprit de corps, explained ex-marine sergeant Lionhood, is seeking to develop this same spirit within the CTA units. "And I think we are succeeding," he said.

#### "AGGRESSIVE PATROLS" USED IN CRIME WAR (By Casey Banas)

"Aggressive preventive patrol" is what the Chicago police department uses to deter crime on the streets.

This concept means that policemen stop citizens on the street for questioning and even searching if their behavior supposedly is suspicious. Policemen justify these stops on grounds they are looking for weapons and narcotics.

The beat men in the squad cars usually have little opportunity for aggressive preventive patrol because most of their time is devoted to answering citizens' calls for service and help. Each police district does have men assigned to its own tactical unit which may spend time in aggressive preventive patrol.

But primarily, this type of patrol is left to the task force, which answers no calls for service but patrols areas of "high crime." These areas, according to the police, are the black ghettos.

Sometimes questioning of citizens and searching cars brings charges by Negroes that their civil rights are violated.

A reporter rode from 6 p.m. to 1:30 a.m. with a task force unit patrolling an inner city area and observed more than a dozen instances of stops and searches. And because the task force is the department's most versatile unit, the unexpected happened.

This is how the evening went:

Patrolmen Edward Czekala, 29, and Al Grefsheim, 31, are aggressive, but tactful. They were assigned to a task force car patrolling the south side. Their assignment is changed every five days.

#### HEADS DOWN EXPRESSWAY

The squad car headed south on the Dan Ryan expressway toward the assigned area for the evening—bounded by 103d, State, 115th, and Halsted streets. This was supposed to be a "high crime" mission, but Czekala and Grefsheim both questioned whether the area, in the beginning stages of racial change, qualified under the "high crime" criterion.

After only 37 minutes patrolling the area, their assignment would be abruptly changed by an incident developing in the shadow of the Robert Taylor homes public housing project.

On the Ryan expressway near 51st street, the patrolmen stopped a motorist driving on the shoulder to gain ground on the heavy rush hour traffic. The motorist was the only white man stopped during the shift. No ticket was issued.

"He said his wife's going to have a baby," Czekala explained. "He looks like a distraught father," Grefsheim added.

Minutes later, the squad car had threaded its way south and Czekala spotted a car with a cracked windshield at State street near 97th street. The driver was motioned to the curb. The black motorist explained the car was in an accident a few days before and he hadn't had an opportunity to get it fixed.

#### HUNTS FOR WEAPONS

As Grefsheim continued to question the driver, Czekala thoroughly searched the automobile, even lying prone on the front seat to search underneath for narcotics or weapons. Grefsheim recorded the man's name,

address, and license plate number on a task force mission report.

Before the shift would be over, the 11 spaces on the sheet would be filled as evidence the task force team was indeed stopping people on the streets. But no ticket would be issued to any offender and no arrests would be made.

"They look like youthful pot smokers," Czekala said, as he flagged down two teenagers in a car at 103d street and Green avenue. Grefsheim told the driver he did not have a city vehicle sticker.

Then he patted the teen-ager, frisking him for weapons. The surprised black youth said, "Man, what did I do?" But he offered no resistance. Czekala, meanwhile, searched the car.

The dispatcher on the police radio had issued two "10-1" [policeman needs help] at a supermarket at 5225 State st. Supposedly, shots were fired at a policeman. Czekala and Grefsheim suggested that the incident could trigger a volatile situation.

Moments later, Car 6217 and other task force units were ordered to 5225 State st. "We'll have to get our helmets out," Grefsheim said. "There might be some rock throwing."

Tension filled the air in front of the supermarket. A dozen policemen stood with rifles pointed skyward. The street was filled with other policemen and police vehicles.

A hundred or more black spectators milled about. The supermarket's front windows were smashed. The tall buildings of Robert Taylor homes stood in the background, and policemen were concerned that snipers would be shooting.

The task force deputy commander told Czekala and Grefsheim to assemble with other task force units in front of Du Sable High School on Wabash avenue near 50th street, three blocks away. It is standard procedure that the task force stays in the background at potential disturbance. District cars are on the scene, but the task force is ready on the periphery to move into action if needed.

For the next 54 minutes, 20 task force policemen just waited.

#### STORE'S WINDOWS SMASHED

One sergeant said the disturbance was triggered when the supermarket wanted to close for inventory, but the people wanted it opened. The front windows were smashed, and police moved in with force—just in case.

A reporter asked whether the police responded with an undue show of force and whether their presence in large number might only inflame the incident.

"But what if it broke out and we weren't here?" Grefsheim countered.

The two policemen told how an incident quickly can lead to a major problem. Policemen, they said, stopped a youth who kicked over a mailbox the previous week at 69th and Throop streets. The youth's girl friend leapt at a policeman and bit him, and she was arrested. The policeman had difficulty restraining her.

But a crowd went to the Englewood police station demanding that the policeman be arrested. They charged brutality. The girl, police said, was a sister of a leader of the Disciples gang. "The worst thing about it," Grefsheim said, "is that the policeman might get suspended for brutality."

Grefsheim told how a computer error resulted in a Negro minister filing charges against him.

The license plate of the minister's car was on the hot sheet, so he stopped him for questioning. Grefsheim said the minister told him he had no right to stop him and began to walk away. The task force officer grasped him by the arm.

The minister was taken to a police station where he produced the paper from the auto pound saying his car was stolen, recovered, and returned to him.

## REPORT TAKES TIME

After the minister filed a complaint, Grefsheim was required by the internal investigations divisions to report his side and it took two hours to type out the report. It was later determined that the computer failed to remove the minister's car license number from the daily hot sheet after it was recovered.

The task force unit began patrolling the Wabash district which has lost its dubious long-standing distinction as the district with the most reported crime to the Fillmore district on the west side.

While driving in the 4600 block of Prairie avenue, the reporter asked: "If I walked down this street now alone, would I get robbed?"

Back came the answer: "You couldn't walk down this street without getting robbed."

A white man dressed in a suit, the policemen said, would be on this block only for one reason: Seeking a Negro prostitute. Someone on the block would spot the man, assume he had money, and rob him, the officers said. And if the man did get by unmolested, chances were excellent that the prostitute or an accomplice would roll him.

A pair of peddlers were selling fruits and vegetables at 47th street and Calumet avenue. Some of their boxes were out in the street. The two officers acknowledged the law was being broken, but they did nothing.

They said they overlook certain laws so incidents are not created. "You can't stop a car anywhere around here without attracting a crowd," Grefsheim said. Attracting a crowd, always hostile to police, could lead to a major disturbance.

Sociologists who study police operations contend the law is not enforced with equal vigor in white and black neighborhoods.

## BRIBE OFFERED, SPURNED

A speeding auto on Evans avenue was pursued by the task force team and stopped at 44th street. It led to the first of two bribe attempts of the evening. "Come back here and let me talk to you," the black motorist said to Czekala, motioning him to the rear of the squad car. "I don't talk that kind of language," the policeman answered. The motorist was not ticketed, nor arrested.

That was the first of 10 stops of black citizens over a period of 3 hours, 26 minutes, broken only for a stop for a bowl of chili in a 47th street restaurant. In none of these instances was a citizen given a traffic citation or arrested.

The squad car continued to patrol back and forth along a one-mile stretch of Garfield boulevard.

"Shall we stop these intellectuals?" Grefsheim asked his partner, pointing to a car ahead with two studious-looking blacks.

The "intellectuals" were stopped and they identified themselves. They were Africans enrolled at the University of Illinois. It was one of only three stops of black citizens during the evening that Czekala and Grefsheim did not conduct a thoro search of an auto.

Driving on Prairie avenue near 61st street, Grefsheim said, "Let's see what that car is up to." The two occupants were wearing uniforms of a private police security firm and were driving an auto that the task force officer said looked like an unmarked police car.

He wondered if they were posing as policemen. He explained that sometimes a citizen will pose as a policeman to commit a crime.

## AUTO NOT SEARCHED

The two occupants of the car identified themselves to the satisfaction of the policemen. Their car was not searched. During the questioning, the haunting sounds of "Onk! onk! onk! onk!" came thru the night air from the upper floor of a nearby apartment building.

"Look at how far he's leaning out the window," Czekala pointed upward. "I hope he doesn't fall out."

At Prairie avenue near Garfield boulevard a man was driving on the wrong side of the street and was quickly curbed by the task force team. "You don't carry a weapon, do you, sir?" Grefsheim asked, as the Negro dug a driver's license out of his wallet.

"No, sir," he replied. After producing the driver's license, he came up with some paper money and prominently displayed a five dollar bill. Grefsheim, ignoring the apparent bribe attempt, told the motorist his driver's license had expired. Czekala, in another thoro search of glove compartment, underside of visors, and underneath of front side, found on the seat a notice from the secretary of state's office that the driver's license was to expire. The driver insisted he had never seen it. He was let go.

The next Garfield boulevard stop was a motorist without a city sticker. A group of black teen-agers chatting in the street looked on with disfavor as the young black and his car were searched. A broken cuedstick in the back seat was left there. "The cuedstick is just there to protect him from the elements," Grefsheim said later. The "elements," he said, are other youths who would want to fight.

"What do you have up there in your sky?" Czekala said, pointing to the black's wide-brimmed hat. But Grefsheim already had searched inside the brim for narcotics. A package of paper used to roll marijuana cigarettes was found in the front seat, but the youth denied using drugs. He was allowed to continue on his way.

Back in the squad car, Grefsheim called out at some youths lurking in the shadow of a building and said: "How are things tonight in the ghetto?"

A teen-ager shot back: "Things are never right in the ghetto."

At Garfield and Stony Island avenue, the task force team spotted a car without a city vehicle sticker. When the squad car's blue light went on, the driver quickly pulled into a gas station. The policemen followed and pulled up behind at the gas pumps. They waited until the gas tank was filled, the motorist drove back onto Garfield, and then curbed him.

A well-dressed black man explained he bought the car only last week. "You don't have a holster under that suit coat, do you?" Czekala asked. The Negro opened his suit coat wide. There was no gun. A search of the auto turned up nothing.

"If you stopped me for a violation and searched my car, I would object," the reporter told the task force men. "Why hasn't even one of these people objected?"

"They know they could be arrested for a traffic violation," Czekala replied.

## STOPS AT HOSPITAL

The squad car stopped at Provident hospital, 426 E 51st st. Its emergency room is the scene of intense activity on week-ends because of the neighborhood violence. Grefsheim went inside for a minute, then came out and reported that three current emergency cases included a youth shot in the leg, another with stab wounds all over his chest, and a third with a turban-bandage covering his head.

On the radio a policeman was telling the dispatcher that a youth shot in a skirmish refused police help. It was no surprise to Grefsheim and Czekala. They said gang members with minor gunshot wounds often will "walk off" their injury and refuse to be taken to a hospital.

Back on patrol, the task force officers spotted a double parked car on Wabash just north of Garfield. A Negro was sitting at the wheel.

"There's a good chance he has no driver's license," Czekala said.

"There's a fair chance he has a gun," Grefsheim countered.

The youth explained he was waiting for two friends, who momentarily returned from

a gas station. Czekala conducted his usual thoro search of the car.

Pointing to one of the black youths, he told his partner, "Does this guy have our number. He says we won't find a reefer in there." They didn't.

After several minutes of amiable conversation, the policemen and the black youths parted company.

And the aggressive, incessant patrol of Garfield boulevard continued.

"Why Garfield?" the reporter asked.

"It's not so crowded and you can pull people over without blocking traffic," Czekala replied.

"What's your biggest frustration?" the reporter asked.

"When you know someone is guilty and he's not convicted," Czekala replied. Grefsheim cited the case of a 16-year-old rapist they caught in the act. "He's back on the street," he said.

As the patrol continued, Grefsheim was studying license plate numbers and faces in cars to see if they would match with numbers on the hot sheets or sketches in the Daily Bulletin. "I'm getting the first four numbers, but that's all," he said.

Then he noticed the driver of an auto was similar to a sketch of a man wanted for robbery. The color and make of the car fitted the Daily Bulletin description. "Let's see what he has to say for himself," Grefsheim said.

## SHOWS PICTURE TO DRIVER

The motorist, nattily dressed in electric blue suit, identified himself as a bartender. His car was searched. Then, in a display of police-community relations, Grefsheim brought out the Daily Bulletin.

Pointing to the sketch, he asked the black motorist, "Now, doesn't that look like you. You even have the same type of processed hair. That's why we stopped you."

The two joked about the resemblance to the sketch, and how the description of the car coincided with the motorist's auto.

Back in the squad car, Grefsheim said, "Let's go to 47th street. Maybe we'll see an on-view cutting." That's his phrase for seeing someone getting stabbed.

At 47th and Calumet, the policemen spotted a driver wearing earphones, "I've got to find out why he's wearing earphones," said Czekala, who pursued the motorist. He was stopped a block away.

The black man showed the policemen how the tape recorder on the front seat worked with its stereo cartridges. He was listening to "soul music" while driving. The policemen suggested that was not a good idea.

A car with only one headlight was spotted and Czekala gave chase. The motorist turned two corners quickly. "It appears he has eluded us," Czekala said. "A sidestreet sneaker," Grefsheim joked.

The policeman drove past "the filthiest corner in North America"—45th street and St. Lawrence avenue, and "the worst building in the city"—744 E Bowen st, "where people kicked out of the projects come to live."

Then at 42d and St. Lawrence, three black children ran frantically up to the squad car and cried out, "Somebody is shooting down the street." The officers questioned other people on the street, but failed to locate the alleged shooting.

The dispatcher on the police radio gave a call of "shot fired" in a building on 36th street. The call is assigned to a district's squad car, but the task force men were only three blocks away so they speed to the scene.

Their presence a block from the supposed shooting abruptly broke up a crap game, with one youth quickly scooping up the money. "He's probably the one who called," Grefsheim said.

At the address of the alleged shooting, there was no activity. Two youths questioned in a parking lot said they heard nothing. Phony calls are as much a plague to policemen as the false alarm is to firemen.

## THRIVE IN DARK

"We're members of the mushroom club," Czekala said. "We thrive in the dark and are fed a lot of manure."

The officers answered "a man with a gun" call at 51st and State. But there was no man with a gun in view, so they drove to the parking lot of the supermarket where the disturbance occurred earlier in the evening.

A squadrol was stationed in the parking lot. A policeman came up to the squad car and grumbled that the worst thing the sergeant could have done was to order the squadrol in the parking lot where it would make a prime target for snipers in Robert Taylor homes.

He told how a policeman was shot in the shoulder only minutes earlier just outside his squad car in the parking lot of the Wabash avenue police station.

Then a shot rang out from Robert Taylor homes.

The policeman ran for cover. Czekala rapidly exited the parking lot. Apparently we were the targets of a sniper's bullet, but no one was injured.

Two more stops of citizens, and the shift was over.

Left in doubt was whether the task force methods did any good or violated citizens' rights.

Earlier, Czekala conceded, "We do abuse people, but we get guns off the street and prevent a lot of potential grief." And Greshelm suggested that "some people have to suffer" in the fight against crime.

## WHAT KERNER REPORT SAID

This is what the Kerner report said about "aggressive preventive patrol:"

"Although police administrators may take steps to attempt to eliminate misconduct by individual police officers, many departments have adopted patrol practices which in the words of one commentator, have '... replaced harassment by individual patrolmen with harassment by entire departments.'

"These practices, sometimes known as 'aggressive preventive patrol,' take a number of forms, but invariably they involve a large number of police-citizen contacts initiated by police rather than in response to a call for help or service. One such practice utilizes a roving task force which moves into high crime districts without prior notice, and conducts intensive, often indiscriminate, street stops and searches.

"A number of persons who might legitimately be described as suspicious are stopped. But so also are persons whom the beat patrolman would know are respected members of the community. Such task forces are often deliberately moved from place to place making it impossible for its members to know the people with whom they come in contact."

## COMMUNITY PROGRAM STRESSED BY POLICE

(By Casey Banas)

Police Sgt. Arthur Ferando went fishing instead of reporting to the Austin district station and his superiors approved.

Ferando took 35 neighborhood children fishing at a suburban Bridgeview lagoon. The previous evening, he had worked behind the scenes to insure that the district's monthly police-community workshop ran smoothly.

These are among the duties of Ferando, who is community services sergeant for the Austin district. One such sergeant was appointed in each police district in March, 1967, as part of a new effort to improve police relations with the community.

## SOME POLICE OBJECT

The program is viewed with mixed feelings within the department. If asked about the need for community relations, many policemen—including some in upper echelons—would angrily answer: "We're not social workers."

But the thinking of those who have closely

studied police operations thruout the nation is the opposite.

The Presidential Crime commission emphasized: "The commission believes that a police-community relations program is one of the most important functions of any police department in a community with a substantial minority population."

The commission said that it is "not a public relations program to 'sell the police image' to the community," but is "a long-range, full-scale effort to acquaint the police and the community with each other's problems and to stimulate action aimed at solving those problems."

## DENOUNCES CLICHE METHODS

The Kerner commission said it believes that "community relations is an integral part of all law enforcement," but warned "it cannot be made so by part-time effort, peripheral status, or cliché methods."

The commission added that "improving community relations is a full-time assignment for every commander and every officer—an assignment that must include the development of an attitude, a tone, throughout the force that conforms with the ultimate responsibility of every policeman: public service."

Five months after the community services sergeant concept was implemented, the police department formed a community services division to coordinate all programs.

Deputy Chief Samuel M. Nolan, the department's highest ranking black policeman, is the director. "We have now detoured from the traditional role of law enforcement," he said, "and some policemen don't like it."

Years ago, the policeman walking the beat was a one-man community relations program as he personally knew scores of business men, residents, and children. But the motorization of the police force coupled with increased calls for services has created a wall between the policeman and the community.

"All you can do is to ride around and answer calls," Ferando lamented. "We have lost that personal touch."

Often, the only contact an average citizen has now with a policeman is under unpleasant circumstances—like being curbed by a squad car and given a ticket for running a red light. But the chances are increasing for the citizen to meet a policeman without the heavy arm of law enforcement resting upon his shoulder.

A child's first contact with a policeman is likely to be when an "Officer Friendly" visits his classroom. The "Officer Friendly" program was started in March, 1966, to help teach youngsters respect for authority and to show them the policeman is their friend.

## FORTY-TWO "OFFICERS FRIENDLY"

There are now 42 full-time "Officers Friendly" who will speak to 750,000 pupils in Chicago elementary schools—public, parochial, and private—during the current school year. Every child will be visited nine times by an "Officer Friendly" between kindergarten and 8th grade.

This fall, an experimental program is under way in which 10 policemen will be teaching a three-week course on law enforcement and social problems for juniors in six south side high schools.

Key elements of a district's community relations programs are a variety of police-sponsored youth activities—such as Sgt. Ferando's fishing trip—and the monthly police-community workshop.

District commanders are required to preside at these meetings. Citizens have a monthly opportunity for questions and debate.

Sgt. Ferando's August program, for example, included 21 outings for Austin youngsters ranging from a trip to a Negro history museum to a White Sox ball game.

When he spread the word that children who register their bicycles and tack on reflector tape would receive a certificate for a free hamburger, 500 youths showed up. A McDonald's drive-in restaurant indeed did give out 500 hamburgers.

In mid-summer, the police department sponsored a physical fitness pentathlon where youths from 6 thru 18 years old competed against national standards. A rainy day did not scare away the 800 youths who came to Hanson park stadium for the event.

There is one fact of life about a community relations program that can be devastating. "One guy in a beat car can ruin the program," Ferando admitted. A new police department film on the community services program illustrates this.

## MUST FULFILL ROLE

Sgt. William Howe, community services sergeant for the Shakespeare district, is shown at a roll call reading a letter from a child submitting his resignation as a Junior Patrolman. The youth wrote that he walked up to a squad car and offered a cheery, "Hi, I'm a Junior Patrolman." The policeman replied, "Get off the corner and go home."

Also the police-community workshop may be an ideal forum for citizens to air their grievances, it may not be fulfilling the community relations role envisioned by the Presidential Crime commission.

Less than one hour before an Austin district police-community workshop, Ferando was wondering if even 20 people would show up. But 137 people occupied every available chair in the meeting room of the Central Masonic Temple, 5352 Chicago av.

Very few were under 40 years of age. Even tho Austin has rapidly increasing Negro population, only two black people were present, altho two others came 15 minutes before the two-hour session ended.

## PEOPLE BACK COMMANDER

It was strictly a love-in between Capt. Mark Thanasouras, Austin district commander, and the citizens. The people were solidly behind Thanasouras, and did not ask any penetrating questions. Before the meeting, several registered complaints about abandoned autos and rowdy teen-agers with Ferando.

Had more teen-agers and blacks attended, this is what they would have seen and heard:

Thanasouras presented a Jaycee award to Patrolman Eugene Manion, father of 11 children, who pretended to accept a \$3,000 bribe from two narcotics sellers so he could infiltrate their operation. The sellers threatened to kill him, his wife, and children if he did not cooperate by killing a fellow gang member and helping to rob a dairy.

Guided by Manion, police moved in and broke up a \$500,000 heroin ring.

The guest speaker, Joseph DiNatale, an assistant state's attorney, pleaded for increased citizen cooperation in reporting crimes and showing up for court appearances. He said that in a two-week period in Violence court, only 30 per cent of the citizens signing complaints appeared compared with 100 per cent of the arresting officers.

DiNatale told about an old man confined to a wheelchair who was beaten by youths near Lincoln and Belmont avenues until he relinquished the keys to his car. A crowd of spectators, including four lifelong friends of the man, failed to intrude or seek any help from police.

The youths drove away with the man, eventually throwing him on a pile of rocks at Fullerton avenue at Lake Michigan. His auto was smashed beyond repair.

## GIVES OTHER EXAMPLES

DiNatale told other stories to demonstrate how law enforcement is hampered by lack of citizen participation.

"Law enforcement isn't the police, the state's attorney, the judge, the penologist, or even the executioner," Thanasouras empha-

sized. "It's all of us. Any community will get the quality and quantity of law enforcement it demands and will take."

"Do you think the time will come again when we can walk the streets without fear?" asked a woman in her fifties.

"That's why we've got violence," Thana-souras replied. "No one cares about what happens to the next guy."

After the meeting, a reporter commented that the workshop would have been more effective had large numbers of young people been present.

"But how do you reach them?" Ferando asked.

"How about a rock 'n' roll band as a side attraction?"

"That would be asking for trouble," intruded an eavesdropping citizen.

#### POLICE FILM OFFERED TO HELP RELATIONS

A new 27-minute film depicting the work of three community services sergeants is available without charge for showing to any group. The film, "Let's Work Together," is designed to combat antagonism between police and young people.

It includes a scene of a black youth charging police harassment. "Who you going to go to?" he asked. "They've got power to do anything." A black teen-ager challenges a white community services sergeant, William Howe, to answer frankly whether he is prejudiced. "I am prejudiced, and I don't like it," Howe admits. "My parents told me black people live in slums and are bad." Howe explains he came in contact only with criminal elements in six years patrolling in an inner city area. But he says he is attempting to rid himself of racial prejudice.

"A policeman can be nice," one teen-ager tells another. "He's not there just to rap you on the head with a stick."

#### I.I.D. KEEPS WATCH OVER THE POLICE DEPARTMENT

(By Casey Banas)

Suppose a policeman solicits a bribe after stopping you for a traffic violation and you report the incident to the police department.

What are the chances the policeman will be disciplined?

When such a case occurred a few weeks ago, police investigators were at the patrolman's district station within an hour after the complaint was made. The accusing citizen was asked to confront the policeman at the station. He did. He said the policeman sought a \$20 bribe.

The policeman denied taking any money. Investigators searched him and his locker, but did not find the money. A subsequent investigation showed there was sufficient basis for disciplinary action. The policeman was suspended for 30 days without pay.

#### PROBLEM FOR I.I.D.

Policing the police department and investigating complaints such as this is the responsibility of the internal investigations division.

Often, the I.I.D. comes under attack from both inside and outside the department. Citizens may believe complaints against policemen are whitewashed. Policemen may charge the I.I.D. with using sneaky methods to gather evidence against them.

"Our effectiveness really depends on the cooperation of the people," emphasized Capt. Raymond Clark, who was director of the I.I.D. until several weeks ago.

#### THE \$1,000 BRIBE CASE

The citizen may be reluctant to bring charges against a policeman because he, too, may be guilty of an offense. But that didn't deter a citizen in this case:

A motorist left the scene of an accident. He was later found by a policeman in the hit-and-run unit. According to an I.I.D. investigation, the policeman said that for a \$1,000 bribe, he would arrange that the motorist not be charged. The citizen agreed

to leave the \$1,000 in the policeman's desk drawer.

I. I. D. investigators were on the scene, and after receiving a prearranged signal from the citizen, they recovered the \$1,000 from the desk. The policeman was prosecuted and fined \$500. The department recommended his dismissal from the force. The police board has taken the case under advisement.

If you called Police 5-1313 to register a complaint against a policeman, here's what the department says would happen:

The policeman answering your call would refer you to the I. I. D. complaint desk manned by a sergeant. He would write down the pertinent information. Within the hour, some action must be taken on your complaint. You might be asked to come to the policeman's district station immediately to confront him. Or more often, the complaint would be referred to the policeman's immediate supervisor for investigation.

In another recent case, a woman charged that a policeman was abusive in knocking at her door at 3 a.m. with a warrant for the arrest of her 17-year-old son. The report included 13 interviews with parties involved during a two month investigation.

The I. I. D. report said the abusiveness charge was unfounded and that the policeman has the legal prerogative to serve the warrant even at 3 a.m. But when it was found the policeman was given the warrant at noon the preceding day, the I. I. D. recommended a five-day suspension for failure to execute duties promptly.

#### HOW FAIR IS PROBE?

Is it realistic for a citizen to expect a fair and thorough investigation under a system where the police department polices itself?

"They should be able to expect fairness," Clark contended, "but sometimes this is a hard product to sell." Citizens often question the system when they find out that more often than not, the immediate superiors of the policeman conduct the investigation, he said.

The I. I. D. does not have the manpower to investigate all complaints, nor should it have, Clark said. It handles the most serious and most complicated cases, and those involving more than one police district or division. Or if the identity of a policeman charged with misconduct is unknown, the I. I. D. tries to determine who he is. Once this is done, the investigation is turned over to the policeman's unit.

When former Police Supt. O. W. Wilson formed the I.I.D. in 1960, it was assigned to investigate all complaints. Later Wilson became convinced that discipline is an essential function of police commanders and supervisors and said they should assume the major share of the cleansing process.

So a citizen bringing a charge against a policeman may be contacted by his immediate supervisor, a sergeant. "Any attempts to minimize guilt will be detected, at any one of a number of levels," Clark insisted.

#### TWO SERGEANTS SUSPENDED

After the sergeant completes his report, it is reviewed by the watch commander, the district commander, the deputy superintendent, then by the I.I.D. Both the recommendations and thoroughness of the investigation come under close scrutiny, Clark said.

"We have disciplined supervisors whose investigations are not in keeping with the evidence," he explained. "Word gets around quickly that the investigation had better be in keeping with the evidence." In 1968, two sergeants were suspended for failure to make a proper investigation.

Disciplinary action against the policemen ranges from an oral reprimand to a written reprimand to suspensions ranging from 1 to 30 days to firing.

A policeman is given a choice of accepting or rejecting the disciplinary action recommended. If he is unhappy, he can ask for a hearing by a three-member review panel. In

the case of a patrolman, the panel must include three lieutenants. With a sergeant or officer of higher rank, the panel must include three officers who are captains or higher ranks.

#### REVIEWS ALL CASES

Police Supt. James B. Conlisk reviews all recommendations of disciplinary actions, and his decision is final in cases up to 30-day suspensions. But only the five-member citizens police board can fire a policeman. This is done after a trial in which the policeman has the right to legal counsel. Witnesses for both sides are heard.

Currently, the police department has 18 cases pending where it is seeking to fire policemen.

Three policemen are accused of accepting bribes from traffic violators. One allegedly used excessive force against a citizen. An off-duty policeman in uniform is charged with being drunk in a tavern.

Another policeman was convicted in court of a battery charge committed while off duty. Another allegedly fired a gun in a traffic dispute with a citizen. A policeman is charged with insubordination and striking a superior officer.

#### DIDN'T REGISTER WEAPON

Another is charged with failure to register a private weapon with the police department and also having fired it. An I. I. D. investigation reported that the policeman spent a night with a prostitute, became angry at her the next morning, and fired the weapon. During a police board hearing, the city dropped a third charge that the policeman committed sexual acts with a prostitute.

One of the biggest problems in investigating charges of police misconduct is that in many cases, it is the word of the complainant against the policeman. Often, there are no witnesses or evidence sustaining the charge. So no disciplinary action is taken. Asked to explain this procedure, Clark emphasized that no court would convict a man solely on the basis of one man's word without witnesses or evidence.

Sometimes, lie detector tests are given in an attempt to find out who is telling the truth. First, the complainant is asked to take a polygraph test. Why not the policeman first? "It's the citizen who brings the charge," Clark answered.

#### TYPES OF QUESTIONS

The complainant will be asked questions such as: "Were you resisting arrest?" If the citizen passes the test, the policeman is asked to take the polygraph. If he refuses, he faces disciplinary action. One case is pending against a policeman who refused an order of a superior officer to take a lie detector test in a bribery charge.

Sometimes the I. I. D. is thwarted by refusal of complainants to cooperate with police investigators, Clark said, also they readily tell their stories to newspaper and television reporters. He referred to the case of a business man seen on television news programs charging police brutality and displaying physical marks of a beating. But the same man, Clark contended, refused to discuss the case with the I. I. D.

In some instances, Clark said, the citizen's refusal to cooperate stems from his lack of confidence that the police will take any disciplinary action. In other cases, an attorney has advised the citizen not to talk. Often, this is done because the citizen will have a suit pending against the policeman.

#### SOME PROBES HAMPERED

One top police official suggested that the department sometimes is hampered in making an investigation because of the feeling that "monetary aspects outweigh justice."

A chief critic of the police department's job of policing itself is Jay A. Miller, executive director of the Illinois division of the American Civil Liberties union. He argues that the department unduly justifies the

conduct of its members when they are clearly in the wrong.

Miller cited the case of a white attorney who paused alongside his home to peer into his basement window and was arrested as a "peeping Tom." He added that the man's explanation and identification by his family and friends were to no avail.

#### ATTORNEY SUES CITY

The attorney sued and was awarded a \$5,000 out-of-court settlement, Miller said. No disciplinary action was taken against the policemen involved in the arrest, he said.

Some months later, Miller said he cited this case while speaking at a University of Illinois seminar to Chicago's top police officers. "They said I didn't tell the whole story," he recalled. "They alleged the attorney was creating a commission." Instead of admitting that perhaps the policemen were wrong, the top police officials came to their defense, even to the incident cost taxpayers \$5,000, Miller said.

"When you take that attitude into the ghetto," he continued, "you're in serious trouble. Citizens can only depend on the self-restraint of the policeman."

#### FILES KEPT CLOSED

Conlisk refused a reporter's request to study several I. I. D. reports altho the superintendent was assured no names or identifications would be published. He justified his decision on the grounds that policemen have been assured that only the superintendent, deputy superintendent, and I. I. D. will see any file.

But Conlisk did authorize release of statistics on the department's disciplinary action. Out of 5,323 completed investigations of citizens' complaints last year, 1,128 were sustained by the police department. Thru Aug. 20 of this year 606 of 3,372 complaints were upheld.

#### TOO SOON FOR VERDICT

### HON. HAMILTON FISH, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, Americans were shocked at the allegations of atrocities at My Lai. This does not mean, however, that we abandon our concept of justice and prejudged American military officers charged with responsibility for the alleged massacre of civilians in South Vietnam. The facts will be brought out and the Congress has the power to assure a complete airing of the facts. Only then should a verdict be rendered.

It has been said that the right of freedom of the press and the right to a free trial are on a collision course. It is my opinion that this collision is not necessary. I commend to my colleagues' attention a most thoughtful and responsible editorial on the subject from the December 1, 1969, edition of the Kingston (N.Y.) Daily Freeman:

#### TOO SOON FOR VERDICT

David Lawrence in an adjoining column states that throughout the world public opinion apparently has made up its mind that American officers were responsible for whatever did happen in a South Vietnamese hamlet in March, 1968.

Americans have recoiled in horror as details of the alleged massacre have unfolded in recent days. There is, to be sure, no incontrovertible proof that GIs deliberately gunned down civilians. Pictures of piled-up

bones do not show how or by whose hand they were killed.

But the charges are too grave and too horrible and corroboration is coming from too many sources to be swept aside. The Army has brought charges of murder against 1st Lieut. William Calley Jr. alleging that he murdered 109 civilians of various ages and of both sexes. The officer must be given every chance to try to prove his innocence, but all the witnesses that can be rounded up also should be heard. If others beside this lieutenant are implicated, they too, should be court-martialed. Members of the South Vietnamese Senate and Assembly also are to conduct an investigation. A week ago Defense Minister General Nguyen Van Vy branded the reports as "totally untrue."

As it now stands, none of the charges has been proved, but Americans are disturbed just the same. However, as the columnist points out, it is just as illogical for a verdict to be rendered by the press or TV as it would be when a jury has heard only one side of a case in a trial where someone is accused of murder.

If it is established that our armed forces massacred innocent civilians, the guilty should be punished. But before jumping to conclusions, we should wait until a full investigation is completed. It is too soon to render a verdict.

#### AMERICAN INDIAN COURT JUDGES ASK FOR BASIC CHANGES IN U.S. GOVERNMENT AGENCY STRUCTURE

### HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Tom Colosimo, secretary of Arrow, Inc. who maintains the Arrow headquarters here in Washington, has recently written an editorial for their publication entitled "American Indian Court Judges Ask for Basic Changes in U.S. Government Agency Structure." The article is well done and I think deserves the studious consideration of each Member of Congress. The article follows:

#### AMERICAN INDIAN COURT JUDGES ASK FOR BASIC CHANGES IN U.S. GOVERNMENT AGENCY STRUCTURE

The American Indian Tribal Court system, as it is known today, has its origin in the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, more commonly known as the Indian Reorganization Act. The intent of this legislation was to give each recognized Tribal entity an opportunity to provide the total range of governmental services for members of the Indian community while operating under a Tribal constitution and charter. This legislation stipulated that each Tribal government would be organized so as to provide for the maximum social and economic welfare of its members. This concept of self-government involved all aspects of community services, including the police and judicial function.

The Tribal court system at first operated under the U.S. Code of Federal Regulations, Title 25. Each Tribal organization that reorganized under the Act was later encouraged to adopt its own law and order codes which would provide for the safety of its Tribal members under laws applicable to the reservation on which it was operating. The reservation resident was thereby to be provided with laws which were consistent with the surrounding environment.

However, as the surrounding environment has become increasingly complex and difficult to cope with, the Indian court system has been held back by a number of factors. In the fore among these factors are the present Federal government regulations and controls of many judicial functions, a lack of provision for training Indian judges, and a lack of funding to the Tribal courts.

Existing Regulations include two provisions limiting the function of the Tribal Court System. First, the present codes relate generally to misdemeanor offenses. The Federal government retains exclusive jurisdiction over all other offenses under the Eleven Major Crimes Act. Second, the Code provides that only members of the Tribe under the jurisdiction of a particular Tribal court shall be eligible to sit as judges on that court.

At first, Tribal judges were capable of coping with misdemeanors and simple civil cases which came to the attention of their courts. With the passing of time and the extension of jurisdiction to Tribal courts by decisions of state and Federal courts, criminal and civil actions became more complex, and many of the Indian judges found themselves lacking training in law and legal procedures.

The men and women who now serve as Indian court judges hold a vital position within the reservation community. As in any community, the judges are responsible, in large part, for upholding the individual rights of the citizens who appear before their courts. The importance of the court system to the fabric of the entire community it serves is obvious.

The sad fact is that the American Indian Tribal court system is understaffed, under-equipped, and underfunded. The judges who serve the system, in most cases, have a minimum of formal legal training and no access to up-to-date information on legislation and legal process. While Indian policemen receive training, and police functions on the reservation are augmented by the Federal government (the Bureau of Indian Affairs Branch of Law and Order and the F.B.I.), the judiciary and its personnel are sadly neglected.

American Indian Tribal court judges, if their communities' needs are to be served, must be given the training and dignity commensurate with the important positions that they hold. Many Indian judges, including the Chief Justices of some reservations, must serve in a number of capacities not directly related to their positions as judges if important court services are to be provided for their people at all. They perform some of the duties that secretarial staff, counselors, and probation and parole officers should perform. Several Indian judges have commented recently that their jobs could easily take twenty hours of each working day. The exceptional responsibility that these men and women are assuming becomes clearer when one realizes that most Indian judges must rely on sources of income other than their judge's salary. This salary is in many cases as low as \$20.00 per day, this being in a court which does not convene daily.

The Indian courts themselves are neglected. Many of the Tribal systems in the nation do not have so much as a real courtroom in which trials may be conducted. Not only do many of the Tribal judges have a minimum of formal background in law, but also they have little, if any, access to such basic resources as law codes, due to lack of funds to purchase these volumes. The lack of funding and training also prohibits the employment of other court officials—clerks, bailiffs, and probation and parole officers.

Despite the grave needs that Tribal courts now face, funds for those courts, which are handled through the Bureau of Indian Affairs Branch of Law and Order, have been given annual increases by the Congress

which account only for annual cost increase. In other words, the Indian courts are funded so that they can maintain the starvation level at which they now operate, and are provided no funding for expansion or improvement. This is the case despite the fact that Indian courts share the steadily increasing load of Anglo courts throughout the nation. The number of criminal cases processed by Indian courts rose 7% in fiscal year 1968 as compared with fiscal year 1967. With no possibilities for decent probation and parole programs on the horizon, it is worrisome to note that about 69% of the Indian court convictions during fiscal year 1968 were of repeat offenders, and in over 76% of the cases placed on probation or parole during that time, no supervision was intended.

American Indian Tribal court judges are fully aware of the deficiencies of their court system. They want to obtain the training that they now lack; they want to obtain the facilities their courts now lack so they may function at top efficiency and be concerned only with the administration of justice on the reservation.

In June, 1968, a series of conversations was initiated among a number of Indian court judges, Bureau of Indian Affairs officials and Arrow, Inc., a non-profit corporation based in Washington, D.C., and devoted exclusively to American Indian programs. After many preliminary meetings, these judges formed their own professional society, the National American Indian Court Judges Association (NAICJA), to combat the problems cited above. The overall purpose of NAICJA, as stated in its Articles of Incorporation, is to upgrade the Tribal court system through professional advancement and continuing education. Its emphases are on research, education, and communication. With some assistance from Arrow, Inc., NAICJA has already sponsored two management training institutes for Indian court judges and court clerks, and is now planning a third.

The institutes were held in Albuquerque, New Mexico and Custer, South Dakota, June 16-19 and September 12-14, respectively, and were attended by approximately 100 Indian court judges, court clerks, Tribal officials, and judicial officials of the states in which they were held. The institutes provided sessions on such topics as: jurisdictional problems, the effectiveness of volunteer probation and parole officers on reservations, implications on the reservation of the 1968 Civil Rights Act, and the importance of an independent judiciary in Tribal government. The judges attending the institutes all expressed an interest in and a desire to work with NAICJA in its future efforts. While the judges recognize that each Tribal court has its own particular strengths and needs, they recognize a commonality of problems— isolation of reservation areas, lack of training possibilities for reservation court officials, lack of funding to courts, and more emphasis on police functions on the reservation than on the judiciary.

NAICJA, then, is providing two much-needed services. It is a society within which Indian judges throughout the nation will undertake research and education programs and can openly discuss their individual needs and ideas, and it is a forum from which these judges can speak in a unified voice.

One extremely important note to come from NAICJA in recent weeks is a recommendation by Judge Virgil L. Kirk, Sr., Tribal Court Judge for the Navajo Tribe and President of the Board of Directors of NAICJA. Judge Kirk is advocating the replacement of the Branch of Law and Order in the Bureau of Indian Affairs with a Department of the Judiciary and Law Enforcement, also within the Bureau. This request will be one of the main topics for discussion at the next NAICJA management training institute, which will be held in January.

The thinking behind Judge Kirk's recommendation involves much more than a simple name change. He and other members of NAICJA are looking toward a reorganization in the Bureau of Indian Affairs that will provide ample recognition for the Tribal court system. The Indian judges are presently researching their ideas to find the most practicable ways of bringing about that recognition. They are in touch with government agencies in Washington and throughout the country, and they have enlisted the aid of a number of experts in the field of Indian law. The formation of NAICJA in itself is a significant step in the right direction for Indian judges. NAICJA's action to shift emphasis on the reservation so that the court system will have the funds and the expertise it needs is highly noteworthy. Although the name change is significant, the thinking behind it is of much greater importance. A BIA Department of Justice that will eventually help these judges establish a court system that will truly administer justice to American Indians is one of the most important contributions to be made in the field of Indian affairs today. For without a meaningful and successful law and order and justice program for individual American Indians living on Reservation lands how can there be a meaningful and successful education program, economic development program and improvement in all categories of Indian community life?

BERNARD BOUTIN, PRESIDENT,  
ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE

HON. ROBERT T. STAFFORD

OF VERMONT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, I recently had the pleasure of attending the inauguration ceremonies at which Mr. Bernard Boutin was installed as president of St. Michael's College, in Vermont.

This was a historic occasion at St. Michael's, which has become one of our Nation's finest liberal arts colleges. Mr. Boutin became the first layman to become president, following his 10 predecessors who were assigned to the office of president of the Society of St. Edmunds.

Because of Mr. Boutin's long and outstanding service here in Washington, I know that he has many friends here who are interested in his new endeavor. I, therefore, would like to bring to their attention the address given by President Boutin following his inauguration, as well as an account of the ceremony which appeared in the Vermont Catholic Tribune:

INAUGURATION ADDRESS OF BERNARD BOUTIN,  
PRESIDENT OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE

Your Excellency Bishop Joyce, Lt. Governor Hayes, Congressman Stafford, distinguished presidents and representatives of colleges and universities, very reverend and reverend fathers, reverend sisters and brothers, Rabbi Wall, Reverend Dr. Garrett, civic leaders, trustees, associate trustees, alumni, my colleagues on the faculty and in administration, students and friends:

Today formally marks a time of new adventure at St. Michael's College. It had its beginning last March when the trustees elected for the first time in the 65-year history of the college, its first lay president. Typically, on an occasion such as this, I suppose a new president should express his

feelings in terms of trepidation. Rather, I have accepted these responsibilities with gladness of heart, tranquility of spirit and eagerness for the future. I undertake these challenges with a single obligation: the obligation to devote every effort of mind, body and spirit to lead this college to still greater achievement as we seek to develop great men.

To my predecessors, outstanding priests and educators of the Society of St. Edmund, I express our collective gratitude for their vision and their leadership. The problems of today pale by comparison with those of the small band of priests, newly arrived from France, who in 1904 founded this college armed only with faith in Almighty God and the "princely sum" of \$1300. We are both proud and pleased to have still with us at the college one of those early pioneers, Father Eugene Alliot, fifth president of the college, who has been a part of the building of a greater St. Michael's from the very beginning to the present day. His youthfulness of mind and spirit, his confidence in the future, is an example to all of us. This November sixteenth, feast day of St. Edmund of Canterbury, is a fitting occasion to assure Father Alliot and his Edmundite confreres that we shall continue to nurture with care the seeds planted sixty-five years ago.

So while we speak of new beginnings we also speak of building on the proud traditions and accomplishments of the past. But this past which serves as a prologue to the present must not become shackles for the future. The times are too grave, the problems too apparent, the challenges too urgent, the stakes too high for any college or university to be bound by the status quo. It is clear that some of the old concepts, many of the old ways, will no longer do. Confident in the belief that our institutions of higher learning offer the greatest hope and promise of a better, safer, more just world, we at St. Michael's welcome the emerging changes and the new opportunities they carry with them.

Just as Vatican II opened the doors of the Catholic Church, not to a surrender of principle, but to a search for better ways to accomplish its apostolic mission, so too have the doors of this college been opened wide to new ideas. Since early summer, literally our entire college community—trustees, faculty, students, alumni and administration—has been joined in a common effort to plan our future. We work together not as adversaries but with the common good as our goal. Nor do we concern ourselves with who is right but rather seek together to determine what is right—uniquely right for St. Michael's.

I foresee, as a result of the research and work being done by a committee chaired by Dr. Earl McGrath, former U.S. Commissioner of Education, a St. Michael's college whose educational objectives and purposes are more clearly stated than ever before. Objectives and purposes which, to be accomplished, will demand a high degree of excellence by each who wishes to participate.

Simultaneously, a committee on curriculum, under the able leadership of Dean Pfeifer, is seeking new and better ways to enhance the educational experience, to expand academic opportunities, and to assure at St. Michael's a faculty-student relationship of close rapport and mutual respect contributing to effective teaching and deep learning. Recognizing that each student possesses his own knowledge, forms his own opinions, makes his own inferences, is endowed with his own gifts, possesses his own character and has his own individual aspirations, we endeavor to design a unique system for the transmission and acquisition of knowledge which will motivate each student to be all that he can be, and to search for a greatness of his own.

A college of liberal arts and science we have been and such will we continue to be, not in terms of antiquated definition and obsolete restriction, but rather in a climate

where experimentation and innovation are a way of life.

I think even the doubters who were ready to embalm the body of each small college only a few years ago have now detected new signs of life, vigor and virtue in the very smallness they once thought was dead. And it is because we seek at St. Michael's to achieve the most perfect development of each student as an individual rather than as a statistic, that we will measure our growth in qualitative rather than quantitative terms. Translated to specific objectives, this will mean a further gradual raising of our admissions standards, an increasing demand for academic achievement by our students and a faculty noted without exception for its excellence of preparation and ability to teach.

If small, private colleges have an achilles' heel, it surely relates to equating academic excellence and solvency. It seems very clear to me that even with near perfect management of the business affairs of a college, there still must be a reasonable amount of financial support from government if we are to avoid fiscal disaster. Of top priority are financial assistance programs for students and aid in the form of grants and low interest loans to enable colleges to provide needed buildings and modern equipment. Each time that the high promise of legislation goes unmatched by appropriations, the potential of higher education to serve the public interest is diminished.

But we are not dependent upon government alone for assistance. During the past five months, we have been busily engaged in the business of identifying our future needs. They consist of endowments for scholarships and faculty salaries, a new fine arts center, an academic building and a sports center. Translated into financial terms, to meet these needs will require ten million dollars with only about one and one-half million to come from the college's own resources. For the balance of eight and one-half millions, we will need the assistance of our trustees, associate trustees, alumni, friends of the college, business, industry, foundations, government, student and alumni parents, and each and every one of us at the college to meet this ambitious goal over the next five years.

St. Michael's, having from its very beginning an edmundite affiliation, is first and foremost a catholic college. In the ecumenical spirit, we regard this term with both a small and a capital "C". Defining catholic with a small "C" as being all embracing, we wish to make it crystal clear that students of all religious faiths are most welcome at this college. The values we seek to inculcate are those identified with the judeo-christian traditions of western civilization and surely these are of critical importance in contemporary society regardless of religious beliefs. For the catholic student, we endeavor to provide, through both the physical presence on campus of learned priests and laymen and through strong, comprehensive programs in philosophy and theology, the means to better understand, to build upon and to live his faith.

A problem, not unique to this college, troubling educators all over the land who have responsibility for schools now either exclusively male or female, concerns the advisability of coeducation. I believe that there is much to be said in its favor and because we are fortunate enough to have nearby an outstanding women's college of liberal arts, an unusual opportunity for cooperation appears feasible. We have, therefore, entered into serious discussions with our counterparts at Trinity College in Burlington, which we hope, at an early date, will lead not to a merger but rather to a working together for the purpose of enriching the educational experience of the students on both campuses.

There may be those who expect on a college campus to hear harsh rhetoric about stu-

dent apathy. Too many tend to identify today's student with a scene from the *Graduate*, a film in which the main character is concerned about his future. When he is asked in anger by his father, "what did I send you to college for?" The graduate responds, "You got me, dad." I'll quickly concede that probably every college in the country, St. Michael's included, has more of this type student than it wishes. In the final analyses, however, we have only ourselves to blame for it points up a weakness in admissions policy and a lack of stimulation in the classroom. For many restless and indifferent students today, college deals too exclusively with abstractions, theories, and precise facts to be memorized almost by rote, and too little with morality, and action and the direct confrontation of man with his society and his environment. As an integral part of education at St. Michael's, we must be sensitive to the burning issues of our time and prepare our students to tackle them when they go out in society. We must increasingly seek and attract students whose alert and probing minds mark them as natural participants in the life of the mind. We must and will remain dedicated to the pursuit of truth and the diffusion of both knowledge and culture.

Our days, therefore, are filled with intense activity and high hopes for the future of this college. Each day is a new adventure as one step at a time we progress toward the realization of the high standards we have set as our goal. To those at the college, I ask your help. To all, I ask your prayers.

[From the Vermont Catholic Tribune]

MANY FIRSTS FOR ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE  
LAY PREXY

(By John D. Donoghue)

WINOOSKI PARK.—In a ceremony rich with symbolism and color, Bernard L. Boutin was inaugurated Sunday as the 11th president of St. Michael's College. About 100 colleges and universities sent delegates.

There were many "firsts." Mr. Boutin is the first layman to become president of the liberal arts college. It was the first time a president was formally inaugurated in the 65-year history of St. Michael's.

One of St. Michael's most distinguished alumni—he had served Presidents Kennedy and Johnson in Washington—Mr. Boutin became the first president to receive the medallion of office. Bearing the seal of St. Michael's College as its main ornament, the newly created presidential medallion also carries on its small, bronze oval disks the names and dates of all 11 presidents.

The oldest living former president, the Very Rev. Eugene Allot, S.S.E. (1931-1934) a founder of the college in 1904, was there to see a former student accept the medallion and mace from the Very Rev. Eymard P. Galgan, superior general of the Society of St. Edmund and chairman of the board of trustees.

Mr. Boutin's 10 predecessors, some of whom were in attendance, took office without the formal turning over on Sunday of presidential leadership from religious to lay hands. His predecessors had taken office as an assignment from their Edmundite colleague who constituted the board of trustees. The ceremony took place on the feast of St. Edmund.

Mr. Boutin was chosen president on March 14, 1969 by a board that now includes seven other laymen, following a search in which trustees, faculty, administrators and students participated.

Dr. Henry G. Fairbanks, chairman of the inauguration committee, was marshal for the colorful procession into the chapel. From Harvard University, founded in 1636, to Franklin Pierce College, founded in 1962, the delegates and representatives of civic, learned and professional societies brightened the chapel with their hoods of every color. TV and still cameramen kept their bright lights focused on the area in front of the altar.

After the national anthem, the invocation was delivered by the most Rev. Robert F. Joyce, bishop of Burlington.

Then followed a series of greetings: for the students, Francis M. Corbishley, president of the Student Association; for the faculty, Dr. Edward J. Pfeifer, academic dean; for the administration, Rev. Francis E. Moriarty, S.S.E., assistant to the president and himself a former president; for the alumni, Alfred A. Scala, president of the Alumni Association; for the trustees, Father Galligan; for the state, Thomas L. Hayes, lieutenant governor; and for the diocese, Bishop Joyce.

After a choral interlude, "Exultate Justi" by the choir under the direction of Paul Dorsam, the formal investiture was followed by President Boutin's inauguration address.

For the occasion, the trustees had also voted to confer three honorary degrees: To Ernest W. Gibson; Bernard J. Leddy; and the Rev. William A. Donaghy, S.J.

Because Judge Gibson, chief judge of the U.S. District Court, District of Vermont, died since the vote of the trustees, the honorary doctor of laws degree was received by his son, Ernest W. Gibson, III, from the Rev. Daniel P. Lyons, S.S.E., trustee and former president.

Judge Leddy also received an honorary doctorate of laws. It was presented by Trustee Thomas J. Kenney.

Father Donaghy, poet and former president of Holy Cross College where he is again teaching, received his honorary doctorate of humane letters from Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles J. Marcoux, trustee.

The Benediction was offered antiphonally in Hebrew and English by two members of the faculty, Rabbi Max B. Wall of Ohav Zedek Synagogue in Burlington, and Dr. William R. Garrett, a Baptist minister.

Among those attending was Congressman Robert T. Stafford.

The Vermont State Department of Education was represented by Deputy Commissioner Daniel G. O'Connor and the Diocesan Board of Education by its chairman, the Rev. Raymond A. Adams.

The New Hampshire Board of Education which Boutin served as chairman before his call to St. Michael's was represented by Deputy Commissioner Robert L. Brunelle and members Gerard F. Cullerot and John J. McNabb.

## FOSTER GRANDPARENTS

### HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, Miss Genevieve M. Thompson, supervisor of special services for the Ramsey County Welfare Department, gave an excellent speech on the workings of the Foster Grandparent program in Minnesota in May 1968. This speech has just been published in the November issue of *Child Welfare*.

I commend it to my colleagues as it portrays how the Foster Grandparent program can bring tremendous benefits to both the young and the old.

The speech follows:

FOSTER GRANDPARENTS

(By Genevieve M. Thompson)

(NOTE.—Genevieve M. Thompson is Supervisor, Special Services, Ramsey County Welfare Department, St. Paul, Minnesota. She set up the foster grandparent project described in this paper, which was presented at the CWLA Midwest Region Conference, 1968.)

Discussing the potential of older citizens, Esther E. Twente, then at the University of

Kansas School of Social Work, wrote in 1965: "In a youth-oriented culture, with much emphasis placed on production and money income, the period of life between retirement and death may become quite meaningless for older people. Frustrations, undefined roles, and the lowered economic status often accompanying retirement may make for irascibility, loneliness, and a feeling of worthlessness. Yet this can also be a time of usefulness and productivity. It may also be a period during which courage, strength, and a capacity for creativity may be demonstrated."

In the same year, the Administration of Aging, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, was negotiating a contract with the newly established Office of Economic Opportunity to initiate a most fascinating, productive, and rewarding way of life for senior citizens—the Foster Grandparent Program. Basic to the project were two facts: America has hundreds of children existing in institutions without the opportunity of experiencing a close personal relationship; America also has thousands of persons 60 years old or older whose lives have become essentially meaningless because they no longer have a close personal relationship.

About 100 directors of children's institutions throughout the country, convening in Washington, expressed their concern about the institutionalized children's unmet need for individual relationships, and were told of the Administration on Aging's concern about elderly persons lacking personal relationships. It was obvious that the children needed the older persons, and the older persons needed the children—and the Foster Grandparent Program was born.

Applications for projects were received from about 70 children's institutions represented at the conference. These included proposals to use foster grandparents in hospitals, schools, day care centers, and sheltered workshops, and in the family homes of children who were crippled, blind, retarded emotionally ill, physically ill, or culturally deprived. I was involved in setting up a project, sponsored by the Minnesota Association for Retarded Children, that authorized use of 120 foster grandparents divided among the three state hospitals for retarded children, at Brainerd, Cambridge, and Faribault, Minnesota.

The contract between the OEO and the Administration on Aging made the administration responsible for technical development and supervision of projects initiated under the program, and for determining the best procedure for conducting future programs. The OEO made nationwide expansion of the program possible by providing financial support. Children accepted for the program were to be less than 16 years old, and elderly persons accepted were to be 60 or older, and have an income below that established by OEO as the poverty level. Initially this level was \$1500 for a single person and below \$2000 for a married person; in December 1968 these amounts were increased to \$1600 and \$2100. The basic unit of service was 2 hours a day of individual contact with a child, and the basic objective, of course, was to employ older persons to give personal attention to individual children. The program was conceived as an added dimension of agency services, and the foster grandparents were not to be used to relieve staff of routine duties. There were to be no maintenance or custodial responsibilities unless such activities were a natural part of giving attention to an assigned child. A maximum of 20 hours a week was established for each foster grandparent. Although pay for most projects has been increased to \$1.60 an hour, with a transportation allowance, for the Minnesota Association project the initial

pay was \$1.50 an hour, plus a transportation allowance not to exceed \$1 a day.

Foster grandparents were expected to work from 10 a.m. to noon with one assigned child, and from 1 p.m. to 3 p.m. with a second. A 40-hour training program was required for identifying and developing foster grandparent abilities in the senior citizens employed. Supervision and continuing in-service training were required in each project. Advisory committees composed of one-third lay community members, one-third professional community members, and one-third foster grandparents were organized to meet the "maximum feasible participation" goal of antipoverty programs. Quarterly narrative reports were required, covering three areas: general operating description of the project, community relations, and observable benefits.

#### COMMUNICATION LEVELS

Although I am a professionally trained social worker with 30 years' experience, my communication experience had been primarily in a one-to-one relationship, and secondarily in group relationships—in short, it had been meager compared with the intensive and extensive experiences in communication involved in the foster grandparent project. From the beginning and at all levels of involvement, each facet of the programs was observed, reported on, and scrutinized openly. Foster grandparents kept diaries that were shared with staff, in newsletters, and in the quarterly reports. The diaries recording activities of the foster grandparents and children (activities observable by institution staff, the children's own family, the community, etc.) contained a wealth of "inner" comments and feelings, as well as foster grandparents' own instructions to themselves. Many recorded the foster grandparents' need to "listen carefully," to "speak clearly," to "report such and such," to "experiment with this," together with their evaluations of their own activities, such as "that was sure a flop," or "I finally got through to him." To give an example: A foster grandmother had tried repeatedly, and in various ways, to keep a child from biting whoever came near him. One day her diary recorded: "I'm going to try a pepper bag." She made a bag, filled it with pepper, and tucked it into her apron pocket for use the next day. When the child bit, she applied the pepper bag to the tip of his tongue. That stopped him. On a few other occasions, when the child indicated readiness to bite, she said, "Pepper bag," and he found some other way to express himself.

This kind of procedure will not be found in a book on disciplining children, but it made one little boy a more welcome member of society.

The foster grandparent programs have gained much by this kind of open reporting on experiences. We have much to learn from older citizens, who disclose more of themselves and their living than younger people ordinarily do. In state-level advisory committees we struggled with the concept of "maximum feasible participation" in relation to an expressed view that problems of helping foster grandparents should not be discussed at meetings where they are present.

The quarterly narrative reports kept Washington apprised of developments and problems, and this sustained a sense of creativity and growth in all the projects. Each quarterly narrative report reflects the individuality of each project. Preparing them takes time, but as a way of evaluating experience, they are invaluable.

#### THE PERSONAL EQUATION

I have sketched the background of the foster grandparent-foster grandchild experience, and now will describe how I saw the human beings involved. I viewed the people over 60 as having long human, living experi-

ence, and as using themselves freely in the foster grandparent relationship. This relation included the foster grandparent's feelings of love, his desire to be wanted and needed, his sense of self-importance, all expressed in the 2 hours a day, 5 days a week he spent with the child. There can be no other commitment such as teaching, accomplishing, and socializing. I saw no role for the older person as teacher, nurse, or social worker; no secondary aim, no task-oriented focus. The only objective was establishing a deep feeling connecting him and the child.

The 240 children involved in our project—in all three hospitals for the retarded—were experiencing "herd-type care" and were acknowledged to be "substandard." The children selected for the assignment of foster grandparents were the most limited, the most deprived in the institution population, and had the least family or other personal contact. Most were not involved in any of the hospital programs; generally they spent days as well as nights in cribs or on the floor, often withdrawn, often engaging in behavior destructive to themselves and to other children. Many were totally dependent, needing to be bathed, fed, dressed, and toileted.

These children, as infants, lacked the loving relationship of the baby and the mother whose unconditional response is an affirmation of the child and his needs. Besides being fed, bathed, changed, and held, he needs an affectionate relationship to enable him to grow emotionally, intellectually, and socially. Lacking these elements, the child develops patterns of behavior that limit, block, and distort his growth processes. This calls for remedial relationship.

In the training program for foster grandparents we oriented them to the hospital settings, but emphasized the primary value of the relationship of foster grandparent and grandchild. We urged the foster grandparents to be natural in their relationship with the children, to be creative, spontaneous, responsive to the children's feelings and wishes, in whatever way both enjoyed. After the training period one grandmother wrote: "It's gratifying to me that an elderly person can get in contact with a young person. It is quite rewarding when a child recognizes you, wants to come and talk with you, smiles when he sees you. It does something for the foster grandparents as well as for the child." Another wrote: "She took my hand the other day, led me to the rocker, then waited for me to sit down so she could climb onto my lap and be rocked."

#### CHANGES IN THE CHILDREN

At the end of the first 3 months almost every grandparent had experienced the thrill of watching the child perform "for the first time" some simple operation such as turning over, sitting up, holding a glass, putting a spoon in his mouth, walking up stairs, or uttering words. It was rewarding for the foster grandparents when their children gave up such behavior as biting, hitting, screaming, throwing toys, and wetting and soiling themselves.

The nursing staff reported that at least 75 percent of the children had shown improvement. They said the children were less destructive, less hyperactive, seemed to have more respect for each other's belongings, were more secure, more responsive, more aware, more like little individuals. With such evidences of growth, it was disappointing that an initial study early in the program indicated no significant difference between children who had foster grandparents and a control group that did not have them. One explanation for this finding seemed to be the lack of refined ways to measure emotional and relationship growth. For example, in the study ambulation categories were defined as "bedfast," "sits if propped," "sits unaided," "crawls," "walks with support,"

"walks unsteadily," "walks normally," and "has problem in climbing stairs." These categories could not describe the change in one child who, at the beginning of the Foster Grandparent Program, was bedfast but could stand with sprawling legs and feet, had limited movements of his arms, and was a quiet child. At the end of a month he was hugging his grandparent, laughing out loud, kicking, and using a scooter upright. Before the end of the second month he was playing on and off a walker; at the end of 6 weeks he took six steps free of the walker.

A second study evaluating some of the children after 6 months showed some significant gains.<sup>1</sup> In this survey 56 children from 5 to 15 years old, ambulatory and non-ambulatory, with little or no parental contact, who had been tested before their introduction to the Foster Grandparent Program were tested again after the 6 months of the program. In social quotient scores, there were 46 positive changes, seven negative changes, and three cases of no change. Statistically, there were significant changes in six categories: self-help general, self-help in eating, communication, socialization, locomotion, and occupation. In only two categories were there no significant changes, those of self-help in dressing, and self-direction.

#### A NEW ATMOSPHERE

At about this time a new atmosphere began to develop for the children. The hospital campuses were filled with purposeful activity; playground equipment was in constant use. There were many tanned faces. One could observe a foster grandfather wrestling with his foster grandson on the grass; a second foster grandson was learning to roll down a grassy bank; another foster grandfather was playing hide and seek around a hedge with his child. Other grandparents briskly walking their nonambulatory children in wheelchairs. There was an increased sense of interdependence, trust, and loving between the foster grandparents and the foster grandchildren. It was as though by working and searching together they were coming to a realization of themselves in relation to each other.

The relationship brought many benefits to the foster grandparents. The importance of the financial benefits depended, of course, on the initial level of income. One foster grandmother converted her wood furnace to an oil burner. Another installed indoor plumbing. Many used the income to meet current expenses, to purchase hospital or life insurance, to buy clothing, cosmetics, books, or to help a son or a daughter.

Social benefits were reflected in comments such as: "I enjoy people and I feel more content after being out among them," "I find that I can now get along with anyone and everyone," "I have met lots of nice people, made good friends, look forward to being with the group." Health improvements were obvious to hospital staff, family members, and the foster grandparents themselves: "My friends say I look younger and better"; "I go to bed early and really sleep." Many grandparents expressed their pleasure at being involved in something meaningful, instead of "just waiting around to die" or living out their lives "feeling useless." They enjoyed helping the children.

After several years of operation, the question of who benefits more from the program—the foster grandparents or the foster

grandchildren—remains unanswered. An older citizen wrote: "The foster grandparent project gives me the ability to earn my living rather than receive aid to the disabled it gives me a feeling of usefulness, since I think I can do the children some good; it has opened up a whole new life for me and my grandchildren; and, finally, I feel needed again." On the other hand, a staff member in a hospital for retarded children told me of a blind, self-abusive, emotionally disturbed 13-year-old girl who kept both arms twisted in her blouse, would not let herself be touched, and almost never spoke. After a few weeks with her foster grandmother, her arms came out of her blouse, she became affectionate and less withdrawn, and began to communicate verbally.

Benefits to the institution were slower in evolving and were more generalized. Staff members had more time for the children left in the wards during the foster grandparents' working hours. Many of the gains in behavior made by the foster grandchildren were maintained by the staff. Wards were quieter, there was more related activity, and less destructive action. Staff members established a close, friendly relationship with the foster grandparents. Parents of the children also expressed pleasure because their children showed improvement.

#### UNDERSTANDING THE RETARDED

Finally, the program has given some of us a better understanding of retardation. It is a painful experience to see children and adults in a state hospital for the retarded, living out their lives in a setting that accepts the absence of learning and growth. Most of us block out this picture once we leave the hospital grounds; the foster grandparents set about relating to their assigned children in such a way that we could no longer avoid a realization of the tragic waste—human and economic—that the traditional care for the retarded involves. Out of the foster grandparent experience thousands of persons are becoming aware that even profoundly retarded intellectual development does not eliminate the possibility of a child's relating in a close, loving way, of his learning to feed himself, to dress himself, to play with peers, to share and respect individual belongings, to take care of toilet and bathing needs—in short, of learning appropriate social behavior.

Foster grandparents offer a vital remedial relationship for needy children, providing a special relationship conducive to emotional, physical, social, and educational growth in the child. Their contribution is essentially the use of their own personality and life experience within a defined area, and not activity as subprofessionals, paraprofessionals, aides, or assistants to the professional worker. They need a minimum of training to understand the general principles of their roles, and to prepare themselves to make a deep commitment in this new kind of work.

Foster grandparents should be made available to children who need a one-to-one relationship—those who are retarded, emotionally disturbed, delinquent, physically handicapped, culturally and economically deprived, or living with troubled families.<sup>2</sup> Such services should be provided in residential care facilities, day care centers, nursery schools, special education classes and training centers, religious education programs, recreation facilities, foster homes, and the child's own home.

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Moore, Margaret Raedeke, and L. Kenneth Stinson, "An Evaluation of the Foster Grandparent Project at Cambridge State Hospital: The Effect of Social Stimulation on the Profoundly Retarded Child," unpublished thesis as part of requirement for M.S.W., University of Minnesota, June 1968.

<sup>2</sup> The 1967 Social Security Amendments require each state public assistance plan to "use subprofessional staff and volunteers in providing services to individuals applying for and receiving assistance." These plans should utilize foster grandparents in providing remedial relationship experience for children and parents.

## CONFERENCE ON THE CONCEPT OF ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to introduce into the Record today the report of the British panel of the very fruitful and productive conference on the concept of Atlantic partnership, sponsored by the Institute on Problems of European Unity.

The strategic arms limitation talks in Helsinki raise some very basic questions about the future of Europe and the forms which American-European relations will take. It is therefore particularly timely that this comprehensive report be brought to the attention of the Congress, as follows:

#### CONFERENCE ON THE CONCEPT OF ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP—BRITISH PANEL CHAIRMAN'S REPORT

Panel Members: David Calleo (chairman), SAIS, Johns Hopkins University; Professor Carl H. Cerny, Georgetown University; Mr. Peter Jay, London Times Washington editor; Mr. Andrew Knight, *The Economist* Washington editor; Professor Robert Skidelsky, Nuffield College; Professor Henry Steck, State University of New York (Cortland).

Discussion focused on the tension in British policy between an Atlanticist orientation built around an American special relation, and a European orientation—aimed towards a cohesive European political grouping. The discussion was organized into three sessions, the first dealing with broad political aspects, the second with economic and the third with military.

Amid a wide variety of arguments and points of view, certain general conclusions appeared to be shared among most members. It was clear that the issue of Britain's future orientation was extremely complex. For many people in Britain, there seemed strong tension between the European and Atlanticist poles, between the ideal of a new European grouping and the ideal of a developing unity within the Atlantic world, a perception which, in turn, generated considerable ambivalence and diffidence in Britain's commitment to European integration. Although Britain's bid for membership in the Common Market might suggest a shift towards the European ideal, the Atlantic vision continued to exercise a strong hold on the British imagination. Unlike many continentals concerned with European unity, many British were not seriously dissatisfied with the prospect of a Russian-American world condominium, an arrangement which many people in Britain instinctively found safer than the rise of a new European colossus.

The ideal of a wide and relatively loose Atlantic world, embracing Japan and much of the Commonwealth as well, appealed to the still strong free-trade perspectives of the British, while, for many, the Common Market still seemed the creation of incurably mercantilist, "inward-looking" continentals.

The notion of a special partnership with America in peace-keeping throughout the world still appealed to the perspectives of a nation conditioned to imperial responsibilities in maintaining a world-wide system of order. By comparison, a European bloc, less enthusiastic about international peacekeeping, and preoccupied with internal consolidation, seemed relatively limited in its hori-

zons, as well as essentially revisionist and hence disruptive towards a postwar world system which most British supported. For many in Britain, General de Gaulle's challenge to the status quo simply made articulate the tendencies which were inherent from the beginning in the whole notion of a European bloc.

On the other hand, in spite of their fundamental sympathies with the Atlantic ideal, the British have found their present position increasingly unsatisfying, both economically and politically. Britain's continuing economic decline has made junior partnership with America seem less and less meaningful and isolation from the relatively dynamic continent more and more costly. For some, however, there still remains the hope that Britain's draconian measures to strengthen the pound will finally turn round the economy and again allow Britain to assume a satisfactory role in Atlantic partnership with America. Hence, some speculated, the seeming decline in interest in the Common Market after the recent signs of strong improvement in the balance of payments.

In any event, there remains a strong and deep division in the British mind between Atlantic and European ideals and a strong sense of the tension between them. Much of this feeling has never been clearly articulated in the public debate over the issue of Market membership. The British tactic, instead, has been to seek entry into the European bloc on terms which would compromise Atlantic ties as little as possible. Most panelists agreed that General de Gaulle's veto was, therefore, not surprising. There had not yet been a public debate in England which showed much awareness of the real issues. The profound shift in British perspectives required to make Britain enthusiastically "European" had not taken place, in spite of an undoubted evolution of public opinion in that direction.

One development might hasten a British evolution towards Europe. The Americans themselves might begin convincingly to disengage from their world duopoly and, in particular, from their heavy role in European affairs. American policy, on such a course, might actively promote, or at least cease to resist, the gathering of a European bloc dedicated to building a "Third Force."

Such a development would leave Britain supporting an American policy no longer supported by the Americans and might provoke an active commitment to building a European bloc. Many in Britain, however, clearly prefer the present Atlanticist military and financial arrangements and, in general, America's continuing a leading role in European affairs.

#### FIRST SESSION: POLITICAL ASPECTS

The meeting heard remarks by Mr. Jay and later Mr. Skidelsky, with the other members joining in discussion. The British, some panelists argued, saw the tension between the ideals of European unity and Atlantic partnership far more clearly than the Americans. Many Americans seemed to assume that a revived and cohesive Europe would automatically become a partner in preserving the status quo and world order generally. Other Americans, unenthusiastic or unconcerned about the status quo, or disenchanted with peacekeeping, were essentially indifferent about whether a new Europe would be a "partner." Almost any self-sustaining grouping was acceptable which could allow America to return home the stream of resources presently expended in European defense. To many British these American views seemed naive. Throughout their history, the British had lived in fear of a cohesive power bloc on the continent. Previous attempts to create such a bloc had invariably released illiberal and aggressive forces which had been a threat to

British independence and world peace. Furthermore, many British, with their lingering imperial and elitist perspectives, believed more than most Americans in great power intervention to preserve an international system of order. Thus, while many might disapprove of the conduct of the war in Viet Nam, they nevertheless firmly supported an interventionist role for the U.S. generally and were highly sensitive to signs of any American swing towards disengagement, which they regarded as a return to unrealistic isolationist perspectives.

These combined British attitudes—fear of a European union and acceptance of great power peacekeeping—made them sympathetic to world duopoly and an Atlantic status quo. The United States was, in fact, fulfilling the British role of the last century—preventing the amalgamation of a European bloc, run from either the West or the East, and keeping peace throughout the Third World.

One of the great goals of a European bloc would be the breaking of Russo-American duopoly and the creation of a new Third Force. While the present condominium had obvious costs, especially to the captive states of Eastern Europe, nevertheless, condominium seemed safer and more stable than the European alternative. There was, of course, the danger that European nationalist restiveness would grow to an explosive point, or that European morale would degenerate in its gilded cage and lead to violent social revolution, or that American isolation would reassert itself or the Russian system explode, but there was, nevertheless, no decisive evidence that the present arrangements would break down.

Indeed, with intelligent leadership, the present Western bloc could evolve into a new political structure, a kind of new medieval system in which nationalist sovereignty became meaningless. Government would become increasingly internationalized into cooperative multinational structures with limited powers over limited areas. Institutions like the Group of Ten, the OECD, the IMF and NATO could be the precursors of a new world political system. Such an "Atlantic" system was far more in keeping with the nature of the modern economy, to which the nation-state was increasingly irrelevant. The OECD represented the relevant context for modern technology and industrial development. The transposing of power to such international bodies would rid the world of the terrible curse of the nationalist state.

By contrast, the creation of a new united Europe would only be the nationalist state writ large and would result in a vigorous revival of nationalist perspectives. It was not, incidentally, the general public of Europe that resented the present state of affairs, but the traditional diplomatic, military and political elites, who missed their traditional grand role in the world. But their interests, though understandable, were not in harmony with the economic and social welfare of their own people and there was no reason, therefore, while they should prevail.

Members of the panel argued among themselves as to how realistic or desirable this vision of the future might be. The psychological costs of Europe's subordination were heavy. Dissatisfied elites would inevitably generate popular support for their positions. Indeed, the greater the prosperity of a society, the more likely it was to become assertive and resent continuing political subordination. Indeed, the increasing restiveness of Western European society resulted, in large part, from the decline in prestige of traditional political structures, robbed of their political manhood by comfortable American hegemony.

It was inaccurate, however, to look for the origins of revisionism among the present elites. Quite the contrary. The present order

was increasingly a world run by cosmopolitan mandarins, insulated from popular democratic politics. It was primarily the desire of these elites to insulate themselves further from popular control which explained their attack on "nationalism." The nation-state was the only political formula around in which it had been possible to organize democratic participation in government. While it might be necessary to modify traditional national structures by participation in some higher European formula, nevertheless, the fundamental nationalist principle of modern politics would still remain valid. Democratic participation was only possible within the consensus formed by a relatively cohesive national culture. While there might be created some new European "nation," replacing the European ideal by Atlanticism was merely a cover for insulating politics from popular participation. It was a device for continuing and extending the present primacy of commercial values over all other human and political considerations. If the national states could be denatured, then elitist technocracy could reign supreme. To advocate such a course was to overlook the gathering revolt, throughout both West and East, against the primacy of technocracy and for the reassertion of humane and democratic values.

In short, some argued, the status quo was neither desirable nor was it stable. Those who worked against the renaissance of a new European political spirit were not only opposing the vital forces of modern society, but also undermining the only ideals and structures which could contain and channel these new forces and prevent their exploding in far more radical ways.

In any event, most participants agreed that the Atlanticist ideal had a strong pull on the British and did seriously stand in the way of their wholehearted commitment to a European program.

The discussion turned to the actual role which Britain had played towards European unity. Some members contested the common view that Britain had ignored Europe in the fifties and then shifted belatedly to join it in the sixties. On the contrary, Britain had followed a consistent European policy since the war. The policy consisted of unyielding opposition to European integration into a Third force. The decision to apply for E.E.C. membership was only another tactic in the same fundamental strategy.

British fears about the likelihood of such a development, to be sure, had been greatly exaggerated. Divisions among the Europeans and American pressures had been more than enough to prevent agreement on common policies, although the divisive effect of Britain's various bids for membership also played a considerable part in frustrating Europeanist ambitions. As a consequence, some felt, Britain would bear a heavy responsibility should the frustration of the relatively benign Europe of the Six lead to the rise of a truly assertive European nationalism.

In summary, the discussion amply illustrated the strong underlying reservations about European integration among many Englishmen, their consequent diffidence towards European political integration and their continuing susceptibility to the Atlanticist alternative.

#### THE SECOND SESSION: THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS

The meeting consisted of opening remarks by Mr. Knight and Mr. Calleo, with other members joining in general discussion. The discussion centered around two topics, a North Atlantic Free Trade Area, the likely future relations between American and European economies and the possibilities for closer British incorporation into the latter.

Some found the U.S. an unsuitable trading partner for Britain in any sort of association which left out the E.E.C. The disproportion in size and resources was too great.

Partners did not have to be equal, but the smaller must be at least large enough to contain penetration by the larger, which England could not do. Others strongly contested this whole view. The actual ownership and management of industry was, for the most part, irrelevant to real concerns of national growth and prosperity. National governments, moreover, had ample means to prevent abuses and regulate development.

Wide disagreement arose in the discussion of the likely future relations between the American and European economies. Some expected the Americans to become more predominant and in an increasingly unified Atlantic economy. Others saw the U.S. beginning a serious decline as a trading nation. In recent years, the U.S. trade balance had declined steadily from a surplus of \$4 billion to rough equality. Close examination of the content of trade revealed that American exports were increasingly those of an underdeveloped nation—raw materials and food rather than machinery. In any number of basic manufacturing industries, automobiles and steel, for example, American products were increasingly noncompetitive. Foreign industries were gradually erasing the American advantages in productivity per man hour, and thus lower foreign labor costs, with their consequences for all other prices, were becoming increasingly decisive. The United States, of course, still had a great lead in some advanced industries. Nevertheless, overall, the American position was declining.

The decline was perhaps owing to three broad developments. With its vast and relatively inaccessible mid-Western industrial heartland, American had always been a fortress economy, relatively impenetrable to foreign competition. Air transport and cheap water routes were opening the fortress and ending American industry's privileged sanctuary. Hence the United States would, in the normal course of things, import more and more. Secondly, America was ceasing to be a relatively cheap producer of raw materials. American coal and iron were depleted and oil was no longer competitive with imported oil from the Middle East. Thirdly, the speed with which information was now transmitted and the increasingly supply of trained technological manpower in all advanced countries was bound to erode America's technological leads. In short, America's relative trading position was likely to decline if the present rapid advance of European and Japanese industry continued.

The United States would obviously remain the world's leading producer, but if Europe continued the advances made possible by consolidation within a broad market, the menace of American domination would recede. So, incidentally, would the pace of American direct investment. The disappearance of the trade surplus over the past eighteen months had been covered, in the balance of payments, by a massive return of capital. It appeared that nearly \$20 billion, probably half of the overseas short-term dollars, had been repatriated. The investment activities of American corporations were bound to be cut as the Eurodollar market dried up.

Members discussed the possibility that relative American decline, if it occurred, might reduce the pressure for European integration. For European greed might not be as powerful a prod as fear. Others noted that the U.S. and Japan would remain sufficiently formidable to spur Europe forward. The apparent decline in European political will towards integration, on the other hand, could mean that the great difficulties inherent in integrating a general European economy could finally overcome the will to do so.

The panel then turned to Britain's prospects for joining more closely in a European economic bloc. Assuming that the continent's economic consolidation continued, Britain would be increasingly drawn towards it. Britain, of course, had rather special dif-

iculties fitting in the E.E.C., especially with its Common Agricultural Policy. Joining in the present agricultural arrangements would cost the British balance of payments some 200 million annually. What about association which would leave out agriculture? While such an arrangement might be useful for the short run, the fact was that Britain, as she began integration into the continental economy, might come to favor increasing centralization and direction. Like France at the beginning, Britain, with special disabilities, had an interest in a central authority working to harmonize the conditions of competition throughout the whole Market. Free trade was for the strong and centralized planning was the recourse of the weak and disadvantaged who needed a compensatory direction of resources. Association, moreover, might not give industry the necessary leverage to break the inefficient tax structures and labor practices which could not, in any case, be overcome within the domestic political context alone.

Were there any alternatives to association? Could a way be found for Britain to participate fully without abandoning the Common Agricultural Policy. The problem was not Britain's agriculture, which was relatively efficient, but for her balance-of-payments which, as noted would be adversely affected by at least some 200 million annually. What were the prospects for some form of intimate European monetary agreement that could strengthen sterling and give the British economy time to adjust? An intimate monetary arrangement would be difficult to reach among the Six. Britain, with her huge overhang of old and new debts, would greatly complicate the problem.

Various proposals for such cooperation had been floated, mostly notably the Barre Memorandum. All envisaged some form of limited short-term lending and recycling as well as medium-term loans and consultation. In effect, the Six, to sustain the fixed exchange rates which many people believed essential for a common economy would move towards pooling their reserves and coordinating their planning. But were the economies sufficiently in phase with each other to work within a common system without unbearable strain on exchange rates and reserves? Britain, with her heavy debts, trading currency and unimpressive productivity, would certainly increase the strains on the system. There might be compensations for the Europeans. Conceivably, the City of London might offer facilities badly needed in developing a European capital market. On the other hand, much of the City's financial expertise and machinery was presumably already available to continental clients and Britain was unlikely, for the short run, to have much capital to contribute to European development. The advantages of having their own capital channeled back to them through London might seem a doubtful advantage to continentals, especially those who themselves aspired to be the financial centers of a new European market.

In any event, there was, moreover, still no great interest among English bankers and economists in a European monetary bloc. In this aspect, as in others. British institutions and perspectives were oriented towards close partnership with America in a wider Atlantic context. The discussion seemed to suggest that Britain's membership would both greatly increase the need and difficulties for any European monetary union. In this respect, of course, as in others, it was possible that the difficulties posed by British entry might work towards a greater degree of coordinated planning among the members.

#### THIRD SESSION: THE MILITARY ASPECT

Mr. Calleo began with a general statement and discussion followed. The panel focussed on Britain's military "special relation" with the U.S., a relation most concretely institutionalized in their nuclear collaboration,

but also running through their military activities in many parts of the world.

To some panelists, the advantage of this military tie seemed dubious for Britain. While close support of the United States in the Far East had involved the British in alien and damaging quarrels, the United States had not shown a corresponding concern for Britain's external interests, as Suez had so dramatically demonstrated. Why did the British cling so tenaciously to their special relation? Some panelists agreed that the British nowadays seemed more enthusiastic about the American imperial role than the Americans themselves. It seemed far easier to find a serious defense of the Vietnamese intervention in England than in the U.S.

British support for America's world role stemmed, it was argued, from Britain's lingering imperialist perspective. It seemed axiomatic to many people in England that a great power had a vocation for order, a special responsibility for preserving a world system of peace by interventions in the affairs of weak and unstable states. Without such attention, any system of world order would soon break down in war and revolution.

This view, it was argued, tended to alienate Britain from the continent where both Gaullists and Leftists saw the age of interventionist imperialism finished, advanced the view that most countries should be left to sort out their own political affairs and that national self-determination was the only proper basis for a world order. Some members thus saw the American military ties as one of the principal obstacles to Britain's entering a European bloc.

Most notably, Macmillan's desire to maintain the nuclear special relation at Nassau had, some believed, ensured the defeat of his European policy. Britain's choice for dependence on the United States in place of sharing with France confirmed De Gaulle's views about England's essential political orientation.

What were the possibilities for a British shift to Europe? Heath, after all, had several times suggested nuclear collaboration with France. The problems and prospects of a European defense coalition, including nuclear weapons, were discussed at some length. That controversial argument was advanced that even without the Americans, Western Europe now had adequate conventional forces to counterbalance Russian military power. NATO's failings stemmed from lack of resources but the Europeans' unwillingness to take their own defense seriously. But such lethargy was inevitable given the prolonged and comfortable American hegemony which pre-empted all European initiative and responsibility. If European military elites were thrown the primary responsibility for their own defense, they would be forced to cooperate and to organize their own resources more competently. America could and should abdicate this primary responsibility for organizing Europe's defense. The alliance could remain, along with some American troops, but primary leadership and responsibility should return to Europe.

Some doubted that the European democracies would rise to the occasion, any more than they had in the 1930's, although others contested the analogy, by arguing that the present situation called for no increase in budgetary or manpower resources. What was needed was a return of responsibility to Europe. The professional military, once endowed with their proper responsibilities, were unlikely to discount the dangers of a military vacuum on the Western side of the Iron Curtain. Western European industries were as likely to safeguard their budgetary patronage as their American counterparts.

If Europeans were to take proper responsibility for their own defense, however, some believed they would need nuclear weapons of their own. The notion of a division of responsibility between nuclear and conven-

tional defense was unrealistic. Defense against a nuclear adversary had to contemplate the full range of options. The Americans, moreover, would never be able to yield direction of European defense as long as they manned Europe's first and only line of nuclear defense.

Some kind of effective European nuclear force might be built around the present British and French deterrents. There was no reason, it was argued, why such a deterrent was technologically impossible. The chief problems were political. The arrangements would doubtless be confederal although there might eventually be some kind of multilateral force alongside the national forces. Coordination would be the task of some European planning group.

What of the Germans? As Germany's strong conventional army was essential to any collective defense, and her financial contributions doubtless much desired, the FRG would be in a strong position to insist upon an adequate role for herself. If the Germans were not expected to have nuclear weapons of their own, they would have to be given satisfactory status in nuclear planning. They would, no doubt, also insist on close coordination with the American deterrent.

Panelists speculated on whether a European nuclear force was opposed to America's own national interest. The inexorable pressure for disengagement presented a dilemma for America's advocacy of non proliferation. If Americans were to retain the responsibilities for the immediate and exclusive nuclear defense of other countries, they were unlikely to entrust control over conventional defense to alien hands. Hence disengagement and proliferation could be seen as two sides of the same coin. It was unrealistic and unsound to expect one without the other. America's interest in nonproliferation was obvious. But American policymakers might come to have second thoughts about extending clear guarantees as China moved towards a full-scale intercontinental deterrent. American cities could not credibly become hostages for an Asian status quo as they had for the European. American policy, therefore, should be moving towards the creation of regional nuclear balances which would permit at least a partial American disengagement. Europe, it was argued, offered a relatively safe opportunity to create the prototype. National nuclear forces existed anyway and the vulnerable Europeans were unlikely to be reckless. Thus Americans were unlikely to resist a serious effort to create a shared European nuclear deterrent. All this provided Britain, with her thermonuclear weapons the opportunity to take a leading role, along with France, in building a European military bloc. So far, however, British governments had shown little initiative in these matters, but instead had become even more steadfast champions of a "moribund" NATO than the Americans themselves. In this, as in other fields, Britain's perspectives, rightly or wrongly, remained essentially Atlanticists, tied to a real or imagined special relation with America. Many panelists concluded that nothing short of a clear indication of imminent American withdrawal would jolt the British—and indeed Europeans generally—into more activist responsibility for their own defense. As many believed America would and should withdraw in the end, they believed it would be prudent for American policy to see the occasion for precipitating the desired reaction among the Europeans. Otherwise, British commitment to Europe would remain too ambivalent to permit a leading role. Some panelists protested against their whole line of reasoning. European conventional defense could not be organized without American leadership. Proliferation was dangerous and ineffective. Atlantic military institutions were preferable to European ones.

Nearly all panelists agreed that most peo-

ple in Britain would prefer the present NATO military arrangements, as long as they believed the Americans were willing to sustain them.

#### VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW DISCUSSES AMERICAN EDUCATION

### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last night at an impressive dinner sponsored by Worthington Chapter No. 30 of the Order of AHEPA, the Vice President of the United States was honored and delivered an impressive speech on the status of American education. It was my pleasure to attend the dinner with a group of my Chicago constituents.

As a member of the Education Committee, I believe the Vice President has placed into proper perspective some of the problems being discussed by parents, teachers, and students throughout our Nation as to the role of American education in the development of our society.

I was particularly pleased to see that the Vice President found inspiration for his remarks in the teachings of Greek philosophers who had given meaning to the entire concept of education in a free society.

My subcommittee is currently studying America's educational needs for the 1970's and I believe the address presented by Vice President AGNEW at the AHEPA banquet ought to be included in the dialog of these needs.

It is for this reason that I include Vice President AGNEW's entire speech in the RECORD at this point.

His remarks provide an excellent basis for a discussion of new concepts in education which will meet the educational needs of young people in the decade of the 1970's and thereafter.

The Vice President's speech follows:

I am grateful for your presence tonight. More than an honor to me, it is a profound tribute to the memory of my father. Many of you knew him, knew the kind of man he was and knew that such men are rare in any community—at any time.

I am proud to say that I grew up in the light of my father. My beliefs are his and my father believed deeply in America. My father was deeply involved in the life of the Greek community, for this, to him, was part of being an American.

"My Brother Ahephans" he said eight years ago, "Who better understands the true value of freedom and dignity than we . . . who are the direct descendants of the authors of those principles—the Ancient Hellenes? Who better understands the true value of freedom and dignity than we who have matured and prospered in the workshop of democracy, the United States of America?"

This Ahepa-conceived Scholarship Fund is particularly appropriate to honor my father's memory, for he cherished education as the key to a better life. That belief is Greek as much as it is American.

Pericles, the father of the first democratic state, said in the fifth century before Christ, "Athens is the school of Hellas." The Athenian ideal was that of the free citizen in the free state. But a state of freedom was never a state of ignorance. Education was, and always will be, integral to civilization.

As Pericles said, "The great impeding to action is . . . not discussion, but the want of that knowledge which is gained by discussion preparatory to action." Courage from conviction distinguishes the free and civilized citizen.

To Socrates, to Plato, to Aristotle, all education served the soul. The Golden Age of Greece gave birth to the concept that public education was prerequisite to intelligent citizenship. Twenty centuries before Thomas Jefferson, Aristotle connected the public and private interest with cultivation of the mind as a free society's ultimate aim.

Never was there a separation of individual and collective good nor was there a distinction between a life of pleasure and a life of civic fulfillment. The Athenian spirit was not only to live but to live well. Civic duty was an honor, and a life balancing work and comfort was the goal. Neither property nor prosperity were vices, only their misuse or a misunderstanding of their value was deplored.

This is our Greek heritage—deeply philosophical and political—and while the world has grown in technical prowess, it has never surpassed the Athenian ideal of free citizenship. Ancient Athens remains the school of civilized nations. And from ancient Athens we can draw lessons of good and evil applicable today.

The rise and fall of all free nations mirrors the rise and fall of Athens. The overall lesson is that freedom and the good life are demanding possessions. To use them well and possess them permanently, discipline and education are required.

If I am known to raise my voice in criticism, it is because I see danger in our nation's course. Because America, like ancient Athens, can become foolish and corrupt; because a life of ease is not synonymous with a life of fulfillment; and because no generation can confer wisdom upon its children. Each generation must work to earn its own.

Heraclitus, one of Greece's earliest philosophers, perceived that all is flux. Change is the only constant. Arcesilaus, the skeptic, said, "Nothing is certain, not even that." Is this not true of today? Power is ephemeral and no excuse for conceit. Freedom, prosperity, moral and military strength are evanescent, not eternal. They cannot be secured once and then forgotten but must be carefully and continuously cultivated.

Education is the source to replenish a free society. America understands renewal and reform. We labor to renew our cities and reform our government. Yet we have left education—the source—relatively untouched. Of course, we have expanded and multiplied educational opportunities. We have had added pre-school programs, community colleges, and enlarged universities to multiversities. But we have not sufficiently probed to the essence of the pure institution, and this explains much of our present problem.

By inclination, Americans think quantitatively. We are appreciators of the bigger. The danger in this lies in possible error in the original assumption. If what we are doing is not right to begin with, quantitative adjustments compound the wrong.

We have sometimes failed to perceive that as times change, we must not only change our programs but our premises governing education. Albert Einstein once defined education as "that which remains after you have forgotten everything you learned in school." Yet the American public continues to think of education as a terminal process limited to the youthful years of life. In a society where skilled laborers must learn new techniques six times before retirement, where 50 per cent of technical engineering knowledge becomes obsolete within a decade, where 70 per cent of all knowledge that will serve our present student generation during their lives is as yet unknown and undiscovered . . . it is time to stop regarding educa-

tion as circumscribed by a particular period of a lifetime.

We must stop developing educational programs for twelve years, or sixteen, or twenty years and start creating programs that gear themselves to useful, satisfying lives.

In the first place, the penchant for clustering higher education in the post adolescent decade adversely affects the human spirit. We are consigning a huge group of our young citizens to an academic limbo totally alien to their human instincts. Whether we realize it or not, whether we intend it or not, we have created a disenfranchised social class called youth.

How? Although our young population—between the ages of eleven and twenty-five—has not grown disproportionately, the proportion of young people in school has increased dramatically. High school attendance has doubled in two decades; 94 per cent of our young people attend high school; 75 per cent graduate from high school; and in higher education, the growth is even greater. College enrollment has tripled in twenty years; 40 per cent of all young people attend college for at least a year. Including advanced technical training, the figure approaches 50 per cent.

By pricing teen-age labor out of the market and expanding secondary and higher education, we have stretched post-adolescent dependency a full ten years. While the age of physical maturity has declined, we have confined a generation on campuses at a point in life when their fathers and grandfathers were supporting households. We have subsidized youths' education at the expense of many of their human rights. And society, in many cases, has forced its youth into an academic mold alien to their aptitudes or inclinations. The distinguished psychologist, Dr. Bruno Bettelheim, writes of higher education's debilitating effect:

"What makes for adolescent revolt is the fact that a society keeps the next generation too long dependent in terms of mature responsibility and a striving for independence . . . all too many who now go to college have little interest, ability, and use for what constitutes a college education. They would be better off with a high level vocational education which is closely linked to a work program which gives scope to their needs for physical activity and visible, tangible achievement. The complaint of many of these students is that nobody needs them. They feel parasites of society, and hence, come to hate a society which they think makes them feel this way."

In our reverence for education and our desire to do right by our children, we have inadvertently denied this generation's right to participate as mature citizens. The damage it does to the individual is no greater than the damage it does to the university. Denied political participation in the real community, the youth seeks to politicize the only community he has, the academic one. This defeats the purpose of the university which journalist William Shannon notes:

"Is to transmit knowledge and wisdom and to enhance them by research and study. The university is not a forum for political action. It is not a training ground for revolutionaries. It is not a residential facility for the psychiatrically maladjusted. It is not a theater for the acting out of racial fears and phantasies."

As we demean, we pervert. Consider the single problem of these black students, trapped by the the best intentions into a situation where he cannot compete. The demands for black studies, black dormitories, special black grading systems, are often smoke-screen evading the basic failure in black primary and secondary education. Brandeis professor and former Presidential Aide, John P. Roche, sees black separatism on the campus as a last ditch attempt for survival by culturally deprived students who

have been admitted to college just because they came from inner city ghettos. They are bright, but unprepared to compete with their highly articulate classmates. Without swimming lessons, they have been dumped in the mainstream and they are not going to drown without a struggle.

Bayard Rustin, pioneer in civil rights and Executive Director of the Philip Randolph Institute, takes a harder line:

"Everyone knows that education for the Negro is inferior. Bring them to the University with the understanding that they must have (the) remedial work they require. The easy way out is to let them have black courses and their own dormitories and give them degrees . . . What in hell are soul courses worth in the real world? No one gives a damn if you've taken soul courses. They want to know if you can do mathematics and write a correct sentence . . . an element in that society."

The point remains that we have neglected the real problem of compensatory education for the shallow solution of sympathy. And there are other equally compelling areas of neglect.

We have neglected vocational and technical education for the elegant ornament of liberal arts. Certainly, the social sciences are important but they are not sacrosanct. And in our society, which needs skilled labor, we must restore the manual arts to their rightful place of esteem. We have done a grave disservice to the working man by neglecting his central importance to our society. We have failed his appetite for the arts, his preparation for leisure, and, in many cases, his need to renew his skills.

If we are not going to have revolution within our educational community, we will be wise to take a revolutionary look at our institutions of education. We should not be reluctant to ask daring questions or consider bold solutions. Is the four year college necessary in all cases? Are there better ways to combine secondary and undergraduate programs? To accelerate graduate work? Or to space it out over the years? Should we invest more in adult education and enrichment? Are present primary and secondary school programs creating enough outstanding citizens—citizens with an appetite for learning and an aptitude for service to others?

The answers require courage and cooperation from every sector of our society. There is little point in questioning the value of graduate degrees in the soft sciences if businessmen continue to treat these degrees as keys to open the inner doors to better jobs. There is no point in discussing black studies without an objective ordering of educational priorities by the black community. There is no hope for major academic reform without the support of America's academicians.

There is no chance for change if parents revere the college degree as a symbol of their parental success. Until every interest group reappraises its attachments to existing institutional forms, we cannot achieve a new structure.

Today's students have an obligation, too, to question radicalism and demands for relevance as satisfactory answers. Revolution is ridiculous and relevance often an excuse for more amusing and less arduous involvement. Where is this drive for reality in the demand for non-graded courses? The real world distinguishes between excellent and mediocre effort. Is doing one's own thing ennobling or selfish; profound or simply vacant?

Finally, I think government has an obligation to review its many programs affecting youth and ask itself whether it is doing a good job or even what it intends to do? Right now, this Administration is taking a hard look at youth policies. We are looking at the ways we have prolonged the period of dependency . . . disenfranchised our young

adults . . . discriminated against non-college youth and directed others, in disregard of their desires, into higher education.

We are saying that many young people have cause to complain. They are alienated—not by our hypocrisy, or racism, or the war in Vietnam—but by our best intentions and inappropriate institutions. Their claims of hypocrisy, racism or immoral wars are not borne out by the facts. Their frustration at being held apart from responsibility and reality is understandable.

The educational community should ask whether encouraging ever increasing numbers of young people to attend college—when 40 per cent already do—benefits the lower half of the intelligence scale. We should question whether society's demand for college attendance compounds social antagonisms between those who go and those who do not. For if everyone is expected to attend college, life will only be harder on those who simply cannot achieve in an academic setting.

The Federal government should re-evaluate those policies which protract dependence . . . civil service age requirements, restrictive apprenticeship programs, present age limits on voting and public candidacy.

We should question whether some programs do, in effect, discriminate against the working young . . . such as the Peace Corps and Vista which could benefit greatly from their marketable skills.

All of these questions should be asked not in the fear that we are out to destroy popular education, but as a positive search to broaden educational opportunities and to make our educational institutions fit the public rather than make the public fit the institutions. The threat to education does not lie in asking these questions, but in not asking them.

The challenge of American education from the cradle to the doctoral degree is our most important work. Our nation's future depends upon it, for as the Greek maxim goes, in the face of youth we find the future. America need not falter like ancient Athens if we learn from ancient Athens. We can retain our vigor and replenish our power by renewing our institutions.

Hope brought my father to America, and in honor of his limitless hope, the Theodore Spiro Agnew Scholarships will be bestowed. Because he was a child of Greece, they will go to youths of Greek descent. And because he was a citizen of America, their recipients will study here.

For as my father revered his Greek heritage and, like Pericles, saw Athens as the school of Hellas, so he would want . . . as we want . . . America to be the school of free men everywhere.

Above all, this scholarship is established in the spirit of my father's legacy to me—his painfully accumulated knowledge that—the principles of freedom need and deserve our constant protection—that we must work to make democracy live.

#### TIME TO EXAMINE THE RHODESIAN BOYCOTT

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, on the theory that too many Members do not have an opportunity to read Metals Week, I insert in the RECORD an article entitled "Time To Examine the Rhodesian Boycott," which is interesting and thought provoking.

The article is as follow:

## TIME TO EXAMINE THE RHODESIAN BOYCOTT

The price of Russian chrome ore is up another \$10 for 1970. Turkish ore is going up a like amount. The reason for the increase, and the increases of 1968 and 1969, is, quite simply, the Rhodesian boycott.

Since the boycott went into effect in Jan. 1967, and US ferroalloy producers were cut off from their prime source of chrome ore, Russian prices have increased by over \$25 a ton, or 81%. Russia is now our major supplier of metallurgical grade chrome ore and is in a position to dictate the market. Of the total of 486,000 tons of metallurgical grade chromite imported in 1968, Russia supplied 335,000.

These are simple, straightforward facts. This has been but one result of the Rhodesian boycott. Perhaps it is time to examine what some other results of this boycott have been.

In the first place, Union Carbide and Foote Mineral have lost their valuable Rhodesian mines. And second, they must buy Russian ore at much higher prices to keep up their ferrochrome production. This translates into higher costs for the US steel industry.

And while US ferrochrome producers have to buy Russian ore, South African ferrochrome producers take in cheaper Rhodesian ore, and then turn around and undersell US producers in the US market. In 1968, some 45% of all ferrochrome imported into the US came from South Africa. It might be added that over 50% of US chemical grade chrome ore (below 46% Cr<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub>) also comes from South Africa.

So, who has benefited? Russia and South Africa—not exactly two of our closest allies. And who has lost? US ferrochrome producers, the US steel industry, and, ultimately through inflation, the US consumer. And Rhodesia? By all accounts her economy is humming and any inconvenience caused by the boycott is minimal.

It is not an economic issue, but rather a moral issue, supporters of the boycott maintain. If so, is what Rhodesia is doing to her blacks any worse than what Russia did to the Czechs? And is South Africa's apartheid policy any less severe than Rhodesia's limited representation? If we do not intend to boycott Russian or South African products because we disapprove of the way these nations behave, what right do we have to impose sanctions on Rhodesia?

And moral considerations aside, the boycott just plain isn't working.

## THE TAXMAN COMETH

## HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, on December 8, I warned in a speech in this House that the U.S. Treasury may lose as much as \$20 billion in anticipated revenue because of the continuing decline in values of the stock market.

So far this year the total decline of stock market values has reached a staggering \$100 billion. This loss of market value can create about a \$20 billion loss to the Treasury, assuming a 20-percent tax rate for those stockholders who will deduct their losses for income tax purposes.

I do not believe that those in responsible positions are aware of the gravity of this possibility.

At the time that the administration  
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had anticipated that a \$197½ billion income for 1969 and a budget of \$192½ billion would produce a \$5½ billion surplus, no one had expected the decline of the stock market to continue nor did anyone really expect the stock market to suffer \$100 billion loss in value.

I said the other day, and I submit that the possibility continues, that this administration could wind up its first year with a \$15 billion deficit and if this happens I do not think anyone can deny the inflationary pressures which we had hoped would be abated instead will continue.

We know only too well what happens to interest rates when the Federal Government has to go into the money market to borrow money.

I know that no President wants to have a deficit in his budget. I am sure this was true of President Eisenhower when he had a \$12 billion deficit in 1959; it was true of President Johnson when he had a deficit of \$25 billion in 1968, and I am sure it is true of President Nixon.

I submit, Mr. Speaker, this administration ought to take note of the possibility which I have outlined here today and perhaps it can suggest some voluntary program to avoid a huge "tax selling" drive in the remaining weeks of this year.

I am placing in the RECORD today a full page ad which appeared in the New York Times on Tuesday, October 28, 1969, titled "The Taxman Cometh" and which states that Merrill Lynch suggests three legitimate ways to cut your 1969 taxes.

This full-page ad openly urges investors in the stock market to review their portfolios before December 31, for possible tax savings.

As legitimate as this ad is, and I do not question in any manner or form the right of Merrill Lynch to advise its clients how they can save money, the fact remains that this ad is an open invitation to compound the Government's already uncontrollable problems.

I include this ad in the RECORD today not as a criticism of Merrill Lynch but rather to illustrate my point that we are faced with a crisis in fiscal financing to which I do not believe the administration has addressed itself.

We have 3 weeks in which to try to discourage a massive "tax-selling" stampede which could have disastrous effects on our entire economy.

The Merrill Lynch ad follows:

## THE TAXMAN COMETH

MERRILL LYNCH SUGGESTS 3 LEGITIMATE WAYS TO CUT YOUR 1969 TAXES

Thousands of stockholders put off "tax-selling" till the very last minute. Merrill Lynch believes this can be shortsighted.

Five minutes scanning this page will show you why you may benefit by taking action before others get around to doing so. You'll also see why you may need to buy stock before December first—to establish a loss by December thirty-first.

Consider these three ways sophisticated investors save money on taxes. Then clip coupon for Merrill Lynch Research's list of "Tax Exchanges"—352 matched buy and sell suggestions that may improve your tax position now, and might also improve your overall investment situation next year.

Note: In its present form, the new tax bill will not affect the savings you might make

by following these suggestions—for 1969 taxes. But the bill does propose important changes for the years after 1969. Check with your Merrill Lynch Account Executive if new tax legislation is passed.

## Review your portfolio now

If you read the financial columns, you know how talk of "tax-selling" becomes more and more frequent as the end of the year approaches.

Naturally. Many stockholders put off establishing their losses till the very last days of December.

Results: 1. Concentrated selling of some stocks tends to depress prices. 2. Some investors may establish losses at unnecessarily low levels. 3. Others may be able to pick up attractive buys.

Merrill Lynch does not suggest that all the following considerations apply to all stockholders. Or that stockholders generally should either buy or sell.

But we do suggest that all stockholders should now review their portfolios for possible tax savings.

If you'd like a second opinion, ours is yours for the asking. No charge or obligation, of course.

Tax-exchanging: Some plain talk on a subject that sometimes sounds complicated

Few sophisticated stockholders need reminding that capital losses can be money in the bank. If you have capital gains, you can use capital losses to offset them. If you still have capital losses "left over," you can deduct up to \$1,000 of them from your ordinary taxable income.

If you are married, with a joint taxable income of \$16,000, and no capital gains, a deduction of \$1,000 means a Federal tax saving this year of \$275.

What's more—though many investors are unaware of it—the current tax law allows you to carry forward your losses indefinitely.

## How does tax-exchanging help?

It allows you to realize losses, reduce your taxes, and still maintain your investment in a particular industry group.

Suppose you favor the oil industry. You hold oil stock "A." It has gone down since you bought it, but you still think the outlook is bright for the industry. So you sell oil stock "B" to maintain your interest in oils.

Simple, so far. The problem is, which oil stock to sell, and which to buy.

## How Merrill Lynch can help:

Our analysts have listed matched buy and sell ideas involving a total 352 stocks. This list constitutes a comprehensive summary of Merrill Lynch's opinion on what to sell to establish a loss, and what to exchange it for in the hope of a gain.

Our list also covers 104 stocks you may want to consider selling anyway, to cut potentially larger losses as well as to establish them for tax purposes. If you'd like a copy, just clip the coupon.

How the tax law can let you have your cake—  
And eat it, too

That stock you had high hopes for has faded away.

You could establish a handy loss by selling it now, but you think it might come back next year—so you'd like to hold on.

By "doubling up" on your holding, you can do both.

If you hold 100 shares of a stock, you buy an additional 100 shares. You sell the first 100 shares to establish your loss, and—in the expectation that the stock will "come back"—you keep the second 100.

Important: To establish a loss by "doubling up," the tax law requires that you wait 30 days after your purchase of your second 100 shares, before you sell your first 100 shares. This means that, if you want to reduce your taxes by purchasing and selling the

same stock, you must act on or before November 28.

*Selling stock you own—Even though you hold it*

While most investors understand "short selling," a surprisingly large number find "selling short against the box" almost incomprehensible.

When you go short against the box, you simply sell stock you borrow from your broker, while retaining your own shares.

Here is how you can use this sophisticated investor's tool to defer—and perhaps reduce—your tax bite.

Suppose you bought 100 shares of XYZ stock at 50, and it is now 60. You believe XYZ may go down again, but you'd prefer not to sell immediately, because you do not want to pay the resulting capital gains tax with your 1969 returns. You go short against the box by borrowing 100 shares of XYZ from your broker, and selling them short now. You cover your debt (the 100 shares you "owe") by repaying him with your original 100 shares—at the beginning of next year.

What's the point of this complicated maneuver? Why not just sell the shares you owned all along?

If you sell your own 100 shares now, you will have to report your gain on April 15th, 1970.

If you sell the shares you borrowed, your gain will not be "recognized" for tax purposes until you cover—by paying back the stock you borrowed to your broker.

Suppose, on December 10, you sell at 60 the XYZ shares you borrowed. Suppose you pay back your broker, with your original shares, on January 12.

Your gain is "frozen" at 60—the price you got on December 10. But for tax purposes, your gain is not "recognized" until January 12, 1970—so you have the use of your gain right up till April 15th, 1971.\*

Three points to bear in mind: 1. Make sure your broker does have the stock to lend you. Merrill Lynch, with \$3,549,690,260 in margined securities available for loans on August 15, 1969, is in a particularly good position to help here. 2. It's especially important to defer taking gains this year because surtax rates are scheduled to go down—whether or not the new bill is passed. 3. Selling short against the box is not always possible. Check with your Merrill Lynch Account Executive.

*Free Research opinions and tax information*

If you'd like our ideas on your holdings, our suggestions about tax-selling or about stocks we consider attractive for purchase, just phone or write us. Or stop by your nearest Merrill Lynch office.

If you'd like our Research Department's list of "Tax Exchanges," and our 12-page "Investor's Tax Kit" (packed with basic information about taxes and your stockholdings), just clip the coupon.

CENTENNIAL OF ST. JOHN'S  
UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement concern-

\*If you pay taxes on the basis of forward estimates, you would have the use of your gain till April, 1971 only if you estimate 1970 taxes on the basis of your 1969 taxable income.

ing the centennial of St. John's University:

ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK, MARKS THE BEGINNING OF ITS SECOND HUNDRED YEARS OF DISTINGUISHED SERVICE IN EDUCATION

A new chapter in the story of higher education in urban United States is about to be recorded.

The year 1970 will mark the beginning of a second century for an institution founded in 1870 to help provide higher education for the young people of Brooklyn and New York City—and eventually for those in nearby areas of Nassau and Suffolk Counties, New Jersey and Connecticut. That institution is the St. John's University of today.

Significant events are scheduled for 1970 when a year-long program of observances will herald the Centennial of this truly notable educational center.

Simultaneously, the University will launch a \$30 million development program and a Centennial appeal for funds to attain the academic and physical objectives whereby St. John's can strengthen its learning environment for its second one hundred years of dedicated service.

At its founding as St. John's College, the Most Reverend John D. Loughlin, the first Bishop of Brooklyn, emphasized that St. John's was to be "a day college where the youth of the City might find the advantages of a solid education."

At the laying of the cornerstone for the first building, at Lewis and Willoughby Avenues in Brooklyn, St. John's mission was set forth by Governor Enoch Louis Lowe of Maryland as "a college for the education of the youth of Brooklyn, without distinction of religious belief, political opinion or social condition."

The mission of St. John's University is the same today—except that it has broadened its area of service to embrace the entire Greater New York City area. The fundamental purpose of the University is to offer men and women, in a Christian atmosphere, the opportunity to achieve for themselves a higher education in the liberal arts and sciences and to prepare for certain professions.

Chartered by the State of New York in 1871, St. John's has been operated continuously by the Congregation of the Mission, known as the Vincentian Fathers because of their founder, St. Vincent de Paul.

During its first 35 years the achievements of the small college were so impressive that in 1906 an amended charter granted the privileges and title of a university, with the power to establish professional departments. Included among such departments have been the School of Education, the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, the School of Law, the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, the College of Business Administration, and the College of Pharmacy.

Continued growth saw expansion in 1929 by the building of the present Brooklyn Center in the Downtown Borough Hall section, and, in 1955, by the creation of a campus at Jamaica in the Borough of Queens.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR A SOUND EDUCATION

St. John's University in the last 100 years has given more than 75,000 youths of the Metropolitan New York City area an opportunity to attain the advantages of a sound education.

St. John's has broadened its original educational horizons to provide programs relevant to the growing needs of New York and its young people.

As a "commuter college," St. John's has done for New York youth what the land-grant universities of the mid-west have done for the farm youth—given them a college they could afford to attend, provided basically sound education they could assimilate

and use, and offered them an opportunity for full participation in American life.

The vast majority of men and women who graduate from St. John's elect to live and work in the New York City area where they become a vital part of its active citizenry. Their decision has increasing significance because New York City today is confronted with urban problems that are critical in scope and depth.

One of the necessary solutions to these problems is education, including education for the disadvantaged—the young people who must be given their chance in the life of the metropolis if progress and growth are to continue, not only in New York but in the nation. This, St. John's can provide and will provide, as it has been doing for 100 years.

The problem is not new. When St. John's opened its doors in 1870, a large part of its student body could be considered among the less advantaged. Many students were children of immigrants, the first and second generations of those who came to the New World to seek a new life. Their parents either found what they were searching for in New York, or became locked in by circumstances and were forced to stay. Many had to live in substandard housing and worked at only the most difficult and low-paying jobs. They vowed that their children would have things better. Education then, as now, was the way up and out—and many have found that way at St. John's.

If that way is to continue to be a productive one, St. John's knows that it must constantly seek to provide a higher quality of education. This means maintaining high faculty standards, adequate physical facilities, new academic programs (particularly those relevant to the problems of metropolitan New York), attracting better qualified students, and offering even greater educational opportunities to all who wish to attend. All this St. John's seeks to accomplish in the years immediately ahead, working within the framework of an educational concept that has proved to be basically sound.

DUAL CAMPUS IN TWO BOROUGHS

As it enters its Centennial Year, St. John's is a dual-campus educational complex with buildings in two boroughs of New York City—at Jamaica in Queens and in Downtown Brooklyn. Co-educational, and offering courses in both day and evening sessions, the University's Schools and Colleges are:

*Jamaica campus*

College of Liberal Arts and Sciences (St. John's College), School of Education, College of Business Administration, College of Pharmacy, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, School of General Studies.

*Brooklyn center*

School of Law, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences (University College), College of Business Administration (Division), School of Education (Division), School of General Studies (Division).

These Schools and Colleges are St. John's physical reflection. The essence of the University, however, lies in its "family"—its students, faculty, trustees, council, administrators, alumni, parents, and friends.

STUDENT INVOLVEMENT

Currently, approximately 13,000 young men and women are enrolled in the University's day and evening sessions. Since the University has no facilities for student residence, its students reach the campuses by car, subway and bus.

"Involvement" is a word in wide use today, and the St. John's student is involved in all the processes of University activities. With the faculty and administration, students have participated in and do serve on such important committees as:

The University's Senate Committee on Student Activities, the Campus Center Planning Committee, the University Long-range Plan-

ning Committee, the Committee on Honorary Degrees, the Centennial Committee, the Committee on Programs for the Disadvantaged, the Committee on Curriculum Revision of the Liberal Arts College.

In addition, eight students serve on the University Senate, the highest legislative body in the University, second only to the Board of Trustees to which it reports directly.

Student involvement is also evident in the 130 student organizations that serve the varied cultural, scientific, political, economic, social, religious, and pre-professional interests of their members.

#### STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT

Student involvement and activity at St. John's lead to achievement. During the past two years approximately fifty percent of all seniors went on to leading graduate schools, many with fellowships or assistantships.

Achievement is also reflected in intercollegiate competition by the University's athletic teams—the "Redmen"—and by its debating teams. Year in and year out, they have brought national recognition and prestige to St. John's University. With a student body of this calibre the University can, and does, hold its head very high.

#### DISTINGUISHED FACULTY

An educational institution can only be as good as its faculty. This is the team that sets the tone and pace for the University and today's team is regarded as the strongest in St. John's history on the basis of educational qualifications and experience.

Compelling evidence of faculty strength is the fact that 53 percent of the men and women who teach at St. John's have earned the Ph. D. or other terminal degrees in their particular disciplines. The national average is 40 percent.

Faculty strength is also evident in the many research projects being conducted at the University—in science, education, theology, business, and the humanities. In addition to strong financial support given these projects by the University, grants of funds are also received from government and private agencies. Faculty members are active in professional societies and several serve in leadership positions in their local, state, or national organizations.

#### CAPABLE LAY LEADERSHIP

The Board of Trustees, the ultimate governing body of St. John's University, was reconstituted in 1965, and in November, 1968, laymen assumed numerical control. Presently, there are fourteen laymen and seven clergy. These laymen, who are involved responsibly in the policies and plans of the University and are instrumental in helping to chart the course for its second century of service, include:

Joseph F. Adams, president of United States Trucking Corporation; Robert J. Dixon, vice chairman of Johnson & Johnson International; Hon. Dorothea E. Donaldson of the Court of Claims of New York; Col. Saul Fromkes, president of City Title Insurance Company of New York; E. Burke Giblein, president of Warner-Lambert Pharmaceutical Company; John J. Lynch, honorary chairman of Kings County Lafayette Trust Company; Hugh P. McFadden, Esq. of McFadden & Riskin, Bethlehem, Pa.; James F. Murphy, Sr., vice chairman of George A. Fuller Company of New York.

Also Hon. Joseph H. Murphy, former Commissioner of Taxation and Finance of the State of New York; Charles P. Ryan, owner of Real Estate Investment Company of New York; James R. Schule, executive vice president of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Inc.; William P. Tavoulareas, president of Mobil Oil Corporation; Hon. Robert F. Wagner, former U.S. Ambassador to Spain; Thomas J. Welsh, president, Welsh Associates, Inc., New Canaan, Conn.

Supplementing the capable guidance provided by the trustees is the valuable assistance of the University Council. This organization numbers more than forty business and industrial leaders, professional men, and executives who give freely of their time and abilities in assisting and counseling the University's administration.

#### EXPERIENCED ADMINISTRATORS

The restructuring of St. John's administration in the past few years has been described by authorities in the field of education as "an outstanding effort." The man who has guided the University through these years of progress is its President, the Very Reverend Joseph T. Cahill, C.M., who assumed office in July, 1965.

Key administrative changes at St. John's are also reflected at the vice-presidential level, where the University secured the services of three outstanding and experienced laymen: Dr. Henry C. Mills, Vice President and Provost, and for 19 years a teacher and administrator at the University of Rochester, is primarily responsible for all of St. John's academic programs; Charles E. McCarthy, Vice President for Business Affairs and Treasurer, formerly President and Vice Chairman of the Board of Allied Stores Corporation, is a nationally-known authority on retailing and marketing; and Dr. Blaise J. Opulente, whose appointment followed a long and distinguished career as a faculty member on both undergraduate and graduate levels at St. John's, serves as Administrative Vice President and Secretary of the University.

These administrators and other men of prominence who are Deans of the various Schools and Colleges of the University bring dynamic leadership and inspiration to the administrative team. They also have both the desire and the capacity to pursue the University's long-range goals of tomorrow.

#### ALUMNI ACHIEVEMENT

St. John's alumni, and alumnae, can point with pride to a century of accomplishment. Many are the chief executive officers of their own corporations. Others hold key executive and managerial posts in the companies with which they are associated.

The University's School of Law provides an example of alumni achievement. Today there are more than 200 judges, legislators and commissioners who graduated from St. John's and who serve government on all levels—Federal, state, city and county.

The School of Education has provided some 4,000 teachers in the New York City, Nassau County and Suffolk County school systems.

The College of Pharmacy, the College of Business Administration, and, indeed, all of the other Schools and Colleges of St. John's University, can claim impressive records of achievement on the part of their alumni.

Approximately 38,000 graduates remain and work today in New York City, Nassau and Suffolk Counties, and the adjacent areas of New Jersey and Connecticut. They, together with their families and relatives, constitute a sizeable consumer force in the economy of the Greater Metropolitan New York area.

Last, but by no means least in the University's "family" are the parents of its present students. In the spring of 1968, a Parents Association was formed at St. John's by a group of interested fathers and mothers. More than 8,500 parents are presently members of the organization and are encouraged to serve on its various committees and to attend functions sponsored by the University and by the Association.

#### COMMUNITY SERVICE

Community service has been a basic precept at St. John's University during its entire one-hundred-year history. A current example of this service has been student participation in CAUSE (Community and University Services in Education), an action

project in which volunteer students give two hours of their time each week to teach English and Mathematics classes for children and adults in the deprived areas near each campus. For the past three years, CAUSE has also sponsored a highly successful summer program on the Jamaica campus which helps to meet the educational and recreational needs of hundreds of disadvantaged youngsters.

Also, at an Experimental College established at the University's Brooklyn Center, more than 200 students and faculty members participate in special study and research projects involving pertinent social, economic, and political issues in their community and beyond. Because of its location close to deprived areas, the Experimental College has the potential to become a meaningful factor in the study of today's urban problems and their resolution.

#### RELEVANT CURRICULUM

The University's continuing policy of adapting its curriculum to meet current needs is reflected in such recent developments as:

A new 4-year program of primary and advanced training in Computer Science, leading to a B.S. degree.

A 4-year Bachelor of Science degree program in Communication Arts, leading to careers in modern mass communication media.

Establishment at the College of Pharmacy of a Master's degree program in Toxicology. St. John's was the first to offer this program and only six other educational institutions in the nation offer such a program.

A Master's degree program in Taxation for accountants and attorneys at the College of Business Administration, in a field of increasing importance today.

A Ph.D. program in pharmaceutical sciences.

A series of courses in Black Area Studies has been instituted and these will eventually be incorporated as parts of curricula leading to the Associate and Baccalaureate degrees.

A truly comprehensive and impressive record of service has marked the first 100 years of St. John's University. In commemoration, a University Centennial Committee, headed by the Reverend Joseph I. Dirvin, C.M., Assistant to the President, is planning appropriate observances which will include a number of symposia, convocations, significant academic functions and special events, including a Concert Series at Philharmonic Hall in Lincoln Center, the first such series ever to be sponsored by a university.

#### THE CENTENNIAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM—THE

##### "POSSIBLE DREAM"

Looking to the future, the University has charted a purposeful course. A long and intensive study by trustees, faculty, administration, and representatives of the student body, together with qualified educational consultants has determined the University's needs, both academic and physical, immediate and long-range.

From this study has come *The Centennial Development Program*—a project designed to expand and strengthen St. John's role as a vitally involved member of the Greater Metropolitan New York community.

The cost to attain the academic and physical objectives of the Centennial Development Program is estimated at \$30,500,000. Success in reaching these goals will give the University the resources it needs to take advantage of new opportunities and to meet new and demanding challenges in the future.

#### ACADEMIC NEEDS

The primary purpose of the Centennial Development Program is the further strengthening of the University's academic structure. Specific academic needs are in three categories:

1. Endowed Faculty Chairs to attract to the University distinguished scholars whose re-

search, publications and ability as teachers will complement the efforts of the present faculty and provide a new stimulus for students. The estimated cost of creating these Chairs is \$10,500,000.

2. Increased endowment for financial aid to students to supplement the income derived from its present modest \$11,000,000 endowment. If St. John's is to meet fully the needs of the city, it must have funds to make educational opportunity a reality for students who have the potential but not the means for a college education. Estimated minimum requirement is \$2,500,000.

3. Endowment for special projects and innovative programs in response to community requests to assist in elevating the general level of literacy and education, particularly among disadvantaged adults and underprivileged children of pre-school age in the ghetto areas. These projects are designed to train men and women who will assume responsibility for planning and conducting these programs. Estimated minimum requirement is \$2,500,000.

The total amount required to meet the academic needs as outlined above is \$15,500,000.

#### PHYSICAL NEEDS

St. John's physical needs represent new construction, renovation and remodeling, and additional equipment that will be required to achieve the University's academic objectives and to make possible the University's goal of providing greater service to its students, faculty, alumni, staff and the community at large.

St. John's physical needs are:

1. A University Campus Center at the Jamaica campus. This structure would be a unifying force in campus life, provide adequate food services, together with social, cultural and recreational facilities to meet the needs of a growing enrollment. The estimated cost of construction, fixed equipment, fixtures and furnishings is \$7,800,000.

2. A new Law School Building on the Jamaica campus to replace the present inadequate quarters on four floors at the Brooklyn Center. Because of current physical limitations, the School has had to turn away many qualified students. The new building will enable the School of Law not only to provide adequate instructional facilities but to offer additional and urgently needed courses. The estimated cost of construction, fixed equipment, fixtures and furnishings is \$4,500,000.

3. Library Development. The University's holdings now total more than 500,000 volumes. The number of books is increasing each year, and the further development of the University library at both campuses is essential. This development, together with extensive remodeling to provide additional stacks space is estimated to cost \$1,500,000.

4. The Science-Pharmacy Building also requires extensive renovation and additional laboratories so that its facilities and equipment can be better adapted not only to meet contemporary educational requirements, but to meet the community's business, industrial and professional manpower needs of the future. Estimated cost is \$700,000.

5. Extensive remodeling and renovation of the Brooklyn Center. With the relocation of the School of Law at the Jamaica campus, the space vacated at Brooklyn will be remodeled to meet pressing enrollment needs of the University's Schools and Colleges there. Estimated cost is \$500,000.

#### TO MEET THE NEEDS OF A NEW CENTURY

The total amount needed to meet the physical needs as outlined is \$15,000,000—bringing to a minimum of \$30,500,000 the overall financial objectives of the Centennial Development Program. The campaign for funds toward this goal will seek the support of all who believe in St. John's and who wish to join in enabling it to strengthen

and expand its position in the vitally important field of higher education in America.

St. John's University, at the beginning of its second century of service is on the move—educationally upward for its students, and outward for the community. As a Catholic University committed to a Christian vision of reality, St. John's hopes to further in its students a deep appreciation of Christian ideals of living and a true sense of Christian responsibility to self and to others.

The Centennial Development Program is both a challenge and an inspiration. The achievements of this great urban university over the past one hundred years have demonstrated its capacity for action and its ability to cope with demanding and complex problems. It is with confidence and faith that St. John's University approaches the opportunities, the problems, and the challenges of the future.

#### SLEPA AIDS FOR LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

### HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, we have, in New Jersey, a most excellent executive director of the State law enforcement planning agency. He is Mr. James A. Spady.

Just recently Mr. Spady delivered an important address in Atlantic City, N.J., on our criminal justice system and its many facets before the special session on law enforcement assistance of the New Jersey State League of Municipalities. In it Mr. Spady explains the use of Federal grants for local enforcement agencies and I believe all of us should be interested in his report for it was Congress which created the program. Thus, I will place in the RECORD the text of Mr. Spady's address.

Before doing so, I would like to dwell briefly on Mr. Spady's background and qualifications. Mr. Spady is a native of New Jersey. He is married and has two sons.

Mr. Spady was graduated in 1955 from Stevens Institute of Technology with a degree in engineering. He was employed for 2 years in research and development work with national corporations, and is familiar with data processing and communications equipment employed in law enforcement. He is a full member of the Institute of Electrical and Electronic Engineers and a life member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

In 1960 Mr. Spady received the juris doctor degree from the Columbia University School of Law. He is a member of the New York bar. From 1960 to 1968, he practiced law in New York City, interrupted by a 2-year period during which he was a department head for a national corporation based in New Jersey.

Prior to entering government service on a full-time basis, Mr. Spady served in several part-time capacities while he practiced law. Chief among these were his positions as a legislative assistant to a New York City councilman, as counsel

for the New Jersey State Senate assistant majority leader, and as a member of the Bergen County Planning Board.

On February 1, 1968, he joined the staff of Gov. Richard J. Hughes of New Jersey as administrative assistant to the Governor. Then on August 14, 1968, Governor Hughes appointed him executive director of the State law-enforcement planning agency, which the Governor created by executive order the day before. It became Mr. Spady's responsibility to organize the agency and to develop and administer New Jersey's first comprehensive crime control plan.

In June of 1969, the U.S. Department of Justice called the crime control plan prepared under Mr. Spady's staff direction, "unusually good," and added that it showed "high quality in-house competence."

Mr. Spady also is president of the American Society of Criminal Justice Planners, the professional association comprising 47 of the State executive directors of the omnibus crime control program, and just recently he was named a Littauer Fellow in Public Administration at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

This is the text of Mr. Spady's address: SLEPA AIDS FOR LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

#### INTRODUCTION

One hundred and forty years ago Daniel Webster said these now amazing words:

"Justice is the great interest of man on earth. It is the ligament which holds civilized beings and civilized nations together. Wherever her temple stands, and so long as it is duly honored, there is a foundation for social security, general happiness, and the improvement and progress of a people. And whoever labors on this edifice with usefulness and distinction, whoever clears its foundations, strengthens its pillars, adorns its entablatures, or contributes to raise its august dome still higher in the skies, connects himself, in name, and fame and character, with that which is and must be as durable as the frame of human society itself."

What went wrong in the ensuing 140 years? Why has the criminal justice system been so neglected that Professor Jameson Dolg of Princeton could call it, without fear of contradiction, the "dark continent of American political science?"

And a related question: how can we change the system, so as to regain its former grandeur?

How it got that way—a large topic; too large for here and now.

But there are some threads that can be quickly unraveled.

Somehow the public has come to think of the criminal justice system—and especially law enforcement—as somehow "different" from other governmental activities. Not really government, in the sense of budgets and desks and typewriters and personnel problems—and a need for research, development, and change. It's a Dick Tracy world to most people.

Also, there is no tradition of press analysis in the field of criminal justice. In education, for example, we see "Education Editors," who are expected not to turn up a news story on the latest disciplinary problem or on the teacher who put a hand in the till—but on the issues of education, the contending methods and programs, the institutional factors. In criminal justice, it's a comic strip world of cops and robbers. The press attitude and the public attitude rein-

force one another—and make support for the hard work of change, very difficult.

I promise to return to this theme—change—at the end of my remarks. But in the meanwhile I will follow the theme of this conference—State aid programs to local law enforcement. I will set out the ways in which SLEPA has decided to work for change—notice that I did not say *achieve* change. That, I am afraid, is a very large problem indeed, and the forces at work—of the order of magnitude of the two examples set forth above—are certainly far beyond what any small agency can hope to cope with.

But there are things we can do, and I will now discuss them.

#### AID OFFERED BY SLEPA

The aid to local criminal justice offered by SLEPA that is either in the field or in the works *right now*, numbers ten categories. We will, of course, pick up new responsibilities as time goes on.

#### FIRST CATEGORY—ACTION GRANTS

The first category, not in terms of *sequence* over these past months, but in terms of *importance*, is financial aid to the local criminal justice agencies—the so-called “action grants.”

Obviously, this is the most important category because it is what the program is about. But, as I will explain later, it cannot succeed without the support of the nine other categories of aid that we offer.

In fiscal 1969, SLEPA received a block grant of \$866,000 from the federal government to administer “action grants” to local governments.

This money could not be received by SLEPA from Washington until after the first state-wide plan had been approved in Washington.

For fiscal 1969, the plans of the 50 States were not approved until the very last month—June—of the fiscal year. New Jersey's plan was approved and the grant award made on June 23, and the first installment of action funds was received on August 26, 1969.

As soon as the block of action money was received, SLEPA mailed out, to 3000 criminal justice and general government officials across the State, a document—our so-called Dissemination Document No. 2—setting forth what program categories of action aid had been approved in Washington, and what local officials had to do to apply for sub-grants within those categories. A deadline of October 15 was set, and 47 applications were received from local units. In a minute, I will say a word about what happens next with those applications, but first I want to state very clearly an important fact about “block” grants.

A “block grant” is a single sum of money granted by the federal government for use within a State, such as New Jersey. The amount of money is fixed, and depends only on how much the Congress appropriates for the whole country, and the percentage population of the whole country that a State has.

New Jersey's plan in fact was singled out by the Justice Department, and called “unusually good.” It was the only one of the 50 State plans approved without a single condition attached to it; that is, without a single fault found in it. California, on the other hand, received 30 pages of single spaced conditions on the use of their action money.

But no matter how good or bad your plan is (as long as it gets a “passing” grade) you get your population percentage share. Thus, New Jersey's population is 3½% of the National population, and New Jersey's block grant for fiscal 1969 was therefore 3½% of the National action appropriation of \$29,000,000, or \$866,000.

I spell this out in some detail, because it is important to understand that action funds under a “block grant” approach are *predictable*. And if we are going to improve

criminal justice step by step, the money *has* to be predictable.

It is therefore perfectly predictable that New Jersey will again, late next spring, after the second State plan is approved in Washington, receive 3½% of the fiscal 1970 National appropriation. It looks like the National appropriation for the 50 States will be \$185,000,000, so it is perfectly predictable that on about May 15, 1970, New Jersey will receive its 3½%, or \$6.5 million.

I say it is *good* that it is this predictable, because then we can *count* on the money, we can *plan* on it, and all of you know how important that is.

But I promised that I would return to the subject of the current action monies.

\$151,000 was granted to 25 cities throughout the State in 1968 under a special “early bird” clause in the Act, restricted only to civil disorder purposes. The money was used for portable communications equipment; we call it Project Alert, and I will touch on it again later.

\$95,000 was very recently granted to the State Police to conduct a training session in organized crime, and to purchase special anti-organized crime equipment. This training session was praised by the Justice Department as “an exciting training program.”

This, by the way, was the *only* State level grant made or to be made with fiscal 1969 “action” funds. In fact, in providing 89% earmarked for local use only, New Jersey is one of the top five States in regard to emphasis upon local needs.

Those 47 applications from local units of government—and I imagine there are 47 of you out there interested in this—have been reviewed by the SLEPA staff, and are awaiting decision by special committees of the SLEPA Governing Board. This decision should be forthcoming quite soon, and we will then announce the awards of action assistance.

These action grant applications and awards will of course become a regular thing once the “big” money starts to become available next spring. In fact, SLEPA will be administering at least \$1 million a month from there on.

Money in *that* kind of magnitude can begin to be an important factor in assisting local criminal justice agencies in their fight to control crime—the prevention agencies, the apprehension agencies, the adjudication agencies, and the rehabilitation agencies.

But only, of course, if the money is spent wisely—and that brings me to the next subject.

I will now describe, much more briefly, the second through the tenth categories of aid that SLEPA offers to local law enforcement.

All of these nine categories have one thing in common: They are intended to set the framework for the action grants. Each of these aids in some way helps ensure that we—SLEPA and you—know exactly *what* to spend action money on, *where* to spend it, *when* to spend it, and *how much* to spend—all in terms of wringing the most benefit out of the limited action dollars we will have each year.

I will now describe these nine additional categories of aid.

#### SECOND CATEGORY—STATEWIDE PLANNING

The second category of aid which we provide, is the initial creation, and the annual revision and resubmittal, of the comprehensive Statewide Crime Control Plan.

At first glance you might not see this as aid to you, but let me assure you that it is. If you, as municipal officials have a good statewide plan, you have one leg up on the problem of knowing *what* should be done locally, and *what* you can expect from SLEPA. If you had seen some of the confused, contradictory, and unimaginative plans of some other States that I have seen, you would know what I mean. You would know how difficult it must be for local officials in those

States to decide just what is available under the plan, just what *has* to be done to get it, and just *where* is the whole thing headed.

A good Statewide Plan—one that clearly and accurately defines the problems, the proposed program solutions, and the procedures—is the single most helpful thing a local official can have as a guide to what he can and should do himself.

As you know from reviewing our Plan—which was sent to all of you as Dissemination Document No. 1—it is very complete, yet very clear. It represents many, many thousands of hours of work. But we at SLEPA are perfectly satisfied that the extra effort was worth it because you now have to work with as you begin to pick up your end of the responsibilities under this Crime Control Act program, the use of the clearest and most complete effort of which we were capable.

#### THIRD CATEGORY—PLANNING GRANTS

The third category of aid that SLEPA offers to local governments, is that of “*planning*” grants.

The purpose of a planning grant to a local unit is of course, to assist that unit to *define* its problems clearly, completely, and accurately; to *develop* solutions to the problems; and to create a local plan for attacking those problems—a plan setting forth programs, priorities, costs, time sequence of the programs, and so on.

All businesses plan, and modern “blue-chip” businesses plan with great sophistication and with all the assistance that systems analysis, computer simulation, and decision analysis can offer. They have found that planning pays off.

Obviously we do not imagine that local law enforcement can do *that* kind of planning. But as John F. Kennedy said in his inaugural address, “the longest journey starts with a single step—let us begin.”

And it is worthwhile even just to “begin” because the institution (in even a modest degree) of planning, or the planning viewpoint, will have immediate beneficial effects upon a local unit. It will help clarify current assets, problems, and goals; and it will save money through better coordination of existing assets, and better choice among possible future changes and improvements.

Many of the programs developed in local planning will require local funds for implementation. In many cases, however, SLEPA action funds will become available to implement portions of these local plans—the good portions, I might add, and therein lies the incentive to do the local planning well.

Now I'm very well aware that “planning” has a bad name among many people. And it ought to, if it leads nowhere. That's not the kind of planning the Crime Control Act contemplates. It wants *action* planning from local governments.

Our planning grant monies are quite limited. The Congress, and properly so, appropriates many times more “action” money than “planning” money. Still, we have already begun to make a local impact with our planning grants.

In fiscal 1969, we had \$253,000 for local planning grants. (Incidentally, 10% of that was donated by the State). We reviewed the crime statistics for local units in New Jersey, and offered planning grants to 17 cities spaced around the State; cities that had very high crime rates. In each of the 13 counties where there were no such cities, we made a planning award to the county so it could begin to assess the problems of the region.

With fiscal 1970 monies, we will expand this program of planning grants. It is our hope to be able to extend some kind of tangible planning aid to a large number of New Jersey cities, and all counties, by the second year of the program.

#### FOURTH CATEGORY—TRAINING LOCAL PLANNERS

The fourth category of aid, is the *training* of local planners.

We are very well aware that there is very little planning tradition in the criminal justice system. We therefore know that providing planning monies is not enough. We must train local planners. It is not money as such that effects change and improvement, it is people and skills.

We have scheduled a monthly series of training classes at the SLEPA offices in Trenton. The first class is scheduled for December 17, 18, and 19. The format will be that of a workshop: lectures about the Statewide Plan and about methods of local planning; discussion of local problems; and small group work on actual planning problem.

There will be between 15 and 25 attendees in each training class. We have invited to the first class a majority of the local project directors of the 1969 planning grant cities and counties. They were invited to the first class because they have an immediate need to learn the principles of planning, so that they can use their current grant to the fullest advantage.

However, we will in succeeding monthly classes, include representatives from the remaining eight counties, and from as many cities as will attend.

In the second and third monthly classes, we will give preference to representatives from the balance of the 50 crime cities, but we will be pleased even then to include others if they so desire. From the fourth month on, we will have no preferences whatever, and will train representatives from as many cities as will come.

There are three elements to successful planning, and therefore to successful action: planning money, trained planners, and information upon which to base plans. I have described, in the preceding two categories of aid, how we are moving to handle the money, and the training, for planning locally. I now turn to the third prerequisite: the information needed by the local planner.

Lest you downgrade the importance of information, let me illustrate. Some time ago a potential applicant from a city south of Trenton submitted an action grant application to us, dealing with education against narcotics abuse. In discussing their approach with them, it developed that they had never heard of pioneering work in that area done in a county north of Trenton. Yet that approach was really the kind of thing they were trying to devise themselves. As small as New Jersey is, it's very difficult to not "reinvent the wheel" over and over again. Information is vital, and SLEPA means to do something about it.

Therefore, the remaining six categories of aid that SLEPA offers to local units, all have one thing in common: they provide information upon which local planners can make recommendations, and upon which local officials can make decisions.

#### FIFTH CATEGORY—DISSEMINATION DOCUMENTS

The fifth category of aid to local units is therefore an umbrella category, overlapping each of the succeeding five. It is the aid represented by dissemination documents, i.e. documents sent to local officials to give them information they need or can use.

There are four kinds of Dissemination Documents that SLEPA has programmed for the period commencing last June. Each has its own information transmission purpose.

The first, and most obvious, are Dissemination Documents that relate to the fundamental processes of the Crime Control Act program—each annual plan, each action fund procedures guide, and planning guides and explanations. You have already begun to receive these; by their very nature they come first.

The second class of Dissemination Documents are those that summarize a great many program ideas. Less than a page is devoted to each idea, and each is an abstract

of a full program, the details of which will be made available to interested parties. The source of these abstracts are (1) the programs submitted by applicants to SLEPA, (2) programs submitted in other States (as President of the American Society of Criminal Justice Planners, the association to which 47 of the State Directors of this program belong, I have instituted the sharing of abstracts among States), (3) existing criminal justice programs in New Jersey that have innovative content, and (4) such existing programs in other States.

Obviously, this kind of document is put out only infrequently—we plan it once a year.

The third class of Dissemination Documents are those that trace the outline of where we at SLEPA think criminal justice ought to go in New Jersey, as regards a specific subject. It is helpful to you, to have materials that go beyond the plan—materials that are binding on no one, but that help clarify where we might be going. Some topics that are high on this agenda are: (1) narcotics control, (2) State-wide police communication and information retrieval, (3) juvenile delinquency prevention and control, (4) criminal justice education, and (5) the corrections and rehabilitation system. These are obviously large undertakings, but we have each of them under study right now.

The fourth and final class of Dissemination Documents are those that report the results of action grants. Obviously the biggest advantage derived from a successful action grant project, is that others can learn from it—again, they don't have to reinvent the wheel over again. It is our responsibility—SLEPA's—to see that whatever is learned with action monies, is made available to all. If, to go back to the earlier illustration, a good narcotics program is mounted in a North Jersey County, we don't want a South Jersey City—or any city or county for that matter—not to know about it.

I mentioned before "Project Alert", our first action project, which was funded a year ago to 25 riot prone cities. After a year's experience, we are now ready to report the results so that others might join the Alert system. This first report of its kind will be set out in Dissemination Document No. 4, to be mailed in late December.

The remaining five categories of aid are less major, and operate by feeding information into Dissemination Document process, or directly to the local official.

#### SIXTH CATEGORY—TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

The sixth category of aid is technical assistance to local units. The SLEPA Staff includes a former Model Cities senior researcher; a former senior FBI Agent; a veteran State Police planner; a veteran corrections planner; police training people, financial people, and so on. I mentioned before that the Justice Department called our Plan "unusually good" in approving it. They also said the quality of the plan indicated that we had "high quality in-house competence." That competence is there for you. Use it. We want to help.

#### SEVENTH CATEGORY—LEAP PROGRAM

The seventh category of aid is the Law Enforcement Education Program.

While the funds are awarded directly to colleges and universities in New Jersey for the provision of loans and scholarships to criminal justice people pursuing college credits, we have assumed the task of coordinating the awards. The direct nature of the awards has made coordination difficult; however it is our hope that a master plan for criminal justice education will bring some order, and therefore more coordination, into the process.

In the past academic year \$142,200 was awarded to New Jersey colleges, resulting in the full or partial support of 658 law enforcement related students.

#### EIGHTH CATEGORY—ANNUAL CONFERENCES

Our eighth category of aid, is the calling of annual criminal justice conferences, to bring together once a year, people from all branches of the system and all parts of the State, to get to know each others viewpoints and problems and suggestions.

At the first such conferences, which were held in six locations in the State, there were nearly 1500 attendees. Many people far wiser than I, hold to the opinion that the isolation of the various branches of the criminal justice system is one of its greatest problems—we hope the conferences in some small way will begin to alleviate that situation.

#### NINTH CATEGORY—COLLOQUIA

The ninth category of aid is closely related to the eighth. We intend to sponsor discussions among leaders of the various branches of the criminal justice system in New Jersey, of the problems cutting across two or more of the branches. The problems between the police and prosecution for example. Or the delay in the branches of the adjudication system.

We will experiment with methods for bringing out the best, most-informed operating viewpoints. At present, we believe that colloquia among four or five leaders holds the greatest promise. We will of course disseminate the results.

#### TENTH CATEGORY—RESEARCH

The tenth and final category of aid is research.

It is not practical to attempt to do really basic research, or even much research of any kind, on the State level. For that reason, Congress set up a national research effort in the Justice Department.

However, we do perform research. We have conducted systems analysis studies on the operations of a number of New Jersey criminal justice agencies, including two courts, one prosecutor's office, and four police departments. Our research director is currently doing literature and field studies on the narcotics control problem, and on the design of urban streets and buildings to render them safer from crime. These research efforts will, of course, be disseminated in due course.

#### CONCLUSION

I come now to the end of my report to you.

I have made only three points:

(1) Change in the criminal justice system is very difficult to achieve. Large-scale change in basic institutions is always difficult, but there are special problems with criminal justice. Criminal justice is not treated like education. It is, as a system, not taken seriously. We have a Dick Tracy view of criminal justice. We see it as cops and robbers; not as a vast, sprawling system of agencies that are in deep institutional trouble. We don't treat it like an administrative branch of government; it is "different". These attitudes, wherever they come from originally, are not helped by the treatment that criminal justice gets in the media: all transitory sensationalism, and no analysis. *A change in attitude must precede a change in the criminal justice system.*

(2) Rational planning will work in criminal justice, just as it does in every other endeavor; and it is necessary if there is to be change under conditions of scarce resources for change. We can't afford to waste this opportunity.

(3) Information is needed, about how to change, and what to change to. When Professor Jameson Doig of Princeton called law enforcement "the dark continent of American political science", he at once put his finger on two truths: there is very little known in the criminal justice branch of government; and that fact cannot be an accident.

In conclusion, I must confess that I do

not myself know what went wrong in the hundred and forty years since Webster was moved to praise, in the quotation with which I opened these remarks, not only *justice*, but also those who "*labor on this edifice*".

But whatever happened, only people—that's us too—can reverse it. And so I conclude on that note by citing the final words of the Report of the President's Crime Commission, "if America is to meet the challenge of crime it must do more, far more, than it is doing now. It must welcome new ideas and risk new actions. It must spend time and money. It must resist those who point to scapegoats, who use facile slogans about crime by habit or for selfish ends. It must recognize that the government of a free society is obliged to act not only effectively but fairly. It must seek knowledge and admit mistakes.

"Controlling crime in America is an endeavor that will be *slow and hard and costly*. But America can control crime *if it will*."

#### THE SELLING OF THE PRESIDENT IN 1863

### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 11, 1969

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I should like today to call to the attention of my colleagues a fascinating article written by Mr. Hank Lindsey, of the Chicago Tribune, which in a most eloquent manner speculates on how the network pundits—the glamor boys of the big tube—would have covered the campaign of President Abraham Lincoln.

It is only by interposing today's network commentators on a known vignette of American history that we can fully appreciate what is happening to Americans today.

Mr. Lindsey has performed a notable public service by putting today's electronic journalism into proper perspective.

His excellent article, which appeared in the Chicago Tribune on December 1, follows:

THE SELLING OF THE PRESIDENT: 1863

(By Hank Lindsey)

Today, we in the United States are very fortunate. For every major public utterance by a political figure, we have at least a hundred journalists who interpret what was said.

I understand that, actually, there was a time when a President would make a speech and the average citizen had to figure out what the man in the White House said without any help from learned commentators.

Of course, everyone realizes why we need professional interpreters of the news. Politicians otherwise defy understanding.

Of all the news media, television seems to be making the greatest strides toward a comprehensive program of interpreting the news. The real beauty of the television method of instant analysis is that we don't have to wait to learn what we should think about a policy statement by the President or one of his ranking administrators.

Just imagine how different things might have been a hundred or so years ago had we had network television covering Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.

"... that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, and

for the people shall not perish from the earth."

"This is Walter Conkle reporting directly from Gettysburg. Mr. Lincoln has just finished his remarks and is retiring from the platform. He is the stovepipe moving just to the left of the screen. The derby just in front of the President is the Pinkerton man clearing a path thru the crowd so Mr. Lincoln can get to his horse.

"We have a crew located by the station in Gettysburg standing by the Presidential train waiting to whisk Mr. Lincoln off to Washington for another round of top level conferences on war strategy.

"While we wait for the President to travel from here to the station, we'll switch back to our studios where Chet Hinkley has a panel of our distinguished newsmen waiting to share a few of their reactions to the just completed address by Mr. Lincoln. Take it way Chet."

"Thank you, Walter, and good day. Here at the studio we have followed the President's remarks closely to glean, if possible, any hints of changes in current administration policies.

"Around the table here in the studio, we have Frank Sagee, who has been covering the congressional scene for ABS; Sandy Vancouver, who traveled with the President during the last campaign and has been close to the current administration since Mr. Lincoln's election; and Herb Kalow, who has just returned from a tour of the front for ABS.

"Let me kick this discussion off by saying that I thought that the President tried to keep his remarks on a high plane as evidenced by his opening reference about four score and seven years. I'm sure the old Lincoln would probably said '87.'

"Sandy, you've witnessed both the old and the new Lincoln. Do you think that we saw the new version today and if so, does the President's new polish give any indication as to a shifting of administration policy?"

"Well, Chet, I have to agree that the old Lincoln wouldn't have said four score and seven, but I don't see any basic changes in the man or his policies. As you rightly noted, the President is seemingly more polished these days, but from my vantage point I can see where he is tending to let Andy Johnson take the low road while he remains above the conflict."

"I see. Then you'd say that the old Lincoln is still with us?"

"Yes, very much with us, but I'd like to hear what Frank has to say about how he feels Congress will react to today's statement."

"Well, Sandy, in my conversations with several of the leaders in the Senate, they indicated that they'd be watching today's speech by the President very closely for any signs of softening in the administration policy of complete victory or nothing. Several expressed a hope that Mr. Lincoln would outline some definite program for bringing the conflict to a quick end.

"Frankly, I don't think that the senators will be able to read any indication of a softening attitude from today's statement. For example, Mr. Lincoln's calling for people to be 'dedicated to the great task before us,' seemed to me to be an affirmation that the administration plans to continue its total victory strategy.

"Thank you, gentlemen. I have word that Mr. Lincoln is about to board the train in Gettysburg, so we have to switch back to Walter Conkle at the scene. Take it away, Walter."

"Thank you, Chet, and thank you gentlemen for your candid comments on President Lincoln's remarks.

"I might add for the benefit of our viewers that if today's audience is any indication of the national mood, the President is in deep trouble, politically. There was almost no reaction to the President's address. The crowd

now in the process of dispersing is silent and solemn indicating, I fear, a deep distrust for Mr. Lincoln and the current administration policies.

"And now, to the station for Mr. Lincoln's departure. Take it away, David."

#### BALTIMOREANS JAMES, COOK ARE KILLED IN VIETNAM ACTION

### HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, 2d Lt. Franklin T. James and Pvt. David R. Cook, two fine young men from Maryland were killed recently in Vietnam. I wish to honor their memories by including the following article in the RECORD:

#### BALTIMOREANS JAMES, COOK ARE KILLED IN VIETNAM ACTION

The Korean-born wife of an Army second lieutenant stood in the rain yesterday as the coffin bearing her husband's body was gently lowered into a grave at Baltimore National Cemetery.

Not far away in West Baltimore, the mother of a 19-year-old Army private who dropped out of high school to enlist at the age of 17, wept silently because her son will not be returning from Vietnam next week.

Second Lt. Franklin T. James, whose wife lives at 1518 North Collington avenue, was killed in Vietnam November 3 when he stepped on a land mine while out on patrol. He was 26.

Private David R. Cook, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel F. Cook, of 1702 Moreland avenue, was killed November 7 in hostile action. His mother said he was scheduled to return to the United States next week.

Lieutenant James, who enlisted in the Army two months after graduating from Poly in 1961, was graduated from Officers Candidate School at Fort Benning, Ga., in February, and sent to Vietnam August 31.

Born in Wilmington, N.C., Lieutenant James was brought to Baltimore by an aunt when he was 3, and, after the aunt died, he was adopted by Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Jones, who also live at the Collington avenue address.

After joining the Army, Lieutenant James served in Turkey and later Korea, where he met and married his wife. His wife is the former Yong Cha Lee.

Besides his wife and stepchildren, he is survived by a stepsister, Mrs. Nancy Crosby; and four stepbrothers, Samuel, Bert, Evell, and Thomas Jones, all of Baltimore.

Private Cook attended Carver Vocational-Technical Senior High School through his junior year, and quit to join the Army with his parents' approval.

Private Cook completed high school in the Army, and had planned to go to college to learn skills necessary to open his own business, a dry-cleaning establishment, his mother said.

#### HIGH SCHOOL QUARTERBACK

While at Carver, Private Cook was a quarterback for the school's football team, and was a member of the track team.

After completing his tour of duty in Vietnam, Private Cook was to be stationed at Fort Bragg, N.C., after a leave in Baltimore.

Besides his parents, he is survived by four brothers, Otis, Samuel, James, and John Cook, all of Baltimore; five sisters, Mary, Helena, Christine, Shirley, and Alice Cook, all of Baltimore; and his maternal grandmother, Mrs. Lena Lockley, of Gloucester, Va.

JOSEPH P. KENNEDY

**HON. FRANK CHURCH**

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the late Joseph P. Kennedy was a singular individual in the annals of our national life. His own career in both public service and private life was distinguished by the contributions he made to his fellow man.

But historians will remember him primarily as a father—as a man who bequeathed to his children that love of life which encompassed courage of leadership and compassion toward others.

In a family seared by the pain of recurring tragedy, Joseph Kennedy was allowed the blessing of a peaceful death. Bill Hall, the editorial page editor of the Lewiston Tribune, in Idaho, said it well in his eulogy:

Against all the others, it is almost the happy parting from cares of life that the theologians tell us death should be.

Mr. President, I commend Mr. Hall's editorial to the Senate and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

[From the Lewiston (Idaho) Morning Tribune, Nov. 19, 1969]

## AN ODD EVENT FOR THE KENNEDYS

A most extraordinary thing happened yesterday: There was a natural death in the Kennedy family.

After 30 years of plane crashes and assassinations, Joseph P. Kennedy, father and catalyst to one of the most remarkable political dynasties in American history, died as old men do, peacefully in a coma.

It will be the first family funeral the Kennedys will have attended in years that will not include the overriding tragedy of premature, unexpected and cruel termination. Against all the others, it is almost the happy parting from cares of life that the theologians tell us death should be.

There are few Americans who cannot recite from memory the toll that preceded it: a son killed in a World War II airplane crash, a daughter killed in an airplane crash in 1948, a son killed in the presidency and another cut down while striving for that office.

Few men have suffered so much pain—or shared in so much triumph—during the lives of their children.

Political men at the beginning of their careers and in the back of their minds have thoughts of reaching for the top, all the way to the top in their wildest dreams. But when the realization dawns, as it does quite early with most, that they will never make it, a substitute dream—equally sweet in its way—emerges: There is always the son who can have the advantage of picking up where the father left off and perhaps reach the goal. The stage mothers of politics are all frustrated actors themselves.

Joseph Kennedy was the most successful stage mother of all time. He molded the ideals, talents and ambition of his sons, focusing their lives toward a single goal and succeeding more than any other man because he had the acumen to leave them with their individuality when the process was finished.

The first son, Joe, was to be the first to try for president—a wish many fathers share, but which in retrospect was no delusion of grandeur in this particular family.

Joe never came back from the war.

Jack did, though barely, and his well launched career took him to the White House in 14 short years where he became the youngest man ever elected president of the United States. He died there. Brother Robert was next to try and next to die.

The last remaining son, Teddy, has already collided twice with the curse—a broken back in an airplane crash and a traffic accident in which a companion died under bizarre circumstances. The office may now be beyond his reach.

The price was high, and sons are not a commodity to be squandered heedlessly on a father's ambition, but the record is astonishing: of four sons, three became U.S. senators, one became president, and two became serious presidential contenders. All four were victims of their time. And the father, proud and sad, died in his sleep, where dreams are made.

## TRIBUTE TO POISON PREVENTION PIONEER

**HON. BILL D. BURLISON**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. BURLISON of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, some men's lives are monuments enough and their accomplishments need not be engraved in stone that they be remembered. So it was with my friend, a fellow Missourian, Homer George. The man is gone but his life was rich and his friends were many. Many more who never were fortunate enough to know him owe him a great debt. A pharmacist by profession, he knew firsthand how children were often poisoned because their parents were not aware of the danger. He was not the kind of man to wring his hands and shake his head; he set out to do something. Through his untiring efforts and the active assistance of former Congressman Paul C. Jones, he finally succeeded. On February 9, 1962, at 2:26 in the afternoon, President John F. Kennedy issued a proclamation designating the third week in March as National Poison Prevention Week. None worked harder for this project than Homer George, and none deserved greater credit for it.

No one can even estimate how many children's lives have been saved because Homer George cared about them and tried to help. We do know that before the inauguration of Poison Prevention Week hundreds of thousands of children were accidentally poisoned every year. The text of the President's proclamation reads in part as follows:

Whereas accidental poisoning consistently takes a substantial toll of lives each year, especially among very young children; and

Whereas prevention of accidental poisoning can best be promoted through a vigorous program designed to alert parents and others against this hazard. Now, therefore, I, John F. Kennedy, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim this week beginning March 18, 1962, as National Poison Prevention Week.

This then is Homer George's monument; the thousands of children whose lives have been saved and the thousands more whose lives will be saved in the years to come.

Mr. Speaker, may I add that the departure of this fine man has been a personal loss to me. For 5 years my law office was located in his building and adjacent to the prescription shop. Our business and personal relationships were always close and friendly.

## SOLDIER SCORNS "PUNKS WALLOWING IN SELF-PITY"

**HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK**

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, I want to share with my colleagues a recent letter to the editor of the Nashville Banner, Capt. Jerry L. Edwards, a native of McKenzie, Tenn., has written from Vietnam expressing his disdain for those Americans who would destroy rather than build our great Nation. Although Captain Edwards is speaking only for himself, I believe he expresses the views of a great many Americans. His letter follows:

"PUNKS WALLOWING IN SELF-PITY" DRAW A SOLDIER'S SCORN

To the EDITOR OF THE BANNER:

I have had it with people trying to tear my country apart, and it's much too late to throw the over-used adage about being a "Flag Waver" at me. You're right, I'm a Flag waver! I have a right to be one, I've earned my privilege.

I have had it with punks wallowing in self pity, who make a display of deploring their birth into a rugged world, to use their sissy expression, "they didn't make!"

Well I didn't make the world into which I was born either, and neither did the men I know who are worthy of American respect. They are out trying to do something about it, not out wearing a beard and causing confusion and destruction in our wonderful country. There is a reason our Hippies wear beards and don't shave. When you shave you have to take a good look at yourself and most Hippies don't have enough self respect and courage to take that look.

Don't give me your whining, whimpering, self-pitying claptrap about how this country is letting you down. I've had it with Hippies, brainless intellectuals, writers who can't write, painters who can't paint, teachers who can't teach, administrators who can't administer, entertainers who fancy themselves sociologists, and Negroes who castigate as "Uncle-Toms," the men who have demonstrated to all the most important quality in America, "Individual Enterprise and Responsibility," Dr. George Washington Carver, Booker T. Washington, Roy Wilkins, Justice Thurgood Marshall, Duke Ellington, Count Basie, the Mills Brothers and many more.

I've had it with those cerebral giants who think it's appropriate to invite advocates of drug use to lecture in their classrooms or to invite a Black Power spokesman to deliver a lecture on Flag-burning as was the case in the Mercer Island school district.

There are 500,000 American men in Vietnam who endure tremendous hardships and of whom many give their lives each week to keep our country free and our Flag flying.

Yet there are people in American who defile and burn our Flag. Are these people really Americans?

I've had it with people who set out deliberately to crush mankind's most noble experiment in decency.

Let me tell you one thing, if you are going to attempt to strip my country of its pride and destroy those institutions my friends and my family have fought and died for, you have to climb over me first! In order to do that you will have to get up awfully early in the morning.

Capt. JERRY L. EDWARDS,  
101st Airborne Division, Vietnam.

PROCLAMATION OF THE STATE OF  
CONNECTICUT

**HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO**

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, the late Martin Luther King was one of the most charismatic and influential leaders of our generation. As the focus of a non-violent quest for equal rights for all Americans, he had a significant impact on our history.

His assassination was a terrible blow to America. I traveled with many others to mourn at his funeral in Atlanta when he was laid to rest, and I believe the increasing recognition of a desirable action sought by our people is well stated in a proclamation issued by Gov. John Dempsey, of Connecticut, with the cooperation of the general assembly. The text of which I submit for the RECORD now so that it may be available to all our Members:

PROCLAMATION OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT  
(By His Excellency John Dempsey, Governor)

"Abused and scorned though we may be," Martin Luther King once said in speaking of his people, "our destiny is tied up with America's destiny. Before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, we were here. Before the pen of Jefferson etched the majestic words of the Declaration of Independence across the pages of history, we were here.

"For more than two centuries our forebears labored in this country without wages; they made cotton king; they built the homes of their masters while suffering gross injustice and shameful humiliation—and yet out of a bottomless vitality they continued to thrive and develop.

"If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not stop us, the opposition we now face will surely fail. We will win our freedom because the sacred heritage of our nation and the eternal will of God are embodied in our echoing demands."

Dr. King's words reflect his unswerving dedication to the cause he embraced—true freedom and equality of opportunity for our black citizens.

An eloquent spokesman and a determined advocate, Dr. King won the respect and admiration of his fellow citizens. His accomplishments, and his record of service in behalf of brotherhood, will long be remembered.

The General Assembly has directed that a day be set aside each year to honor Martin Luther King "for his selfless devotion to the advancement of equality and the preservation of human rights." Accordingly, I proclaim January 15, the anniversary of the birth of this eminent leader, to be Martin Luther King Day in the State of Connecticut.

I urge that flags be flown on public buildings and private homes and that there be suitable observance of this occasion in the schools of this state and in our communities.

Given under my hand and seal of the State at the Capitol, in Hartford, this fifth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and seventy and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and ninety-fourth.

JOHN DEMPSEY,

By His Excellency's Command:

ELLA T. GRASSO,  
Secretary of the State.

EMERGENCY DETENTION ACT  
SHOULD BE REPEALED

**HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I was very pleased to note the recent recommendation of the Department of Justice that the Emergency Detention Act—title II of the Internal Security Act—should be repealed. It is dismaying to realize that this ill-advised statute—passed over the veto of President Truman—is still in effect. Its implications are readily apparent when we recall the disgraceful record of the detention of American citizens of Japanese ancestry during World War II. Although it can easily be said "It can't happen here," it remains an insidious threat to justice and the constitutional rights of all Americans, and I welcome the Justice Department's action. As a cosponsor of H.R. 13455, to repeal this act, I urge speedy consideration of this legislation to eliminate an unneeded and dangerous law which does violence to the basic principles of our democracy. In this connection, the December 13 issue of the New Jersey Afro-American contains an excellent editorial on the question and I am including it in the RECORD. As it cogently points out, the act is an "unnecessary shadow over the democratic process" and should be removed. The editorial follows:

CONGRESS SHOULD AGREE

The Justice Department took a commendable step Wednesday in asking Congress to withdraw the department's authority to set up detention camps.

Deputy Atty. Gen. Richard G. Kleindienst was giving the Congress a concise picture of the situation when he advised that the mere threat that the authority might someday be used is "extremely offensive to many Americans."

A statement Mr. Kleindienst has denied making, which suggested anyone who demonstrated in a way as to interfere with others might be subjected to such detention, has increased concern about the six camps still in existence.

One of the most un-American aspects of the detention camp authority is that it permits people to be rounded up and detained without proper legal safeguards and recourse.

In these tense days when many viewpoints are being pressed and attacked by people in and out of government, no citizen, or groups of citizens, should have to fear oppression by whim.

The government has said on more than one occasion that it never intends to use the Emergency Detention Act authority.

The AFRO consistently has said, as did Mr. Kleindienst last week, that the benefit of repealing the act "outweighs any potential advantage which the act may provide in a time of internal security emergency."

The Congress should remove this unnecessary shadow over the democratic process.

VIEWPOINT OF A SOLDIER IN  
VIETNAM

**HON. MARTIN B. McKNEALLY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. McKNEALLY. Mr. Speaker, the national dialog on the pros and cons of President Nixon's Vietnam policy continues unabated. I have long been greatly interested—but not in the least mystified by them—in the sources of the theme of dissent against the Vietnam war. I am interested as well in the relatively small number of individuals who tenaciously and—I must sadly admit—successfully promote this theme throughout the length and breadth of our Nation.

I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the House, a letter written by a soldier in Vietnam to the editor of the Journal-News in Nyack, N.Y. This young soldier is a resident of Monsey, N.Y., in the 27th Congressional District, which I have the honor to serve.

I harbor no doubt that the great majority of Americans support the President. I believe a letter from a soldier in Vietnam is particularly significant and it is unfortunate they do not write more often; but then, they are rather preoccupied with the business of defending the free world against Communist aggression. When the letters do come, however, they are like a breath of fresh air in a room full of stale smoke. The letter follows:

TO THE EDITOR, JOURNAL-NEWS:

I'm one of many soldiers in Vietnam doing my thing for the people over here. Perhaps you think I'm having a groovy time. Well, I'm not, and the good people of the world know that I'm not. This is a stinking, rotten war and I hate it. I wish I were back in my own world in Monsey.

That's maybe what you want to hear. Well, it is rotten and I would like to be home but I am glad I am here to help these people who respect us more than the people at home. You people talk about a war you know nothing about yet you think you know all the answers. It's not that simple.

Wouldn't you like some help if some big bully came in and took your home and land away? Would you like to wear clothes salvaged from a dump that weren't fit for a hippie? You run around with signs saying war is hell. You're darn right war is hell but these people need our help and most of us are willing to give it. These people are sick of war, too, but they are willing to go on fighting until they are free of the Vietcong and I am willing to help them.

If you want to help, you can come on over and give a hand or you can shut up and let us do our job. We do a pretty darn good job, too, because we are in a hurry to come back home.

If you say killing is wrong, why are you killing something that it took more than a hundred years to build—our American democracy? Stop it now so we may have a

place of peace to come back to when this is over.

It is really more quiet over here where the people are together. If you would like to know who are the big mouths over here, look in the papers at the pictures of the servicemen shouting war is hell but peace without honor is a tragedy.

Pfc. JAMES L. SIMPSON,  
101st Airborne Division, Vietnam.

#### AFTERMATH—22 YEARS AFTER BATTLE OF SAIPAN

### HON. FRANK A. STUBBLEFIELD

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. STUBBLEFIELD. Mr. Speaker, in these critically trying times for both Members of Congress and the Nation at large, I wish to insert in the RECORD, for the benefit of all our colleagues, a portion of a narrative poem which was serialized in the Madisonville Messenger, Madisonville, Ky., a daily newspaper in my district. This poem was written by a man who 22 years before was involved in the Battle of Saipan. The author, Mr. Ben Rash of Mortons Gap, Ky., in prefacing his own poem stated:

It is not the purpose of this narrative poem to glorify any person, group or unit, but rather to set down for any interested reader the actual events as they were known to me and to try to convey the feelings of a combat survivor after enough years have passed that those same events should have long passed into oblivion.

Parts VI and VII of Mr. Rash's poem follow:

#### PART VI—THE RETURN

Left that grim, forbidding Island,  
Two years later war was won,  
Came back to my cherished country,  
Left behind the pack and gun.

Journey on to Ole Kentucky,  
Arrived again at my home town,  
There I met my Love and wooed her,  
"Married up!" and settled down.

Lived in peace all through these bright years,  
But the dream I dreamed last night  
Brought back horror of the conflict  
Of the terrible Island fight.

Saw a spectral group come marching,  
Each one proud and stiff and straight,  
None no longer prone and lifeless,  
All had met and known his fate.

Ranks of four they stepped out smartly,  
Around each head a halo light,  
Saw with growing consternation  
Garments that they wore were white.

Couldn't believe this thing approaching,  
Suddenly filled with awful dread,  
Realized now this ghostly column  
Was the Legion of the Dead.

Now the marching column halted,  
Leader turned and raised his arm,  
Beckoned for my presence nearer,  
Plain for now they meant no harm.

Summoned last reserve of courage,  
Tried to overcome my fear,  
Stopped in horrified amazement  
When I saw their faces clear.

Leader was the Sergeant Nichols  
Dead and gone these twenty-two years,  
Heading up the first squad column  
Was the Corporal Charlie Spears.

Searched each shining face so peaceful,  
Tried to stifle back a sob,  
There stood Gates and Hart and Kovak  
Lynch, Sims, Price and Cobb.

Many, many other comrades  
Helped make up this silent Crew,  
Stood there like a cold stone statue  
Fearful apprehension grew.

Nichols eyes so kind and gentle  
Fixed mine with a level gaze,  
Voice came so unexpected,  
Stirred me from my frozen daze.

"Now you answer up these questions,"  
Said he in unyielding tone.  
"Why are you among these mortals?"  
"Why has not your spirit flown?"

"Wondered where you've been this long time,  
Wondered why you didn't fall."  
I answered quick, "The Lord so willed it,  
Supreme Commander of us all."

"Don't know why the Blessed Savior  
Didn't have me join your band,  
Left my life so precious to me,  
Brought me safe back to this land."

But I'm sure He had a purpose,  
Knew I wasn't fit to die,  
Left me here to get me ready,  
Gave me one more chance to try."

#### A COUNTY MAN REMEMBERS: "AFTERMATH"— 22 YEARS AFTER BATTLE OF SAIPAN

##### PART VII—THE MESSAGE

Nichols thought the Answer over,  
Said, "I'll tell you something more  
Stand fast now and listen closely,  
You have drawn a sacred chore."

"Another reason that HE spared you  
On the path of life to tread,  
Was that you might take a message  
To the living from the dead."

"Long have we celestial dwellers  
Watched events on earth with gloom,  
Listened while men plotted ever  
Mankind's fast approaching doom."

Seems as though the hell first started  
When the atom bomb was born,  
Since that day the moral fiber  
Of the Nations weak was shorn.

I speak here of draft card burners  
And the ones who cry aloud  
Of their false religious feeling  
Masking cowardice with this shroud.

Also, there are those scared authors,  
Writers of the "Protest Song"  
Those who shout the foreign policy  
Of the Government is wrong.

Remember, too, the "slogan mongers"  
Who attempt their rot to spread,  
Shameful whispers to each other  
Such as, "better red than dead."

I include the politician  
He who utters reckless words,  
He who shouts his partisan speeches,  
While the foe of freedom girds.

And the pampered, misled students,  
Those who enter school to learn,  
Then profess to such great knowledge,  
Military duty they must spurn.

There are other spineless creatures  
Who enjoy this land so great,  
Yet, they aid the foreign menace  
Preaching communistic hate.

Nichols voice now rose in anger,  
Bitter tongue and words of scorn,  
Directed to the "semi traitors"  
Who were all in freedom born.

Before the fighting in Korea,  
"Eighteen" proud free nations fell  
Existing now in subjugation  
Behind the "Iron Curtain" hell.

South Korea, only Cuba  
Has fallen to the communist horde,  
Because America is committed  
As a shield against the sword.

Don't those fools now demonstrating  
For our military retreat  
Know the path of world desertion  
Leads to freedom's sure defeat?

Can't they see their silly antics  
Aid the evil communist flow?  
Bring a wealth of aid and comfort  
To the free world's wily foe.

Nichols gazed up in the darkness,  
Arms outstretched and head thrown back  
Shrieked up to the unseen dwellers  
Of the heavens' traceless, track.

Come down here my honored brethren!  
You who died in freedom's name,  
You who perished for your country,  
You of everlasting fame.

Descend and give your sure approval  
Of this message I now give  
To the mortal man before you,  
He whose life was spared to live.

Then before my startled vision  
Appeared a host of wraithlike ones,  
Each had written American history,  
Each had faced the enemy guns.

First, there came an apparition  
Of the "General" Washington,  
Then an endless line of spirits,  
Each a lost American son.

Recognized a score of others  
As they came fast flitting by,  
All looked straight into my being,  
All looked deep into my eye.

One thing now I know for certain  
Each one backed the Sergeant's word,  
And I know they cried in anguish  
That his message must be heard.

Came the ghost of Andrew Jackson,  
Tall and stately, passing by,  
Heard the voice of Colonel Travis  
Venting forth his battle cry.

John Paul Jones appeared before me  
As did General Nathaniel Greene,  
Attired as those gone on before them  
Lighted by their halo sheen.

Next, I saw the face of Custer,  
Knew him by his yellow hair,  
Passed the great incomparable Patton  
Possessing still his showman flair.

John J. Pershing paused a moment  
Linked the arm of Les McNair,  
General McArthur followed closely  
Just behind that dauntless pair.

Saw the form of Bolivar Buckner  
Adding to the marchers flow,  
Colonel Bowie and Davy Crockett  
Defenders of the Alamo.

Admirals Dewey, Nimitz and Halsey  
Entered in my vision clear,  
Sergeant York with Colin Kelley  
Flanked the horseman, Paul Revere.

Countless names and countless faces  
Now had answered Nichols call,  
Every one enshrined in history,  
Brave, strong fighters, heroes all.

Then I fell back, shamed and shaken  
Turned to Nick and cried his name,  
Promised to absorb his message,  
Promised to deliver same.

Receive it then my mortal cohort  
Spoke Nick now, his voice clear,  
Tell the loyal of the nation  
That they need not live in fear.

Two great problems of the future  
Men must face upon this Earth,  
First containment of the Marxists,  
And the Chinese missile birth.

Declare to all that world enslavement  
Is the communistic prize,  
With the leaders of this movement  
There can be no compromise.

Say unto all civilized people  
Unite! They must in year's to come  
Before the Oriental war lords  
Perfect delivery of their bomb.

Think, my friend, of what must happen  
From a nuclear holocaust,  
Untold millions sure to perish,  
Civilization will be lost.

Speak to those brave men in Asia  
Bearing freedom's torch on high,  
We commend their noble effort  
From our home up in the sky.

Say unto the nations chieftain  
He who shoulders such a weight,  
We the Patriots of the ages  
Believe He carries mankind's fate.

Assure Him that He is supported  
By America's honored dead,  
History shall record the rightness  
Of the fight which He has led.

To the malcontented marchers,  
Those who cry and lie and moan,  
They shall surely reap the whirlwind  
Of the evil they have sown.

Inform the shameless draft card burners  
Hell will write their pedigree,  
They now share the full contempt  
Of those who died for liberty.

Tell the crummy, craven cowards,  
Their subversion will emerge,  
And the anger of all free men  
Will compose their funeral dirge.

Americans everywhere must safeguard  
Freedom's precious holy right,  
United firmly as one people,  
Carry on the free world fight.

Now my thoughts were whirling madly,  
Smashing, crashing through my head,  
Felt the weight of that great mission  
Entrusted to me by the dead.

Thought how each had died in battle,  
Some in horror, some in pain,  
Knew from all my years of freedom,  
Not a one had died in vain.

Mutely nodded my agreement,  
Stood there chastized, shook, forlorn,  
Saddened by the specters anguish,  
Humbled by their whiplash scorn.

Satisfied, Nick turned to go now,  
Commanded that the troops "Fall in,"  
Forward, March! On in to glory,  
Leave this wretched place of men.

Glanced at my bowed head and nodded,  
Gesture seemed to clearly say,  
Deliver that which you are charged with,  
And we'll meet another day.

#### PUBLIC POLICY AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN MISSOURI

### HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I call your attention to a statement by Dr. John Anthony Brown, president, Lindenwood College in St. Charles, Mo., at the fall meeting of the independent colleges and universities of Missouri. Dr. Brown points out the contributions private education has made to Missouri and the ap-

parent lack of recognition for these contributions.

#### PUBLIC POLICY AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN MISSOURI

The 34 private colleges and universities that comprise the Independent Colleges and Universities of Missouri offer a great diversity of educational opportunity to the people of our state.

This private sector of higher education in Missouri represents an educational, economic and social asset that the state can neither afford to lose nor afford to replace. These institutions attract students from every state in the union, and from several dozen foreign countries. They enroll 28.3% of the students in higher education in Missouri; they award over 34% of the bachelor's degrees, more than 38% of all graduate degrees, and almost 47% of the Ph.D.'s. These independent colleges and universities educate more than 43% of the dentists, almost 46% of the lawyers, more than 65% of the pharmacists, and almost 69% of the physicians.

Our private colleges and universities employ some 16,000 people and have an annual payroll of close to \$100,000,000. In 1968-69 these colleges and universities had operating budgets which totaled in excess of \$160,000,000, and spent another \$25,000,000 to \$30,000,000 on capital expenditures. They represent assets of close to one-half a billion dollars (replacement cost) in buildings, grounds, and equipment, and well over \$200,000,000 in market value endowment.

This is an impressive recitation. The trouble with it as a recitation is that no one seems to have heard it before. Neither our students nor our faculties are aware of our present role; neither our employees nor our alumni are fully conscious of the impact we have and have had on this state and nation; neither the foundations nor the corporations are alert to the great resources we have put together; neither the people of the state nor their political leaders have looked carefully at the independent sector of higher education in Missouri.

#### DR. LUTHER HOLCOMB

### HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, one of the able public servants of our time is Dr. Luther Holcomb, of Dallas, Tex., Vice Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The attached editorial taking note of the outstanding services of Dr. Holcomb appeared in the Wichita Eagle and the Beacon, Wichita, Kans., and I submit it for inclusion in the RECORD:

#### IT'S REASSURING

Change is a way of life in Washington. But a graduate of the University of Oklahoma has compiled a record that has received little publicity while serving as vice chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under four different EEOC chairmen. He is Dr. Luther Holcomb, a Dallas Democrat, who was reappointed by President Nixon.

Common sense and reasonableness are the two traits that this unobtrusive former minister brought to the work of the commission. His philosophy is that "where prejudice and discrimination exist, we must tear it out from its very roots." By tact and diplomacy he has successfully encouraged the maintenance

of lines of communication with minority groups.

Dr. Holcomb's continued service on the commission demonstrates that capable service can be rewarded in political-conscious Washington. This is especially reassuring when it involves an agency with sensitive problems of human relations.

#### STUDENT INVOLVEMENT IN ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS

### HON. WILLIAM B. SPONG, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. SPONG. Mr. President, students from five States in the mid-Atlantic region and the District of Columbia will meet in Richmond on Tuesday, December 30 to focus public attention and awareness upon environmental problems.

The conference will be held under the auspices of the Student Council on Pollution in the Environment—SCOPE—and the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration. The cochairmen of mid-Atlantic SCOPE are Miss Patti Collins of Westhampton College, Richmond, and Randall Simons of the University of Virginia at Charlottesville.

Generating constructive interest in the need to move forward with pollution prevention and control is a highly commendable objective, and I hope SCOPE has a successful and well-attended meeting in Richmond.

Mr. President, the background of SCOPE and its objectives is set forth in an article published on December 9, 1969, in the Richmond News Leader. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

[From the Richmond Newsleader, Dec. 9, 1969]

#### YOUTHS VERSUS POLLUTION—SCOPE UNIT FORMED

(By Hugh Robertson)

If college students can rally around such causes as "Vote 18" and "End the War," why not water pollution control?

Thus was created today, Mid-Atlantic SCOPE—Student Council on Pollution in the Environment—with a pledge to "try and educate the public" on problems of pollution.

Its co-chairman, Patti Collins, a 20-year-old coed from Westhampton College, and Randall Simmons, 21, a University of Virginia graduate student, also held a press conference at the Sheraton Motor Inn.

Both voiced their concern about the polluted environment, which their elders are passing on to them, and announced a get-together to see how many college students are interested in the subject.

The get-together, billed as "The Great Grey Ice Gathering," is scheduled Dec. 30 at the Arena, from 1 p.m. until, according to a press release, "the music and words no longer stir the gathering."

Leaders hope the session will draw college students from throughout the Mid-Atlantic region—Virginia, North and South Carolina, District of Columbia, Maryland and Pennsylvania.

If all goes well, Mid-Atlantic SCOPE will become a youth advisory council to the Middle-Atlantic Region of the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration.

Mid-Atlantic SCOPE and other regional units throughout the United States also will be expected to advise U.S. Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel.

Presumably, it was Hickel's idea to involve college students in water pollution—as well as air and land pollution—control.

College councils began forming this month, with the assistance, technical and financial, of the federal water control agency, a component of the Interior Department.

To match Richmond's "Great Grey Ice," a reference to the grayish color of frozen polluted water, there will be Dec. 29 "happenings" in Kansas City and Portland, Ore., and Dec. 30 "happenings" in Boston, Cincinnati, Chicago, Atlanta, Dallas and San Francisco, the press release said.

In Richmond, the program calls for "hard rock music, movies, speeches, young people and Federal Water Pollution Control Administration Officials."

For this initial organization, the federal agency's Middle-Atlantic Region headquarters in Charlottesville will be paying the bills—the Sheraton press conference, student travel expenses, renting the area—Eugene Jensen, regional director, explained.

But the students are expected to chart an independent, advisory course, Jensen said.

Miss Collins said in the press release the Dec. 30 gathering would "provide students with the kind of information they need to react intelligently to the apathy of government officials and business and industrial leaders to the awesome environmental crises now blooming in the United States."

Earlier, Miss Collins was instrumental in gathering 672 student signatures on a petition protesting Richmond's original plan to discharge raw sewage into the James River this winter.

Other than Miss Collins and Simmons, the council, which will be expanded later, includes:

Dorland Humphries of Richmond Bland College; Linwood Creekmore, Lee Bates and Leo Fields of Virginia State College; Marshall Davenson and Jay Managan of Virginia Commonwealth University, and Carl Jerome, William C. Brown and Haywood Blakemore of Randolph-Macon College.

## BIG TRUCK BILL

### HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, my editorial for today is from the Charleston Mail, in the State of West Virginia. The editorial follows:

[From the Charleston (W. Va.) Mail, July 19, 1969]

#### SCANT ECONOMY IN DESTRUCTION

For the average American motorist, the giant vans and trailers that roar along the highways are quite big enough. Even when they are carefully driven, which is most of the time, they are overawing and forbidding.

For the trucking industry, these behemoths of transport are too small to be economical, and the industry wants permission to build them wider, heavier and longer. A bill to that effect is pending in

Congress, and it sets up a nice conflict of interest.

On one side is the American Trucking Association, speaking for the industry, of course. And on the other is the American Automobile Association, broadly representative of the motorist.

It should be an easy one to settle, and the Iowa director of highways sets forth the criterion. Iowa has about 110,000 miles of highway in its system. Outside of its Interstate mileage, little of it was built to carry the heavier loads. Much of West Virginia's highway system is in the same shape.

Considerations of safety aside, this should do it. What might be economical for the trucking industry would not be economical in the maintenance of a highway system never built for the burden.

## CABINET COMMITTEE ON OPPORTUNITIES FOR SPANISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE

### HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, as a Congressman representing a large number of Spanish-speaking Americans of Puerto Rican descent, I rise on behalf of House Report 91-699 of the Government Operations Committee which urges the adoption of a bill, known as S. 740 to establish a Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-Speaking People.

Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and others need a stronger voice in the administrative branch of Government. They need ombudsman services and a broader representation in decisions. S. 740 would seek to increase representation of Spanish-speaking citizens in the governmental process. With greater representation in administration, dividends should increase for the Spanish speaking.

I must agree with Horacio Ullbarri and others when they write in "Administration of Bilingual Education":

At present there is a dearth of materials for bilingual, bicultural education programs. The materials that are in existence today tend to be translations from English originals . . . and while some of the translated materials are indeed very good . . . some do not fit into the sociocultural context of the Spanish language.

I was an author of the Bilingual Education Act and I hope that the Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-Speaking People will serve to strengthen that legislation and bring greater emphasis to its unique function. I hope the proposed Cabinet Committee can push to provide materials which "fit into the sociocultural context of the Spanish language." Similarly, the new Committee can potentially help bring housing programs to barrios, employment counseling to Cuban refugees, and job stabilization to Chicanos. The Committee can emphasize throughout government that the Spanish-speaking citizen should share in Federal programs.

Let the voice of the Spanish-speaking peoples be heard.

Lt. GEN. SAMUEL C. PHILLIPS—A MAN TO MAKE AMERICA PROUD

## HON. JOHN WOLD

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. WOLD. Mr. Speaker, the names, Neil Armstrong, Edwin Aldrin, and Michael Collins, will surely be emblazoned in bold for history students of a thousand generations. Only slightly less space will be given to Alan Bean, Eugene Cernan, and Charles Conrad.

It is justly so—especially in this day when heroes are mostly unsung. There are men behind the scenes who are deserving of the billing that is reserved for the stars.

Such a man is the 1969 Kappa Sigma Man of the Year.

He is a man who in his modest fashion deserves much of the credit for man's greatest adventure—the moon flight of Apollo 11.

We live in a time where undertakings and tasks are so vast that they are national in scope. Such was the Apollo program. Its scale was matched by its complexity.

America is blessed with men and women of stature, and such a man directed the Apollo lunar landing program.

His heritage fitted him for the task. Reared on the vast plains of Wyoming, he acquired the straightforward manner and methodical and painstaking approach to problem solving which was so important to the Apollo program.

An assessment of his capability was revealed during the investigation which followed the 1967 Apollo tragedy.

General Phillips' appointment as Apollo director came only after he had proved himself elsewhere. In 1959 he was appointed director of the faltering Minuteman ICBM program. By 1963 it stood as one of our brightest defense efforts.

It gives me great pleasure to extend to a personal friend, Lt. Gen. Samuel C. Phillips, U.S. Air Force, my warmest congratulations on his being named 1969 Kappa Sigma Man of the Year. I am sure the other Members of this body join with me.

Fittingly, the award was presented in the city he calls his hometown—the capital of Wyoming, Cheyenne.

Mr. Speaker, a biographical sketch of General Phillips and a comprehensive account of the Kappa Sigma Man of the Year dinner in Cheyenne, December 7, follows:

MAN-OF-THE-YEAR PREDICTS: "SPACE EXPLORATION WILL SOLVE WORLD PROBLEMS"

(By Kirk Knox)

Space developments and exploration over the next few years will contribute "more than most of us are smart enough to anticipate today," Lt. Gen. Samuel C. Phillips told a Kappa Sigma fraternity dinner in his honor last night at Little America here.

Phillips, who was reared in Cheyenne and was graduated from the University of Wyoming in 1942, was honored at the banquet as Kappa Sigma fraternity's "Man of the year."

He currently is commander of Air Force's

Space and Missile System with headquarters in Los Angeles, but it was as director of the Apollo Moon landing program that he gained international renown.

Phillips predicted the U.S. space program would contribute to solution of earth's problems with environment, need for communication and transportation, make possible "a better job in human affairs and solve many of the problems that face people in general."

He said it will be necessary for people "to tackle more seriously" the matter of an expanding earth population which it is estimated will reach four billion by the year 2000.

"I am tremendously impressed with what we can do when we make up our mind to do something," said the general, "and back up the people . . . assigned to a job . . ."

Phillips alluded to himself several times as "a very fortunate guy," because of his family, being a citizen "of this great country," and having the opportunity "to lead the U.S. Apollo team to its national objective of landing a man on the moon and returning (him) to earth."

In his acknowledgment of the honor conferred by his fraternity, Phillips recalled he "probably wouldn't have gotten through the university had it not been for the (Kappa Sigma) student loan program."

His heritage, he acknowledged, "began with my father and mother and my years in Wyoming and my upbringing in the great West."

He felt especially fortunate, he said, "to have this tremendous group of friends and fraternity brothers. This fraternity, Kappa Sigma, has meant a lot to me."

Phillips said, "I stand in awe at what has happened in three decades. Not many years ago you couldn't gather a group like this because of the travel they would have to endure."

"I am in awe, also, at what has happened over our standard of living and in our science and technology."

He noted it was just 12 years ago last October that mankind put the first projectile into space orbit.

Phillips said, "As I think back, I also am looking ahead to the challenge and opportunities I think I see ahead."

"More than that, I see these challenges and opportunities as pretty damned exciting and interesting."

The general saw each generation on "a new threshold from which things proceed."

He added, "You hear a lot today about the youth of America which is not all flattering. From my contacts, I think they are great."

Phillips asserted, "I think with the threshold from which they are starting I am going to be much more awestruck in 30 years."

Thus far, he pointed out, the U.S. space program's work has brought about "some new industries and tremendous increases in technology and science."

In the face of space exploration, the general said, "the world is smaller."

He added spacemen see the earth as a "bright oasis in space," that "this earth is a pretty good place and we could do a lot better in learning now to take care of it and conduct affairs in a way that will contribute to its longevity."

"We are starting to see some ways through space exploration to help tackle some of our problems such as an expanding population," Phillips asserted.

He said we are beginning to understand more about the way in which air, atmosphere, sun and other things affect earth and "to see some of the ways in which we can tackle the problems."

The general forecast the space program will lead "to a large space station orbiting the earth; more economical ways of getting into and out of space; and space vehicles which will begin to look much more like airplanes and which will be used hundreds of times."

He added, "We are going to understand much more than we do today about how to use our resources and to manage earth."

Noting that he is called upon often to prove benefits from the space program, Phillips said "It is always a hard thing to prove."

He said he was "certainly humble" that his name was placed in honor by his fraternity among those of Lowell Thomas, Edward R. Murrow and Hoagy Carmichael.

"I pledge to you I will do my best to live up to your evaluation of how I have handled the opportunities I have had."

The general's mother, Mrs. Mabel Phillips of Cheyenne, watched as her noted son accepted his honor.

W. F. Rockwell, Jr., himself man of the year in 1958 and a former worthy grand master noted that Kappa Sigma has "many successful graduates," and our alumni have done well in a diversity of fields as the list of notables indicates.

Fraternities, he said, recently have become targets for "some snipping by non-fraternity people who profess that we're stereotypes—straight off of 'central casting'—who think alike and act alike and really have very little individuality."

This line of thinking, he said, "might make good conversation at a campus sit-in but it has no roots in fact."

Kappa Sigma he asserted, always has fostered "the pursuit by individuals of their own particular interests. In fact, we're thrived on the interchange of varying ideas, opinions and interests."

He found evidence of that in a list of successful members he had cited to the dinner audience.

"If there's a sameness that we try to encourage in Kappa Sigma," Rockwell asserted, "It's leadership—leadership in whatever field a man chooses."

T. V. (Tom) Jones, of Cheyenne, Kappa Sigma alumni president for Wyoming, served as toastmaster.

Fraternity members and officials from other states, including Colorado and Nebraska, attended.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Lieutenant General Samuel C. Phillips.

Currently commander of the Space and Missile Systems Organization, and until September, 1969, director of the U.S. Apollo Lunar Landing Program under which Americans went to the moon earlier this year, Lt. Gen. Samuel C. Phillips, U.S.A.F., is the 1969 Kappa Sigma Man of the Year. This man of distinction has spent more than half of his military career in the research and development field.

A native of Arizona, Phillips considers Cheyenne, Wyoming, his permanent home. He is a 1942 electrical engineering graduate of the University of Wyoming. His alma mater honored him in 1963 with an honorary doctor of laws degree.

After receiving his bachelor of science from UW, Phillips received a presidential appointment to second lieutenant of infantry in the U.S. Army. Upon graduation, he was transferred to the Air Corps and earned his pilot's wings in 1943. His World War II duties included two combat tours in England with the 364th Fighter Group of the 8th Air Force. During the war, Phillips earned the Distinguished Flying Cross and Oak Leaf Cluster, Air Medal with seven Oak Leaf Clusters and the Croix de Guerre.

After the war, General Phillips—then a major—was assigned to theater headquarters in Frankfurt, Germany, until 1947. He received the Army Commendation Ribbon for his meritorious service during this assignment.

General Phillips was next assigned to be director of operations, 1st AACS wing, Langley Air Force Base, Virginia. This assignment was shortened by Phillips' selection for

graduate study at the University of Michigan where he studied from 1948 to 1950 and received his master of science degree in electrical engineering, specializing in electronics.

General Phillips then joined the engineering division of the Air Materiel Command at Wright-Patterson AFB, Ohio. He remained in this research and development post for six years, with the exception of six months in 1951—three months in Eniwetok as an electronics officer on Operation Greenhouse and three months at the Air Command and Staff School, Maxwell AFB, Alabama.

While at Wright-Patterson AFB, General Phillips served as director of operations in the armament laboratory, as B-52 project officer and as chief of the air defense missiles division, working on such missiles as Falcon and Bomarc.

In June, 1956, General Phillips returned to England as chief of logistics for Strategic Air Command's 7th air division. On this assignment he participated in writing the international agreement with Great Britain on the use of the Thor IR BM. Later, as 7th air division director of materiel, his duties included assisting in the completion of Thor IR BM installations for turn-over to the Royal Air Force. He was awarded the Legion of Merit for this service.

General Phillips returned to the U.S. in 1959 as director of the Minuteman Program in the ballistic missiles division of the air research and development command in Los Angeles. During the two-year period Phillips was director, U.S. Air Force reorganizations resulted in the Minuteman Program Office being combined with the ballistic systems division of the Air Force Systems Command. While at his Los Angeles post, Phillips was nominated in April, 1961, for promotion to brigadier general.

In January, 1964, Gen. Phillips moved to Washington to become deputy director of the Apollo Program. In February of the same year he was nominated for promotion to major general. In October, 1964, he was appointed director of the Apollo Program and in May, 1968, he was nominated for promotion to lieutenant general.

During 1969, General Phillips has received several awards and honors including the National Aeronautics & Space Administration's Distinguished Service Medal, the Astronautics Engineer Award, Air Force Association's Citation of Honor, Arnold Air Society's Eugene M. Zuckert Award and the Hap Arnold Award from AFA's H.H. Arnold Chapter.

General Phillips and his wife, Betty, have three daughters—Kathleen Phillips, 14; Mrs. Janie Phillips Culppepper whose husband is a captain in the U.S. Air Force; and Dana, who lives in Marina del Rey, Calif. The Phillips have one grandchild—one-year-old John Patrick.

#### PUBLIC HOUSING TO RECEIVE INCREASED FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

### HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, conferees on the 1969 Housing Act have agreed to maintain intact a Senate amendment that offers welcome relief to people living in public housing projects. Designed to help clear away the burdensome financial difficulties the poor encounter when living in public housing, the amendment would limit to 25 percent of a person's income the amount he pays for rent. Any slack in a public project's income would be taken up by increased Federal assistance. Such legislation is long overdue.

Indeed, it meets a need so pressing and so apparent that virtually no one acquainted with public housing could object to it.

Minimum rents for public housing apartments are inching upward at an alarming pace—up to as much as \$70 or \$80 in many cities. Granted, such rents appear almost preposterously low to the average middle-class citizen. Yet, to the poor for whom such public projects were built, such rents are startlingly high. Living on meager welfare payments or social security checks, the poor and elderly simply cannot afford the kind of rents now demanded in public housing. A significant percentage of public housing tenants, as a result, must approach the top of the public housing income scale. And many poor people—the people who desperately need adequate housing at modest rents—are simply left out.

The Senate amendment I have outlined here will help put a stop to this trend.

Senator EDWARD W. BROOKE is to be commended for his work in drafting this amendment and shepherding it through the Senate.

I am sure it will be one of the most heartening provisions of this year's Housing Act.

#### YAF FIGHTS FOR JUST PEACE, OPPOSES SURRENDER

### HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, the Young Americans for Freedom is presently engaged in a lofty objective. On December 12 and 13 it is conducting a massive counteroffensive to continue moratoriums on 600 major college campuses.

These young people, 50,000 strong, deserve the plaudits of all Americans who seek a just peace in Vietnam. They very properly oppose unilateral, unconditional withdrawal of our troops—which means surrender. They have the maturity and commonsense to know such a course would be a great tragedy. Their "Tell it to Hanoi" should reverberate throughout the Nation.

The YAF is fast becoming recognized as a vital voice in behalf of sound principles of good government. Believers in law and order, they have led the fight against the lunatic fringe and the hooligans who have degraded and disgraced the dignity of education on college campuses. They have sounded the alarm against unnecessary and unwarranted trade with the Communist enemy. Their record is one of patriotic devotion to the highest ideals of American democracy.

Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to express my appreciation for these activities. The YAF deserves the support and admiration of every American who shares these views and these sound principles. I salute the YAF for its great demonstration of Americanism and the preservation of our cherished heritage.

#### AN UNUSUAL LETTER

### HON. PAUL J. FANNIN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, many Senators have frequently noted that they hear often from those who are dissatisfied with progress in America, but seldom from people who like what they observe.

It has been my happy privilege to share in a letter of commendation from two Arizonans addressed to their elected Senators and Representatives. These folks, Mr. and Mrs. Lester Arie, of Phoenix, have taken the time to express appreciation for being Americans, and I appreciate their thoughtfulness and good wishes in sharing their thoughts with us.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a letter from Mr. and Mrs. Lester Arie, dated November 27, 1969, be printed in the RECORD.

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

HON. PAUL J. FANNIN,  
Senator, Arizona.

HON. BARRY GOLDWATER,  
Senator, Arizona.

HON. JOHN J. RHODES,  
Representative, Arizona.

HON. SAM STEIGER,  
Representative, Arizona.

DEAR SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN: We are doing today what too few of us do: taking time to express an opinion; also making sure that it reaches our elected representatives in Washington. We of the "Silent Majority" have too long been silent, taking things for granted, neglecting our civic duties, failing to get involved in the democratic process. We now realize that the time is here to break that silence, speak out, stand up and be counted. This being Thanksgiving we believe it is appropriate to first count our blessings. So we shall enumerate some of the things for which we are thankful.

1. We give thanks to God that by His Grace and the circumstance of birth we are Americans.

2. We give thanks that we are privileged to live under a government that is the best yet devised by the inspired, composite mind of man. On this point we are adamant—after visiting and breaking bread with the peoples of 67 nations during the past half dozen years. Many of these people would realize their fondest dream if they and their children could live in the United States.

3. We give thanks that though Americans first and Arizonans second, we call Arizona "Home". We are thankful that we live among people imbued with traditional concepts and values of Americanism.

4. We give thanks for abundant good health and good friends; sufficient worldly goods to live graciously (but not extravagantly) and the knowledge that the latter was earned by the sweat of our brow under a "system" that grants the same privilege and opportunity to others.

5. We give thanks for the high moral character, the ethical and spiritual stature, the clear, unclouded, unconfused thinking of the men we have elected to represent us on a national and state level; men of integrity who dare speak their minds. For these and many other blessings we give both humble and proud thanks.

Now, to the true purpose of this letter.

We fervently believe that President Nixon's conduct of the Vietnam war which he inherited is the right course to pursue. It is not only the right but the only course to achieve a just and honorable peace. We know that you support the President. We want you to know that we support you and the President. And also, the Vice President.

We believe that Vice President Agnew rendered an inestimable and historic service to his fellow Americans in voicing what most of us of the "Silent Majority" have been thinking and saying privately. We are tired, nauseated, even sick, seeing and hearing self-appointed or corporation-boss-appointed omnipotents play God. An internationally known commentator who reports that the November 15 marchers constituted less than one half of one per cent of our population and in the next breath comments (quote) "Of course there is no way of knowing if this constitutes a majority" (unquote) is the kind of slanted reporting and comment we reference. Certainly this commentator needs to examine his arithmetic. And while he is examining his arithmetic, his background and that of his bosses should be investigated.

When we elect a President by the will of the majority, then a very few, but a very powerful and dangerous few, by virtue of controlling the news media, with particular emphasis on television, subvert or try to subvert the will of the majority, something should be done. If this is not done from the inside, most assuredly it will be done from the outside. John Q. American will take just about so much and he has just about had it. The "silent majority" is beginning to reach the boiling-over point. Uncle Sam (that composite of John Q. citizen), the benign, sleeping giant, is wakening. While he slept the lilliputians (intentionally spelled with a small "L") were getting in their subtle licks and dirty work. Aided and abetted by mini-mini-lilliput politicians, at least some of whom thought they saw political advantage in aligning with the lilliputs, they staged their marches which gave the enemy encouragement. Does anyone doubt that the war would be settled if the lilliputs had first been settled? Now the mini-mini-lilliput politicians are scampering for cover; trying to disassociate themselves from a bad dream. They have realized that they made a bad guess. They have seen the handwriting on the wall. And it is inevitable that the rest of the motley crew will wither away in front of a united America. When Sam starts swinging the lilliputs disappear. Only when he sleeps do they try to bind and enslave him.

It is the eleventh or twenty-third hour and the fifty-ninth minute. It is high time for those who are not against America to be for her—and evidence it by cutting their hair, chopping their whiskers, taking a bath, sweeping the cobwebs out of their attic, rolling up their sleeves and going to work. I see more work that needs to be done than at any time in history. And there are too few ready, willing and competent to pitch in and do it.

We are very, very tired of seeing 15 year olds interviewed on television and asked about their views on the Vietnam war. Americans as a nation have the least sense of history, the least perspective on the past of any nation on earth—any modern nation. This comparative lack of perspective on history came as a shock in my exchange of ideas with people in West Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Finland, Turkey, Greece, Japan and the Soviet Union. Many of these people told me things about my own country that I did not know. So, what deep, sophisticated, mature knowledge is such a youngster supposed to dispense? All of us deplore war. All of us would like to live in a world that is all sweetness and light; milk and honey; all play and no work; all good and no bad. But

I have sad news: there just ain't no such animal. There never was and there never will be such a world. And the lilliputs are not bettering the world they and we live in by vulgarity of every sort, degrading themselves and the human race and attempting to destroy the best of everything we have.

It is so easy for lilliputs to berate and tear down, with nothing in mind to replace what is destroyed. It is difficult to build for the present and future generations and requires sacrifice now. If you want to see a really confused lilliput just ask him (or her) "What is your alternative? What do you suggest? What do you have to offer to replace what you would destroy? What is the other side of the coin?" While the lilliput imitates a guppie and gasps for words which don't seem to be available, is a good time to supply the answer yourself. "The worst, the most horrible, the most complete and total, the most controlled, the most brutal and abject slavery the world has ever seen—enslavement not only of body, but of mind and spirit".

Why, under the guise of Freedom of the Press, Freedom of Speech, Freedom of Assembly and "Academic" Freedom are a small handful of misguided (or guided) sick-of-the-world, prophets-of-doom permitted to destroy all freedom? By virtue of what do they possess esoteric and God-like knowledge? And how did they acquire a license to play God? To project their cob-web thinking just one notch further means freedom (license) to riot, freedom to burn, destroy, steal, rape, plunder and kill. The ultimate freedom the lilliputs are bellowing and clamoring for is "Freedom of the Law of the Jungle"—anarchy and chaos. When a university hires an avowed communist to teach and invites a rapist to lecture, something should be done about it. And, it better be soon. The "hirers" should be given a lesson in ditch-digging freedom, under competent supervision.

Why has not more coverage been given to the established-beyond-a-doubt, thousands of heads severed by the VC from peaceable South Vietnamese, impaled on stakes and exhibited in isolated South Vietnamese villages? I asked an Air Force Colonel that question in Saigon on Easter Sunday, 1966. This was the morning after a good South Vietnamese, by day, was shot during the night while attempting to blow up military aircraft—with enough explosives on his person to do a bang-up job. He had been employed at the airport for some time. The Colonel's mouth tightened to a straight line and he shook his head negatively. "How the devil do you know who is and who isn't a VC?" I asked. He shook his head again and replied "Buddy, from here in, whoever sticks his head up out there is a VC. It is that kind of war".

Herein may lie the cause of the alleged massacre by American soldiers of South Vietnamese civilians—by a company that had lost half its men to snipers. Remember, those boys' lives were at stake. But why does the news media latch on to hearsay by someone that was not there, take the word of communists and pictures provided from communist sources as the Gospel truth, try, condemn and hang the Americans without a trial and before the world? Again, why not publicize the fact that the VC and Hanoi's invaders killed thousands and thousands of South Vietnamese in cold blood and inflicted worse than death on thousands more. It is a sad commentary that but for the fact that this horrible, messy war is undeclared, many of our omniscients, including university professors, columnists, commentators and corporate bosses, misguided politicians and others would be behind bars charged with such crimes as sedition, subversion, giving aid and comfort to the enemy, yes, even treason. The marchers would be marching to the sound of other drums and Moscow,

Hanoi and Peking would be looking elsewhere for their belly-laugh.

We, the silent majority, do not want censored news. We merely want ALL the news; unbiased, fair reporting. All the news—not just one side. The worst possible censorship is to just ignore; to be given the silent treatment of ostracism. Give us the news and spare the comment and interpretation—comment and interpretation that insults the intelligence of a ten year old child! Comment that exposes the commentator's inexperience, lack of maturity, knowledge of the world and more particularly knowledge of America as well as lack of judgment and good taste; comment that by the manner and inflections and nuances of speech in which it is delivered, belittles America and degrades her institutions and traditions. We deplore and resent this sneaky, sneering pomposity being carried over and projected into network shows—propagandizing entertainment.

Give us the news and we'll take ours straight. No chasers, please. And no embellished Hors d'oeuvres. If we are so stupid we can't add 2 and 2, we'll ask somebody. No network boss nor all combined has a license to try to brainwash John Q.

In conclusion, no person or entity, corporate or otherwise, is bigger than the United States government and should not be permitted to operate on the assumption that he or it is. In the end, if news is controlled, you can bet that it will not be by somebody or a handful of somebodies, elected to nothing by nobody, but rather by Uncle Sam, the embodiment of the majority American Will; that composite of John Q. Citizen, U.S.A. That is the American Spirit and the American Way.

Just two voices from the great silent majority of your constituency.

Respectfully yours,

LESTER R. ARIE,  
SALLY E. ARIE.

Copies to: Hon. Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States; Hon. Spiro T. Agnew, Vice President of the United States; and Hon. Richard G. Kleindienst, Assistant Attorney General of the United States.

#### REMEMBER PEARL HARBOR

**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, December 7, Pearl Harbor Day passed without much attention apparently lost in the passage of time and the present-day controversies. However, I was impressed with the succinct editorial commentary in the Calumet Index on Sunday, December 7, which I insert into the RECORD at this point:

YES, WE REMEMBER

With our many agonies in Vietnam, problems of local and national import, it is only a different agony to remember Pearl Harbor—Dec. 7, 1941—a day that was to "live in infamy." But 28 years have passed and the surge of troubled tides has all but washed away the heavy footprints on the sands of another time—of a war that Americans fought with pride in many parts of the world. May we pause today to recognize the pride and the courage in a cause that took the lives of thousands of our youth, and left thousands more all but lifeless due to the wounds they suffered. We have not and could not forget Pearl Harbor.

#### THE VICTUAL REVOLUTION

**HON. JIM WRIGHT**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, this great Nation of ours is experiencing a new revolution. Not demonstrations, mobilizations or student unrest on campus, but a quietly forceful, positive, and constructive type of revolution. It is gradually assuming national proportions. It is innovative and interesting. It is changing our habits and our landscape.

In the December 1969 issue of Nation's Business, there appears an article entitled "Here Come the Girls." It deals with the growth of womanpower in industry and the increasing number of women entering the labor force. It declares that a major factor enabling more women to seek business employment is the development of homemaking devices, particularly those associated with the preparation of family meals, which give women greater freedom and more time out of the kitchen.

The author of the article, Mr. Walter Wingo, an associate editor of Nation's Business and a manpower specialist, rightfully describes this development as a "victual revolution." He cites as an example the new restaurant complex of Bonanza International which recently opened in Fort Worth under the name "1849 Village."

At this point in my remarks, I wish to insert a few brief paragraphs from Mr. Wingo's article where reference is made to the victual revolution and 1849 Village. These paragraphs read as follows:

#### THE VICTUAL REVOLUTION

Improvements and innovations in homemaking devices are freeing the housewife from most of her time-consuming chores. For example, a revolution is under way in American family meals, pulling women out of the kitchen.

Mercedes Bates, who directs General Mills' Betty Crocker Kitchens and is president-elect of the American Home Economics Association, says families are relying increasingly on having food catered to their homes and on eating out at fast-service franchised restaurants.

Taking advantage of this trend is Bonanza International, Inc., which recently started an "1849 Village" in Fort Worth, Texas. Here seven different franchised restaurants are bunched around a modern theater and a bandstand. The entire family can drive to the area and each member can walk to his own favorite type of eatery. Bonanza plans more such projects in other parts of the country, because "housewives eat it up."

The restaurant complex described in these few lines is much more than meets the eye. It is a new concept in restaurant planning, a pilot project which eventually may revolutionize our dining-out habits. It consists of seven different restaurants, a movie theater, a beautiful public area with a bandstand, a landscaped lake, and other features. In short, it is a place for the whole family, with an appeal to the eye, the taste and the pocketbook. This is what makes it dif-

ferent. And this is where the victual revolution is beginning.

Fort Worth, Tex., is paving the way for this quiet revolution. It constitutes a great innovation in American life, a spirit of creative enterprise, and continued economic growth and well-being. As such, it is a source of great pride to all of us. I want to congratulate those associated with 1849 Village and extend my very best wishes for its success.

#### PASSENGER TRAIN SERVICE NEEDS CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT

### HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, the passage of the Department of Transportation appropriation bill, H.R. 14794, gives assurance that many of the transportation needs of the future will be met by appropriate Federal, State, and local action—including a contribution of substantial Federal funds. However, there has not been developed an adequate program of legislation for improved passenger rail transportation. This omission appears to result from the belief that persons seeking ground transportation will turn to private automobiles or buses. There is the further belief that those individuals who desire greater speed will travel by air.

However, our increasingly crowded highways, as well as the overcrowded airways around many urban centers, suggest the need to carry more people by means of high-speed rail transportation.

In a recent article by Louis Dombrowski in the Chicago Tribune issue of Wednesday, November 5, 1969, a most convincing argument is made for Federal support of expanding high-speed railroad passenger service. I am pleased to include this article at the conclusion of my remarks and to direct my colleagues in the House and the Senate to the need for giving serious attention to this subject at the earliest possible time. Mr. Dombrowski's article follows:

#### CONGRESS RATED KEY TO SURVIVAL OF COUNTRY'S PASSENGER TRAINS

(By Louis Dombrowski)

WASHINGTON, November 4.—The ultimate future of railroad passenger service will depend almost entirely on how determined Congress is to save it from extinction. Within the next few months, the lawmakers will have probably their last opportunity to do something about the rapidly disappearing passenger train.

The Senate already has held hearings on the future of rail passenger service. The House commerce committee meets Thursday on the same question.

#### URGES SENSIBLE ADVICE

Donald E. Deuster, a former aid to Rep. Robert McClory (R., Ill.) and now with the office of congressional relations of the transportation department, feels this way:

"I am thoroughly convinced that the Congress would like to help the rail industry provided that sensible suggestions are set forth. It is up to all of us to provide such suggestions for congressional consideration."

The department of transportation, with the

full support of the Interstate Commerce Commission, is in the final stages of a study that will recommend the adoption by Congress of some form of limited financial assistance to subsidize unprofitable passenger trains whose continued operation is deemed in the public interest.

#### QUESTION TO BE ANSWERED

Only the question of how much money will be needed each year and the amount that will be available due to the extreme demands of the federal budget and the Nixon administration's anti-inflation policies remains to be answered.

Appearing before the Senate commerce subcommittee on surface transportation, Stuart T. Saunders, chairman of Penn Central company, said that the economic justification for most railroad passenger service no longer exists in nonurban areas and over long distances.

"Under the dictates of the marketplace, such unprofitable passenger service should be discontinued," he testified. "If, however, the regulatory agencies will not permit this, it is only fair that the railroads be reimbursed for losses."

#### WARNS OF DISAPPEARANCE

Louis W. Menk, president of the Northern Pacific railway, went still further. Unless Congress authorizes reimbursement of passenger train deficits, he said, "The nation's passenger trains will disappear or the railroad industry will be pushed to the verge of financial disaster and [be] unable to provide essential freight service."

Neither Menk nor Saunders can be called prophets of doom and gloom. Menk, particularly, is a hard headed business executive who operates a profitable railroad.

He said that despite its profitability the N.P. cannot endure losses that, for last year alone, ranged from 16.8 million dollars on the ICC full deficit accounting basis to 10.2 million on a "solely related" basis from its passenger operations.

"It is essential that our limited resources be concentrated in upgrading and improving our freight service so that we can serve the growing west rather than employed in sustaining these huge passenger losses," Menk testified.

#### MEDIUM DISTANCE ONLY

There is no question that people will ride trains provided the equipment is clean and comfortable and the service is fast and frequent, but only for the medium distance intercity trains where downtown-to-downtown service is roughly comparable to air travel.

Rep. Jake Pickle (D., Tex.) put it this way, "The Penn Central Metroliner [operating between Washington and New York City] is a good example of what can be accomplished when the government joins hands with railroads in an effort to find another solution to our mass transportation problems."

Seconding the congressman's statement, Deuster said, "There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that notwithstanding the extreme demands on the federal budget at this time in history, the means is going to be found by the congress to support rail passenger service."

#### OPERATION NOEL

### HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, this week the secretaries of Capitol Hill distinguished themselves by sponsoring Operation Noel together with USO. This part

of the Christmas in Vietnam activities included music, food and companionship for over 300 servicemen wounded in Vietnam.

Special credit should be given to Mrs. Kathy Pierpan, secretary to the Honorable OTIS G. PIKE, our colleague from New York, and to Mrs. Fran Westner, secretary to the Honorable THOMAS S. KLEPPE, our colleague from North Dakota. Their tireless efforts and the help of hundreds of other secretaries who devoted time and donated money to this worthy cause made the evening a success.

The servicemen came from the six military hospitals in the Washington area and they were entertained by three bands and by Jim Evans, of radio station WMAL, who served as emcee. Guests of honor included the Secretary of Defense, the Honorable Melvin Laird, Mrs. Mamie Eisenhower, Army Chief of Staff Gen. William C. Westmoreland, and many Members of Congress. Those of us who were in attendance were struck by the enthusiasm of the volunteers who helped make the party a success and by the appreciation and genuine enjoyment which appeared on the faces of the servicemen.

The purpose of Operation Noel was expressed in its name—No One Ever Lonely—and it was a success. Our thanks to our secretaries who worked so hard to assure that success.

#### WHY NOT FAIR PRESS AND FREE TRIAL?

### HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, in the December 1969 edition of the Illinois Bar Journal Henry L. Pitts, president of the Illinois State Bar Association, has commented on problems of the news media and fair trials. I think his statement which follows will be of interest:

#### WHY NOT FAIR PRESS AND FREE TRIAL?

The advent of the Reardon Report has brought some light and much heat to the difficult and sensitive problem of balancing the rights protected by the First and Sixth Amendments of the Constitution. In the news media the problem is described as "Free Press—Fair Trial"; bar publications are wont to refer to it as "Fair Trial—Free Press." The Board of Governors has taken the position that there is no irreconcilable conflict between the two amendments.

While the Association has not endorsed the recommendations of the Reardon Report, the proposed new Code of Professional Responsibility which will soon be presented to the Board contains many of the recommendations of the Report relating to the conduct of lawyers in criminal cases. Our first responsibility is to improve and clarify the standards of our own profession, so as to preserve a fair and common sense interpretation of both Amendments.

Events in recent months suggest that the news media might well do the same within their own ranks. Any such suggestion is offered with considerable trepidation, because of the awesome retaliatory power of those who control the news media. But that power

should be matched by a responsibility to tell the truth and the whole truth in a reasonably objective and fair manner.

The overwhelming majority of news agencies and individual newsmen are as dedicated to fully and fairly reporting events as it is possible for any of us to be. There are notable, if not increasing, exceptions to the rule, however. The conduct of some radio and television interviewers during the Special Commission hearings last July is a case in point. The constant prodding and wheedling of a few publicity-seekers into making often totally unfounded accusations against judges without any apparent effort to check the truth or falsity of charges before they went out over the air waves was a disheartening spectacle.

The reporting of the Bobby Seale case is another instance which should cause some critical self-examination by organizations of the news media. It may sell a television program, but does it assist in the administration of justice to have a defendant on trial repeatedly use the TV and radio facilities as a soap box during court recesses and as an afternoon wrap-up at the conclusion of the day's proceedings? What about the fairness of this from the standpoint of the witnesses whose integrity, morality or intelligence is being impugned before millions of viewers? And the implications it has regarding their willingness to testify in the future?

The current and quite legitimate concern about the financial interests of judges and judicial candidates also offer an example of the widespread reporting of totally false charges. The bench and bar are at work on clarifying reasonable rules of conduct in this area. But we would do well to remember that "appearance of impropriety" and "conflict of interest" can be used as code terms for nihilism, leading to irreparable damage to the institutions—imperfect though they may be—by which we hope to maintain a free society. Witness the outrages perpetrated in the name of peace, with revolutionists who say they are part of the Peace Movement urging their followers, and others duped into joining them, to "Kill the Pigs."

If no restraints whatever are recognized or observed by some segments of the media, a fair trial will be virtually impossible in many cases. The breathless search for a "story", for the bizarre, and for violence or controversy, in the fiercely competitive world of reporters and commentators, may even make it impossible to hold a trial at all in some cases.

HENRY L. CITTI,  
President.

#### STATE CHAMPIONS

### HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, it is quite a thrill for a football team to come from behind in the last 4 minutes of a game to win a State championship. That is just what Morristown, Tenn., East High School did as they won over Memphis South Side and took the Tennessee State Class AAA championship with a 15-12 score.

I am proud to represent these fine young athletes in the Congress. Head Coach Rex Dockery, Assistant Coach Buddy Fisher, other staff members, and above all, the winning team are deserving of all the congratulations they have been receiving.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY INCREASES

### HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, over a period of time, I have given a great deal of effort to the question of raising social security benefits.

Time and again I have urged the appropriate leaders of the House to give this matter attention, because it is of greatest urgency to many worthy, loyal Americans in advanced years, who, notwithstanding lifetimes of hard work, because of current inadequate social security benefits are, in all too many instances, living under substandard conditions.

In our great country, where at the present time, we are enjoying the greatest period of prosperity that any nation in the world has ever enjoyed, it is a sad and sorry contradiction, as well as a great injustice, that this older group should not be given adequate consideration.

I will not outline my own efforts in detail, but I have made many persistent attempts to try to get early hearings on the pending bills, of which I have one that would raise the current benefits by 15 percent, and would permit, according to my actuarial information, social security payments to be raised to levels, relatively and hopefully, commensurate with current, high prices and living costs, although that is difficult to envision.

The 15-percent increase provided in my bill was based, in part, on certain reports that I have received from informed government officials. At the same time, I recognize that 15 percent would not be fully adequate to make the adjustment that is required by the low income of many people, and current very high, inflated, unjust, price levels and living costs.

I also have in mind that the President is said to favor a 10-percent increase. It is my impression, however, that if the Congress were to enact a bill providing for a 15-percent increase, that the President would accept it, and sign the bill, in fact, I believe the President would definitely sign such a bill.

In any event, it is up to the House, and our great Ways and Means Committee in the first instance, to discharge its obligation to the millions of Americans who depend upon social security payments to meet their living costs, and pay their bills, and I again urge, as I have done so many times before, that the current proceedings be expedited, so that this crucial legislation may be passed by the Congress now. Moreover, I urge that this bill, or one like it, be given highest priority on the legislative program.

Mr. Speaker, this is one of our greatest human problems, and it affects the needs of worthy veterans of industry, agriculture, and the professions and practically every employment activity in this country. The great needs of these people in these trying days cannot be underestimated, nor can they be swept aside, nor

can their consideration by the Congress be further delayed.

Now that the House Ways and Means Committee with its great expertise, based on long experience, is bringing a bill similar to the one I introduced, to the floor for final passage, I am confident that its able, distinguished chairman and members can now turn their attention to developing some legislation that will coordinate and consolidate our various social security and social purpose statutes so that programs that belong together can be kept together, and be appropriately coordinated with the needs across the board for social security, hospitalization, medicare, and other social needs of great import that must be given immediate consideration and prompt action.

I believe that this situation and the opportunity presented by the social security increase bill is urgent. The time is now. This matter should be considered and acted upon on an emergency basis, and I am sure the social security bill will pass the House by hardly a dissenting vote.

#### INCOME TAX REFORM

### HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, Mr. T. E. Haberkorn, Jr., editor and publisher of the St. Joe News, St. Joe, Ind., recently had an editorial on income tax reform. It is well worth reading, and I include it herewith:

#### INCOME TAX REFORM

Reading the headlines in the last few months, as discussion and debate go on in our Congress about tax reform, can give John Q. Public a bad case of the ups and downs. One day it sounds as if our elected representatives are really getting down to common sense ideas as they approach the problem of tax reform; the next day it sounds as if they have forgotten what the word "reform" means.

Most of us are not "expert" at this matter of taxes, except to know that there are too many and they are too high! We don't understand the concessions made to one group of taxpayers and the lack of concessions to others. This debate on the oil depletion allowance is Greek to me. I am certain that it is difficult to understand why an extra-heavy allowance or deduction or whatever it is can be given to the oil industry, with all the millions it is making. I have read explanations about the number of unproductive drillings made on the average before a strike is made. But I also see the ridiculous program of building more service stations than are needed, all over the country. These "four-corner" gas station intersections within blocks of one another are ridiculous.

I also see the periodic price wars or "seasonal" drops in gasoline prices. I also know the major oil companies are spending a terrific amount of money in promoting their rash of "contests."

The oil companies are not the only ones who have gotten what seems to be unfair consideration in the tax program. Another group is that containing the low income individuals. Except for the most extreme cases of poverty, every person who has an

income owes something to this country to keep it going, even if it is only a "drop in the bucket" as far as their tax contribution. There is talk at the present time of increasing the personal exemption from \$600 per dependent to somewhere around \$1,000. This sounds great at first glance; I would benefit from it. But it would also take a certain percentage of taxpayers off the tax rolls. This is NOT good.

Those who support increased exemptions, knowing that some families will no longer have to pay federal income taxes, are missing the target. We ought to be aiming for FAIR distribution of the tax burden, not the reduction in numbers of those who bear the burden of the cost of government.

What tax reform ought to do is set up a tax program which involves as many people as possible as simply as possible. Special exemptions and allowances ought to be removed and the tax rate adjusted downward accordingly. There ought to be real relief in tax reform for the middle income group. There ought to be a tax program which considers income from any source of investment, salary, wages, interest, etc., as taxable income, so that the rich cannot escape federal taxes by manipulation of money. Income is income and it ought to be treated as such.

The idea that corporations, businesses big and little, have some kind of special reserves into which they can dip to pay higher taxes than anyone else ought to be eliminated. Too many citizens think that high corporation taxes are being paid by the corporations; they are not. High corporation taxes are paid by John Q. Public who buys the products and pays for the services of the corporation and the corporation sets its prices according to what it needs to pay for materials, wages of employees, expansion—and taxes, people pay ALL taxes; there is no such thing as "corporation" taxes in the literal sense.

There ought to be an adjustment in the rate structure, too, to prevent the penalty which everyone faces in higher taxes when selling property. The graduated income tax as it now stands has no logic. Any fair tax program is one which does not penalize increased income, one which can be easily understood and complied with, one which does not favor the person who has the means to find and use loopholes, legal as they may be, to save tax dollars.

I hope the tax reform which everyone knows is needed can be accomplished. But the manner in which reform is being approached suggests that our Congressmen in both houses are hedging, and the average taxpayer is going to come out short again.

#### 13,000 QUEENS CITIZENS SIGN AJC PEACE PETITION

### HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, each Member of this House is proud of his constituents but I have a special pride that my district, and particularly the women of Queens, have worked so hard and so long for peace in Vietnam.

When the final history is written of our involvement in the tragic war in Vietnam, an important chapter will be devoted to these citizens who put aside their already great responsibilities as housewives, mothers, and workers to lead our

community in the inspiring October and November peace moratoriums.

Among the most dedicated workers for peace are the members of the Queens women's division of the American Jewish Congress who recently presented me with petitions bearing the names of over 13,000 Queens citizens. The petitions read:

#### STOP THE WAR

We, the undersigned, support the Vietnam Moratorium on October 15. There must be an immediate end to this senseless killing and destruction. We call upon the President to end the war in Vietnam now!

At street corner tables and on the sidewalks of Queens these women worked tirelessly in the past 2 months for peace. The Queens women's division of the AJC constitute, in my opinion, one of the most devoted and diligent groups working for peace in the entire New York City area.

The petitions were presented to me by Mrs. Bertha Adler, president, Queens women's division, AJC; Mrs. Judith Tuller, executive vice president, and Mrs. Dorothy Gerhskoff, president of the business and professional chapter of the Queen's women's division, AJC.

#### INDEPENDENCE DAY OF KENYA

### HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, on this national day, the sixth anniversary of their independence, Kenyans may look back at this last year with some sadness. In the last 12 months one of their brightest young leaders, Tom Mboya, was assassinated and the country has been wrought with divisive tribal strife. Yet, the friends of Kenya maintain their confidence in that nation and their belief that Kenya will be able to overcome the unrest which seems to be part of the growing pains of nationhood.

Kenya not only is a land of great beauty and abundant wildlife, but is the site of some of the earliest European contact with Africa. As early as 1498, Portuguese mariners landed in Kenya. Following the rise of German activity in East Africa in the mid-19th century, Great Britain began exploring Kenya. Today, Kenya is one of the more developed nations of Africa. Its capital Nairobi is a great commercial center. In contrast to the modernity of Nairobi some of Africa's most primitive tribesmen, the Elmolos, live on the shores of Lake Rudolf which lies in northern Kenya. Thus, Kenya is a land of great interest for the naturalist, anthropologist, and businessman alike.

Though the years preceding Kenya's independence and the years of nation-building have not been without strife, Kenya has made great economic progress and has strived to resolve its political conflicts. Thus, I call upon my colleagues to join with me in extending to Kenya on the sixth anniversary of its independence our congratulations and our best wishes for its success in the future.

#### GENERATION GAP

### HON. BILL ALEXANDER

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, I recently received from a young Arkansan one of the most thoughtful letters since becoming a Member of Congress. Miss Kitty Sloan, of Jonesboro, Ark., who is now a college freshman, has asked some questions and made some statements that deserve the attention of each of my colleagues. Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include the letter I received from Miss Sloan as well as my reply to her:

DECEMBER 12, 1969.

DEAR Mr. ALEXANDER: I am grossly ignorant of what has been going on in Washington, if anything, this fall. I know that several committees are looking into the problems of air pollution, gun re-sales, poverty, hunger, civil rights, antitrusts, etc., and I hope some constructive action comes from their investigations. But congressional committees seem to be forever researching problems and never implementing the findings of their research. This prompts me to ask: What specific action is being taken to relieve the vast problems that confront the United States?

As Congressman for the first district, I know you are concerned with the lives of your constituents, but what are you and your congressional colleagues doing to assure that these lives will exist in ten years? Approving ABM? Cyclamate drinks have been removed from the market—good, the sugar industry liked that. But what about cigarettes which cause lung cancer, some dangerous birth control pills which produce various side effects, unsafe automobiles which cause high traffic accident rates, all gasoline-operated automobiles which drastically add to air pollution, factories which continuously pollute streams, rivers, lakes, and oceans? "America" flaunts its advanced technology, but has "America" done anything—enough to solve the problems this technology has created, such as pollution, noise, unemployment, etc.

Of all these self-created problems, the worst seems to be the technological dehumanization of mankind and the denaturalization of nature. Technology and capitalism have turned men into statistics, judged by their finances and position in our class society rather than by their individualism. Men are usually judged on their contribution to economy rather than on their service to humanity (but usually does show that there is hope . . .). Man's technology is upsetting the balance of nature by destroying plants and animals and perpetuating man beyond his natural limit. Men are living longer but actually living less; they are merely going through the function of breathing, performing the routine that society has set for them, and eventually retiring to sulk over the past. Overpopulation has been caused by man's eradication of disease, famines, and other natural checks, and so man must also work to eradicate this self-made problem of overpopulation. But who has the answers to these ever-increasing problems? You, the Congress, are supposed to. Can you live up to the faith, the hope that the American people have placed in you? Can you save our "sick" society?

Yes, I believe that categorically our society is sick.

When placing two men on the moon is given higher priority than feeding millions of starving people, something is definitely sick in our society.

When the majority of U.S. citizens are silent on or actively support the killing of 1,500,000 human lives in a senseless war in Southeast Asia, something is definitely sick within our society.

When the national army is sent across the Pacific to "liberate" the Vietnamese while the red-Americans, black-Americans, yellow-Americans, brown-Americans, and some white-Americans are still enslaved in an oppressive system, then that society is definitely sick.

When Congress emphasizes the possibility of nuclear war over the reality of poverty, hunger, and racism, then the society which condones such action is definitely sick.

When the federal government first attacks the flow of marijuana into the country rather than concentrating on stopping the flow of deadly heroin, something is definitely sick in our society.

When civil rights advocates are still struggling for a decent education for all American kids fifteen years after the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the separate-but-equal clause, something is definitely sick in our society.

When a person must obtain a prescription to buy a bottle of medicine, a license for a pet dog, and a registration certificate for an automobile, yet can buy a gun without any stipulation, something is deadly sick in our society.

Yes . . . sick! And many politicians, voters, and apathetic citizens refuse to note its sickness and, therefore, perpetuate it. However, I do not, cannot believe that there is a hopeless chance of recovery . . . YET!

Together, we must work to implement the basics of our Declaration of Independence, our Constitution, our democracy. This may entail changing the present system or reworking what we have . . . but it MUST be done. If you, our elected officials cannot do it, then we, the people must and will find a way. The way is not to tear down the United States but to tear down the myth that an American Dream actually exists . . . not to destroy tradition but to implement the radical ideas which were written down 250 years ago:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these needs, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness . . ."

Perhaps the fact that I just turned 18 and still cannot vote, yet am very concerned with the politics of the country, forces me to resort to letters, demonstrations, and anger—anger at those who do not use their vote or who manipulate the power given to them through the vote. Many people are angry. I pray that Congress can change the system which causes this intense anger—for frustrated anger is certain to develop if something is not done. And the frustration and anger of millions of Americans will certainly change the system if you fail to do so.

Good Luck.

I welcome your response.

Sincerely,

KITTY SLOAN.

JONESBORO, ARK.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Washington, D.C., December 12, 1969.

MISS KITTY SLOAN,  
Atlanta, Ga.,

DEAR KITTY: Your most thoughtful and thought-provoking letter concerning Amer-

ica and the "American Dream" was sincerely appreciated. I apologize for the delay in answering your letter, but I have wanted to have the time to devote at least as much thought to my response as you obviously did to your letter.

I cannot, and would not, try to dispute your contention that there are serious problems existent in our society. These problems, which you thoroughly and capably discussed, are pressing problems which need to be attacked, solved, and eliminated.

Along this line, I would like to dispute one statement that you made in your letter. You stated, "But who has the answers to these ever-increasing problems? You, the Congress, are supposed to. Can you live up to the faith, the hope that the American people have placed in you? Can you save our 'sick' society?"

These problems face and involve all of us and, as such, it is the responsibility of all of us to seek solutions to these problems. I am aware that average citizens, and young people in particular, often feel helpless to contribute to the solutions to these problems. I have the power to cast one vote in the House of Representatives, but under our system of government the Congress basically reflects and mirrors the wishes and desires of the American people. Major efforts to solve many of these problems will, realistically, not be made until a majority of the citizens of this country share your concern and urge such actions. If a majority of the people do not share our views, then it is our responsibility to work to become the majority.

It is my feeling that one of the reasons for any "communication gap" or "generation gap" which might exist evolves from a difference of viewpoint. Members of the generations ahead of you view America from the standpoint of comparison with other nations and other ideologies that they have personally witnessed and fought. For Americans who sacrificed in wars against German Nazism or Russian Communism, America is truly "the land of the free and the home of the brave." Young people, on the other hand, measure our country against its claims of freedom, equality and democracy. According to these standards, we still have a long way to go, I am afraid.

In short, I fully understand and am in sympathy with the frustration you feel over our seeming inability to deal with the problems facing our society. I can only assure you of my interest and concern and of the concern of many of my colleagues over these problems. Efforts are being made to solve many of these problems and some progress can be shown, although it is not fast enough for either you or me.

I would suggest, however, that the ultimate answers to these problems lie not with me or with the Congress, but with you and the members of your generation. All problems cannot be solved by Federal legislation without sacrificing personal freedom and identity that you and I both cherish. Increasing Federal programs inevitably mean a vastly increased Federal Government with more control and less personal interest in the citizens. This is a situation which neither I nor the members of your generation can find tolerable. So, in the long run, many of these problems are going to have to be solved not by the threat of a club from the Federal Government, but by the powers of persuasion in which you have proven yourself to be proficient.

Thank you for your letter, and particularly, for your closing wish of "Good Luck." Let me now turn that around and wish you and the members of your generation "Good Luck" as you accept the responsibility that will increasingly be yours for finding the long-range solutions to these problems in the hearts and minds of your fellow citizens.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

BILL ALEXANDER

## NAVY LEAGUE RESOLUTIONS

### HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to learn that the 67th annual convention of the Navy League has taken careful notice of the continuing and increased importance of maritime affairs in our national considerations. The resolutions approved by this convention bear eloquent testimony to the importance of this subject, and to the work which congressional committees are doing in this area. I believe it would be helpful to bring these resolutions to the attention of my colleagues:

#### NATIONAL OCEANIC POLICY

Whereas a progressive and competitive posture for a modern U.S. Merchant Fleet would provide an essential element of total oceanic preeminence for the Nation and enhance the potential of the United States Navy, Marine Corps and Coast Guard serving as key instruments of national policy; and

Whereas the United States must have an oceanic policy if it is to remain as a world maritime leader; and

Whereas the President of the United States has proclaimed that "A strong and viable Merchant Marine is essential in this quest for economic vitality;" and

Whereas history records that the nations which have built the ships, carried the cargo and collected the revenues have generally been powerful and well off in an economic sense; and

Whereas if U.S. flag shipping carried a preponderant portion of our exports and imports, the nation's deficit in international balance of payments would be reversed and a chief stimulator of the economy would be provided; and

Whereas heretofore U.S. flag shipping has not received national emphasis commensurate in scope with other national programs necessary to enable the U.S. merchant fleet to develop a strong, competitive posture;

Now, therefore, be it resolved That the Government of the United States, as a matter of highest priority, formulate and execute a progressive and dynamic oceanic policy encompassing the totality of endeavor on the oceans in furtherance of the national interest.

#### NATIONAL OCEANIC STRATEGY

Whereas the Commander-in-Chief in personal pronouncements has highlighted the sound economics of a national oceanic strategy; and

Whereas American oceanic leadership is being increasingly challenged by the burgeoning Soviet maritime and missile threat; and

Whereas the common concern of all citizens and government agencies is the preservation of the United States nuclear attack; and

Whereas the United States must optimize the allocation of resources on the basis of what contributes most to the preservation of the Republic; and

Whereas the United States Navy can make a greater contribution toward securing the Republic from nuclear and surprise attack by more utilization of the seas of the world; and

Whereas the survivability of sea-based systems greatly deters the will to strike; and

Whereas the Secretary of Defense has made his decision known to form "a blue ribbon" panel to conduct a thorough, independent and objective overall review and analysis of

the Department of Defense from its mission to its performance;

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the United States accelerate the implementation of an oceanic strategy, allocating national resources as required for the fullest utilization of oceanic power in all its aspects, to gain greater security from attack and to support foreign policy, thereby enhancing its posture as the leading world power.

#### LONG RANGE SHIP CONSTRUCTION PROGRAM

Whereas the implementation of a national oceanic strategy, deriving its incentive through national oceanic policy, is dependent on an availability of modern high speed ships; and

Whereas the American ship construction program requires appreciable expansion through an implementation of a long-range comprehensive program, including provision for men-of-war, merchantmen, oceanic research ships and a modern fishing fleet, powered by the most modern means, in numbers and capabilities to maintain world leadership; and

Whereas, to date, the lack of a long-range adequate shipbuilding program has resulted in the block obsolescence of the U.S. Fleet and has left major segments of the Merchant Marine in a deplorable condition; and

Whereas the same considerations have markedly circumscribed opportunities for expansion and full utilization of U.S. shipbuilding facilities and the expansion of new technologies and techniques; and

Whereas national programs which rectify these critical maritime deficiencies are a prerequisite for gaining a competitive posture leading to a dominant American position on the seas; and

Whereas, similarly, the lack of a resolute Marine Research Program has resulted in a failure to attain the modernity of the fleets essential to the maintenance of a decisive American superiority at sea, capable, if need be, of controlling the sea in war;

Now, therefore, be it resolved that our nation undertake, as a matter of urgency, a long-term, major, modern ship construction program which appreciably increases the balanced naval and merchant fleet strength to, in fact, fulfill our rapidly expanding national requirements.

#### OCEANIC EDUCATION

Whereas a primary mission of the Navy League is to encourage and support oceanic education; and

Whereas ever-broadening oceanic interest and exceptional maritime activity should serve to create a climate favorable for the advancement of maritime thinking; and

Whereas unfolding oceanic opportunities and the potential for contributing to the economic and intellectual wealth and prosperity of the nation loom in almost limitless perspective; and

Whereas the Marine Engineering and Resources Development Act and the Sea Grant College program, launched in 1966, have provided impetus for ever-expanding attention and educational measures related to the oceans in their total perspective, including the strategic aspects; and

Whereas the leadership of the League has initiated an expanding scale of educational activity nationally; and

Whereas the Navy League through the encouragement of an establishment of centers of maritime study and oceanic educational foundations will accelerate the recognition of the frontiers of oceanic opportunity;

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the Navy League of the United States, as a matter of primary policy, continue to foster the broad spectrum of oceanic education and research in universities, colleges and institutions of learning throughout the coun-

try to attain a national intellectual foundation for gaining the fullest oceanic advancement in furtherance of the long-term security and prosperity of the Republic.

#### PEOPLE—"THE SEA BREED"

Whereas the leadership of the military is a critical factor in the provision of the strength and security of the Republic; and

Whereas the recognition and prestige which accrue from devoted service to their nation are of significant importance to the military; and

Whereas the most critical problem facing the Department of Defense today is the problem of personnel, their motivation and their attraction to satisfying careers in the Armed Services; and

Whereas the compensations provided to the military that are in keeping with their service and sacrifices, and in a manner serving to foster the respect of the citizenry of the Nation are of major importance to their morale; and

Whereas more progressive policies and definitive actions are required to meet the needs of the people of the Armed Services;

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the concerned committees of the Congress, together with the Administration, be encouraged to maintain a constant review and upgrading of the incentives, opportunities and compensations affecting the status, prestige, morale, welfare and performance of our military personnel as a primary element of national strength.

#### NATIONAL OCEANIC RESEARCH

Whereas the capability to exploit the resources of the oceans may be the decisive factor in determining world leadership in future decades; and

Whereas the Navy is responsible for safeguarding the United States and its possessions from attack through the oceans; and

Whereas oceanic research, including oceanographic and hydrographic marine research is essential to acquiring knowledge vital to exercising all phases of control of the seas, particularly to insure optimum performance by the POLARIS-POSEIDON offensive sea-based system as well as strategic defensive systems, and to improve our submarine and anti-submarine warfare capabilities, the latter a vital element of the Navy's mission to protect shipping; and

Whereas the seabeds in the future will become as important militarily to U.S. security as is the surface of the ocean; and

Whereas the Navy is responsible for the protection of U.S. flag shipping on the high seas, and conversely the U.S. Merchant Fleet provides sea transport to the armed forces in time of war or emergency; and

Whereas the U.S. Coast Guard becomes part of the operating force for the Navy in the event of war or other emergency and the Coast Guard activities in oceanic research activity are complementary and fully support Navy goals; and

Whereas research, development, test and evaluation efforts historically have been greatly out of balance to the extreme detriment of programs leading to advanced ship hull and propulsion systems, and that ocean oriented programs generally have been inadequately funded; and

Whereas there are currently tremendous opportunities to improve technical capabilities in the fields of shipbuilding, cargo handling, ship hull and propulsion, and exploitation of ocean resources; and

Whereas the Navy is and will be the principal user of knowledge acquired from the oceans, and is the best equipped among government agencies to plan and execute ocean oriented research and operations; and

Whereas the report of the Commission on Marine Science Engineering and Resources has provided a plan for national action re-

lating to resources of the oceans in which the establishing of a National Oceanic and Atmospheric Agency (NOAA) is proposed;

Be it, therefore, resolved that the Navy provide the leadership in oceanographic and hydrographic research and development programs; and

Be it further resolved that adequate funds be provided all ocean-oriented research, development, test and evaluation programs; and

Be it further resolved that all national, Defense and Navy, RDT&E programs be brought into balance to provide drastically increased emphasis on shipbuilding modernization, improved ship loading and unloading (including helicopters) and improved ship hull and propulsion (including catamarans, water jet propulsion, surface effect ships, regenerative gas turbines and improved nuclear power plants); and

Be it further resolved that in the interest of a strong national defense, the Navy League urges that the United States retain control of all necessary military seabed installations and resist all actions of internationalization of the oceans that relate directly to the strategic interest and to the provision of security for the Republic.

#### HOUSE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE

Whereas the Sea Power Subcommittee convened by the Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, with the full support of its investigation and interim report, has factually and dramatically provided the American public with an awareness of the "shocking" material condition of the U.S. Fleet; and

Whereas this material decline in the fleet has resulted from the government's neglect of modern ship construction and failure to provide a long-range phased program to meet the mounting problem of block obsolescence; and

Whereas the recently published interim report of the Sea Power Subcommittee has highlighted a serious decline in the oceanic posture of the nation; and

Whereas the report accentuates the importance of our government giving immediate and urgent attention to the measures to restore American maritime posture; and

Whereas this Subcommittee has performed an outstanding public service in relating the deteriorating American oceanic posture to the burgeoning threat confronting it on the oceans of the world; and

Whereas positive constructive measures can be anticipated to rectify the critical condition of the fleet as a result of the Sea Power Subcommittee findings; and

Whereas the Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee has already introduced legislation for a long-range ship building program to provide for the modern ships essential to our nation;

Therefore be it resolved that the Navy League commend Chairman L. Mendel Rivers, ranking minority member William H. Bates and Representative Charles S. Bennett, Chairman of the Sea Power Subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee, together with the other members and the staff of the committee for their outstanding action on behalf of the Nation.

Be it further resolved that the Navy League fully support the rectifying action initiated by the Chairman, particularly his leadership in requesting a major modern ship construction program to regain requisite maritime posture.

Be it further resolved that Chairman L. Mendel Rivers be commended for his alert and discerning leadership in initiating a full-scale investigation of the national sea power that has revealed to the American people the critical condition of the nation's posture at sea; and for his dedication to oceanic strength in proposing the legislative program to meet the threat and restore the United

States to a position of leadership on the oceans; and

Be it further resolved that the chairman be encouraged to initiate appropriate action to maintain the Sea Power Subcommittee on a continuing basis as a means of insuring adequate and continuous congressional and public attention on the totality of the Nation's sea power.

**HOUSE MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES COMMITTEE SENATE COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE**

Whereas the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Commerce of the United States Senate have contributed greatly to rekindling public awareness of the nation's need for a stronger American Merchant Marine; and

Whereas the leadership and members of the committees have given generously of their time to stress our country's dependence upon sea power to foster our essential foreign trade and commerce as well as to ensure our security; and

Whereas these committees have spent untold hours in study and debate in an effort to have an American Merchant Marine, American-built and American manned which would ensure our competitive posture in the market places of the world; and

Whereas these committees have encouraged and supported essential research projects to add to the capability of our maritime establishments; and

Whereas they have implemented a new and promising system of authorizing maritime appropriations in order to put the needed emphasis on appropriate support of our Merchant Marine; and

Whereas the committees have encouraged the training of a Merchant Marine Officer Corps learned in the sciences of Marine management and navigation and trained in the essentials of naval warfare; and

Whereas these committees have accordingly laid the foundation for a national maritime policy which will soon be formulated by the President and his Administration;

Therefore, be it resolved that the leadership, membership and staff of these Committees of Congress be commended for the vigor and guidance they have provided in the endeavor to define and achieve our national maritime goals.

**BIG TRUCK BILL**

**HON. FRED SCHWENGEL**

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, my editorials for today are from the Wisconsin State Journal; the Capital Times, Madison, Wis.; the Fond Du Lac, Wis., Commonwealth Reporter; the Oshkosh, Wis., Paper; and the Milwaukee Journal. The editorials follow:

[From the Wisconsin State Journal, Madison, Wis., Aug. 27, 1969]

**LONGER TRUCK HAZARDS: STATISTICS ON DOUBLE BOTTOMS**

Truckers, pushing for permission to roll longer trucks on Wisconsin roads, argue vehemently that 65-foot vehicles will not increase road hazards.

And while they seek 65-foot trucks in Wisconsin, 70-foot lengths are being sought through federal legislation. Such trucks are often called "truck trains," tandem trailers, or double bottoms.

Information recently provided for con-

gressional consideration by Rep. Richard McCarthy (D-N.Y.), an opponent of longer trucks, supports the safety position of groups like the American Automobile Assn.

Citing a survey of the Buffalo Courier-Express, McCarthy said, "Tandem tractor-trailer accidents on the New York Thruway have increased faster than the mileage logged by commercial vehicles on the vast super-highway.

"The thruway authority revealed that the number of accidents involving tandem trucks almost tripled between 1964 and 1968. During the same period of time the total number of miles traveled by commercial vehicles on the 559-mile thruway system doubled over the 5-year stretch."

Such statistics deserve sober consideration the next time—and it will surely come up again when lawmakers return—truck lobbyists urge legislation for longer trucks.

[From the Madison (Wis.) Capital Times, Sept. 4, 1969]

**SAFETY ISSUE DISREGARDED—NIXON BACKS MONSTER TRUCKS**

WASHINGTON.—It didn't plan it this way, but the Nixon administration found itself today accused of siding "with the giant trailer truck barreling down the thruway and against the terrorized motorist nearly blown off the road by the resulting blast of air."

A Republican congressman, a Democratic congressman and consumer champion Ralph Nader mounted the opposition to the administration stand.

The administration unveiled its long-awaited position Wednesday on legislation that would permit heavier, wider and longer trucks and buses on the nation's interstate highway system.

The administration stand was outlined in a day of testimony before a House public works subcommittee by Federal Highway Administrator Francis C. Turner. He said the bill would benefit the economy and that the government didn't have "sufficiently reliable data" to say whether the bigger trucks would pose additional safety hazards.

The three disagreed.

"Mr. Nixon's Transportation Department does and the Federal Highway Administration should immediately disclose all the secret studies it has conducted regarding the hazards of giant trucks," Nader said in alleging Turner was suppressing the studies.

"We're not safety experts," was the response of Rep. Richard D. McCarthy (D-N.Y.) to Turner's proposal that Congress decide the safety question. "You have them. But you take a Pontius Pilate attitude of washing your hands of the whole affair."

"I am convinced as I can be," said Rep. Fred Schwengel (R-Iowa), "that people are going to end up in hospitals and the graveyard unless we have more controls (over truck traffic)."

Schwengel, who led the battle last year to kill a similar bill, said he had a feeling Nixon had not gotten the full story and that he intended to see that he did.

The subcommittee, which heard trucking testimony earlier in the year is about ready to wind up hearings and act on a bill.

"The way I look at it," McCarthy told a newsman, "the administration, from the position it took Wednesday, is siding with the giant trailer truck barreling down the thruway and against the terrorized motorist nearly blown off the road by the resulting blast of air."

During the hearing, Schwengel said the blast problem should be studied before larger trucks are permitted on expressways. He told of his own experiences passing trucks while driving on the Indiana turnpike during the August congressional vacation.

Turner said the bill would be "acceptable" only if Congress adopted all of his agency's

proposed amendments, including one that would apply size restrictions to all federally financed highways, not only the interstate system.

The bill, supported by the trucking industry and opposed by the American Automobile Association, would increase from 8 to 8½ feet the maximum allowable width of trucks and buses using the interstate highway system.

The limit on weight would be raised from 73,280 pounds to 108,500 pounds. The length, which is not limited now, would be set at 70 feet. Turner recommended a maximum length of 65 feet.

The trucking industry says bigger vehicles would permit more economical movement of freight and more comfortable bus travel. The bill's opponents say the larger vehicles would increase the risk of traffic accidents and cost the government millions of dollars each year in repairs caused by added wear and tear on the highways.

Turner acknowledged large trucks affect "the mental and emotional attitude of the general motoring public." But he said government studies presented no evidence such trucks are involved in more accidents than smaller ones. He did say that when a car is struck by a truck 15 or 20 times its size, "the truck tends to demolish the smaller vehicle."

[From the Fond du Lac (Wis.) Commonwealth Reporter, Aug. 2, 1969]

**BIGGER TRUCKS ON THE ROAD?**

The trucking industry, engaged in a determined campaign for the last year or so to persuade the government to give even larger trucks the run of the nation's roads, has lately come up with a new agreement to bolster its case.

Industry spokesmen asserted in congressional hearings that the size and weight hikes desired would actually contribute to highway safety. Their reasoning is that by abandoning the present weight limit—73,280 pounds—for trucks on the interstate system and adopting instead an axle-spacing formula, weight distribution would be improved. Trucks might be heavier—up to 92,500 pounds—and wider, but also better-balanced, and therefore less of a hazard to truckers, passenger car drivers, bridges and the roadways themselves.

There is no question that trucking is a vital element in the transport system of a consumption-happy society or that there are valid arguments for bringing existing regulations into line with changing needs of the industry and public, improved technology and highway facilities.

But this is one that is likely to be difficult to sell to drivers who have had white-knuckled experience maneuvering around and among present width and weight trucks, or struggled to keep a car on the road in the gale-force winds frequently created in passing or being passed by trucks.

[From the Oshkosh (Wis.) Paper, Aug. 9, 1969]

**TRUCKS ARE BIG ENOUGH NOW**

The American trucking industry has mounted a well-financed campaign to increase the size of trucks using interstate highways.

It is a campaign that goes against the best interests and safety of everyone who drives an automobile.

But there is a possibility the truck lobby will succeed because it contributes many thousands of dollars each year to the campaign funds of key Congressmen.

The bill now before Congress would allow states to approve trucks that are wider by six inches—to 8½ feet. Side mirrors and other fixtures of course extend that width.

Also, the maximum loaded weight of a truck could jump from 73,280 to 109,500 pounds (over 64 tons).

Expert testimony before a Congressional committee has emphasized the safety hazards and higher costs of allowing larger trucks.

For instance: when passenger cars and pickup trucks collide, there are 0.3 fatalities per 100 persons involved. But 7.1 fatalities per 100 occur in crashes of cars and tractor-trailers. When collisions involve cars and two-trailer rigs the fatality rate jumps to 13.3 per 100.

The Federal Highway Administration reports that heavier commercial vehicles (over 30 tons) are implicated in 19 per cent of all highway fatalities. Yet these trucks constitute only 7 per cent of registered motor vehicles.

Rep. John Moss, chairman of a House subcommittee which has studied auto safety, noted, "passenger and light truck drivers often experience acute anxiety and even fear when passing, being passed by, or accompanying larger vehicles on the road."

"This anxiety is certainly justified," he said. "The motorist's visibility is lessened, passing is more difficult and the force of the combined weight and speed of the larger trucks often causes rocking or jolting of his vehicle."

With present truck limits, two trucks passing on an average two-lane road with 12-foot lanes have four feet of clearance. Under the proposed limits, with allowances for side mirrors and other outcroppings, this gap would be less than two feet.

In addition, there is the cost factor. The Bureau of Public Roads estimates that the wear and tear of an estimated 300,000 bigger trucks would add \$5.8 billion in repair and construction costs to the interstate highway system in the first 10 years.

Trucks are big enough now; good sense dictates that they be no larger.

[From the Milwaukee Journal,  
June 21, 1969]

#### KEEP TRUCK LIMITS

If Wisconsin again rejects proposals to lengthen truck limits to 65 feet—as it should—it will be in good company.

Of nine states with such bills before them, five have rejected them—Iowa, Maine, Minnesota, South Carolina and Tennessee. Only North Dakota among the group approved. The rest haven't acted yet.

The trucking industry claims that 34 states now allow 65 foot twin trailers or "double bottoms," although in many they are limited to special permits or routings. Wisconsin's maximum is 55 feet in length, with some exceptions.

Wisconsin is one of the important "bridge" states in the double bottom controversy. Relaxation here, along with Minnesota and Iowa, would provide clear sailing for the truckers to western states, which have the greater lengths.

The western situation, incidentally, has an interesting explanation. Several of those states were caught with lower axle weight laws when interim truck limits were set for interstate highways in 1956. To achieve the maximum weight of 73,280 pounds, trucks were allowed to lengthen.

While it minds its own legislative ramblings, Wisconsin also should keep an eye on new federal proposals. A recently introduced bill, applying to interstate roads, would allow states to go to 70 foot lengths. It also would set up a new weight formula, granting an extra ton on the 18,000 pounds now permitted for single axles and ranging up to 108,500 pounds for nine axle rigs. Widths could go to 102 inches. A separate bill would increase bus widths to 102 inches.

The 1956 federal standards applied where states did not have higher limits. The new rules would allow states to increase those limits.

Federal maximums tend to become state minimums. As each state relaxed its requirements, the truckers' push on the remaining states would increase—a sort of double bottom domino effect.

#### LEGAL EDUCATION

### HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, a most impressive series of editorials was recently aired by radio station WINS in New York. They are entitled "Ignorance and the Law," and they make a very persuasive case for an educational program at elementary and secondary levels designed to teach young people the basics of law. They argue, quite convincingly I think, that in a complex society like ours, "if you want people to obey the rules, you first have to tell them what the rules are." But while 50 million youngsters now in our Nation's public schools will have used 6 billion textbooks in their 12-year schooling, they will never see a single textbook on the fundamentals of law because "none has ever been published."

I think the conclusions contained in these editorials make good sense, and I intend to explore possible Federal legislation to help stimulate legal education for youngsters at all grade levels.

It is about time we stop treating the law as material only for study by lawyers and law students. The law relates intimately to the life of every citizen, and both the citizen and society as a whole will benefit from a more widespread and detailed appreciation of it. That can best be achieved, as these excellent editorials suggest, by a good law education program in the schools.

I want to commend WINS for this series, and urge my colleagues and other readers of the RECORD to reflect on them.

The editorials follow:

#### IGNORANCE AND THE LAW—1

(By Peter E. Schrueth)

We Americans like to think we're a nation of laws, not mere men. We also accept the idea that ignorance of the law is no excuse. Yet that's just about all the law most people ever learn unless they study to become lawyers.

Our schools are supposed to prepare young people for life. The academic process sharpens their minds. A number of specific subjects and topics are in the curriculum by law. Physical education is required to build bodies and physical education teaches students the rules of the sports they play. But, nowhere, be it California, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey or Connecticut is there a requirement that they learn the rules they must live by for the rest of their lives. We're talking statute law which covers citizen rights and citizen responsibilities beyond those spelled out in the Constitution—such things as contracts, tax and labor law, civil and criminal law.

We spend millions of tax dollars to put our children through 12 years of public school, during which they go through scores of courses and more than 100 textbooks. But none of these courses and books really deals with basic law. Few of our teachers have

any training in the subject themselves, and there has been little text material for them to use, even if they are interested.

We teach our students the laws of grammar, but the laws of the land are learned only by trial and error—or trial and conviction. WINS believes that we can and must develop a more positive approach to the teaching of basic law to our youngsters. We'll talk more about ignorance and the law tomorrow.

#### IGNORANCE AND THE LAW—2

We say that ignorance of the laws is no excuse for lawlessness. But could ignorance be a reason? Do we actually promote that ignorance when we fail to teach the fundamentals of law in our Tri-state area schools? This is no attack on education or on educators. The specific study of the fundamentals of law is not and has never been a major subject in the education system in our country . . . or in any other; not in the way we teach language or history.

The only peoples that ever carefully schooled their children in the rules by which they had to live were the ones we now refer to as "savages". The ancients who lived in tribes carefully schooled their children in tribal laws. Their reason: survival. The alternative: death.

In 1765, Sir William Blackstone sorted and codified the laws of England for the first time. He wrote an essay on the natural rights of man. From Blackstone came the basis of our American law. From Blackstone we copied almost word-for-word The Bill of Rights. But Sir William was in fact, not a great justice. He was a school teacher. As early as 1690, in our land, the American people decided that the teaching of the law of the land was better left to the home. And so it remained . . . by tradition.

The "law" a child learns in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut schools today, is the Constitution; the mechanics of courts and legislature . . . the size and shape of government. But these are problems of American democracy, civics and social science; not law. In his real world, he faces the law of installment credit, contracts, mortgages, public property, citizen rights and legal responsibilities, equity, tax laws, labor law, civil and criminal law: *statute law*.

The 50 million youngsters now in our nation's public schools will have used six billion textbooks in their 12 year schooling. Yet, they will never see a single textbook on the fundamentals of law. None has ever been published. More about this tomorrow.

#### IGNORANCE AND THE LAW—3

Americans will spend tens of billions of dollars this year to catch, punish and correct people who violate the laws of the land. Most violators will know little or nothing about the law they broke. But ignorance is no excuse. Sharpshooting sales bunco artists will steal another six billion dollars from consumers. Victims will scream in anger. But in the end, they will examine the law . . . and pay the bill because ignorance is no defense.

We will hear lawlessness blamed on white people, black people, law enforcement, the courts, unemployment and overwork. We'll blame it on inhibitions, free love, Dr. Spock and the weather . . . communists, militants, peaceniks, parents and pot. Nobody seems to blame it on plain old ignorance. That is: a simple lack of knowledge.

And we will continue to propagate and promote ignorance by teaching children *nothing* of fundamental or statute law in our homes, or in our Tri-state area schools. At home, we don't have time.

So Tri-state area parents spend millions of tax dollars to put children through twelve years of schooling. During that time our children go through scores of classes and

more than 100 textbooks. But not one will be on the laws of the land, under which they must live from the cradle to the grave. Nowhere is a single textbook published on law for grade school students.

Law is the backbone of our society. And without it, we could not survive as a nation. Yet, we have no books, no classes and no teachers to teach it. What it tells us is this: Junior may graduate with honors, a bright young man in the eyes of society. But in the eyes of a judge, he is inarticulate, uninformed and possibly incoherent because he knows nothing of the most important rules in our land. And *that*, is ignorance of the law. More about that, tomorrow.

#### IGNORANCE AND THE LAW—4

There are five things that make us, or any people, a nation. We need *territory* to call our own; and a *defense* force to protect it. We need *work* on which to base our economy; *taxes* to support the organizations, and *laws* to regulate our behavior and maintain order. If one dies, they all die.

What's bothering many New York, New Jersey and Connecticut residents right now is that we have sufficient law, but our order seems to be breaking down or is at least being threatened, especially among our young people in the 15-to-25-year age group. For the past few years, more and more young people have been refusing to recognize and respect the rules of the game—the laws of the land. We hold that ignorance of the law is no excuse for breaking it. We also know there is a generation gap. But where does it start?

We know that children form their basic attitudes in their kindergarten years. That includes their ideas of fair play, responsibility, law and order . . . Tribal Law. It used to be that they learned it in their homes, mostly from their mothers. Not any more. Or at least not as much, any more. In World War II, Mom was forced to get a job, and the word "babysitter" became part of our language. Now, 25 years later, women hold 40 percent of the jobs. More than half of the employable women, some 28 million, are wage earners, and a vital part of our economy. And now we have our new term: "generation gap".

It is generally recognized that children now learn far less about the law at home than in years past. Add to this the fact that it has never been part of our public education system, here in the Tri-state area, or anywhere for that matter, to teach children the law of the land the way we teach them the laws of mathematics, or grammar, or football. We don't teach law at home. We don't teach law in the schools. So is it really so strange that some of our youngsters are trying to make their own law or tear down what there is?

WINS asks: How good is a law system when nobody knows very much about it except the judges who administer it; the lawyers who practice it, and the policemen who enforce it? We'll talk more about this, tomorrow.

#### IGNORANCE AND THE LAW—5

If there is anything more typically American than our respect for wealth and material possessions, it's our national love affair with equality and justice. In other words, Americans beef a lot about *other* people who don't play fair. We tell our children that crime doesn't pay . . . that cheaters never prosper . . . that it isn't whether you win or lose, but how you play the game. The small child's universal phrase for a violation is: "No fair". Grownups boo the referee and yell, "Kill the umpire", for the same reason.

Indeed, good sportsmanship and playing the game according to a "Queensbury Rules" concept is so important to us that we wrote it into our state education laws. Connecticut, New Jersey and New York laws require that

every child have 12 years of physical education as part of his public schooling. But what of the "Queensbury Rules" of society . . . the rules by which we must play the game of citizen from the cradle to the grave? Those rules are the law of the land: the Federal Code; the New York, New Jersey and Connecticut statutes; city ordinances. The "Queensbury Rules" for being an American are the principles of contract law, of taxes, of equity, of civil law, private law—common law and criminal law. Citizen rights are one phase; citizen responsibilities, another.

America was founded by people seeking justice under the law. And we have been working toward that end for nearly 200 years. It is paradoxical that after 200 years, we carefully teach our children all of the rules of language, athletics, mathematics, personal health and safety, and law for the operation of a motor vehicle. Yet nowhere, except by hearsay, guesswork, intellectual osmosis, or trial and error do we even try to teach children the most important rules of all—the ones by which society demands that they live.

Among youth who are *not* taught law, crime rates are increasing by 15 to 30 percent a year. In the one area where they are taught the law, crime rates are dropping by three to ten percent a year. More about that, tomorrow.

#### IGNORANCE AND THE LAW—6

Our American system has always held that ignorance of the law is no excuse—no defense, for breaking the law. At no time in American history, have we been more threatened by the problem of people who do break the law. At no time have we tried harder and achieved less to find a solution to our dilemma than right now.

Law enforcement analysts noted a sharp increase in juvenile delinquency 20 years ago. When little action we took was obviously ineffective. Since 1950, crime rates have been climbing between 15 and 30 percent a year—*seven times faster than population*. Most of it is among young people who know little or nothing about the laws under which they, and we, are required to live. They don't know because we have neither the books nor the teachers to teach them.

The only area in which young people are required to learn the specific rules and penalties is in the military service, and the military says their crime rates are *not increasing*, but *decreasing*. Every military recruit is given a full course on the Uniform Code of Military Justice. He learns the rules of behavior the way he learned the rules of football. The Navy says its crime rate has dropped 30 percent in ten years. The Air Force says its crime rate is dropping by ten percent a year. The Army supplies no figures, but says its crime rate is in a steady decline.

Military people are hard-headed. They believe that if you want people to obey the rules, you first have to tell them what the rules are. We civilians don't subscribe to that. At least, we haven't, yet. So the graduating student from New York, New Jersey and Connecticut schools this year will know all the major rules in his academic subjects, and will then set out to play the game of being an American citizen, an American adult. But the rules of that game are called statute law. And on that subject, he is mute, blind, illiterate. What could we teach our youngsters? We'll talk about that tomorrow.

#### IGNORANCE AND THE LAW—7

It is one of the great paradoxes of America that when it comes to teaching the law to our children, we stand right now where we did 70 years ago, when we first decided to teach them about health and personal hygiene. Health and hygiene education are now required in our schools. And thanks to America's school teachers, as well as its phy-

sicians, we have a fantastically healthy society. Our children are bright and vigorous and strong. They are so bright and so strong, in fact, that there is virtually nothing our kids can't wreck, if they really put their minds to it. And their demonstration of that fact is part of our national agony.

Until now, it has not been "The American Way" to teach our children the laws of the land, the rules of being an American. And even if we should decide to teach them, it would be a gigantic task. Our educators would have to prepare material, lesson plans, curriculum guides, teaching guides and workbooks, because there are none now. They would have to prepare special materials to teach how to teach law, because we lack trained teachers and materials now.

And what could our children learn in that study? They could learn about public law, which covers taxes and crimes against the people; private law which includes disputes between persons. They could learn about contracts. They could learn common law—the prerogatives of proprietorship—private property—damages. They could learn equity, which says: No wrong shall be without adequate remedy. They could learn statute law, the specific rules under which we must live for our entire lives.

Our children could learn that the first law on personal liberties was passed, not by an American, but by a Greek named Solon, 2,000 years before Columbus even discovered America. We don't teach it, but men had laws long before we even had written language or doctors. And all we had before that was teachers. More about that tomorrow.

#### IGNORANCE AND THE LAW—8

Our people and our nation are deeply troubled by gross violations of our social guidelines: the law of our land. We say ignorance of the law is no excuse for breaking the law, but crime rates are climbing seven times faster than population. Our order is breaking down.

We demand that people live by the law. But we do not teach them what law is. WINS believes that if we, as a people, are obligated to abide by the rules, we must also be obligated to teach our people what the rules are. In law, those rules are called, "statutes". We have neither books nor teacher expertise on this. But we *do* have the means to acquire the books and expertise.

WINS does not propose a specific curriculum. This station is an observer, a reporter, and in this case, an advocate. Designing the course to be taught is the job of the educators, and only they can do it.

We believe that in the study of *fundamental* law, our children will find reflected every major social advancement in recorded history of mankind. In *statute* law they will find the day-to-day rules that govern the money we earn, the land we own, the disputes we have, the agreement we make—even the purity of the food we eat.

We believe that having a legally informed citizenry is at least as important to the future of our social order as having a politically-informed electorate. We believe that teaching our children the specific laws under which they are required to live, is at least as important as their knowledge of our language. New York, New Jersey and Connecticut laws require that they be taught 12 years of language arts in our public schools, but no law.

WINS believes that ignorance of the law is a major element of social disorder. And the only antidote for ignorance of any kind is education. In sum: we expect our young people to abide by the rules. To aid and abet this we should first teach them specifically what the rules are, and the early schooling years are an excellent place to begin. It's as simple as that.

**BROTHER JOE'S PLAN LACKS FUNDS**

**HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of our colleagues to a program in Washington, D.C., known as "the K Street Project" under the direction of Brother Joseph Zambon.

The K Street project implements precisely the wishes of Congress as expressed in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, "to mobilize the material and human resources to combat poverty." However, it differs from other poverty programs, and particularly the community action programs formulated through the United Planning Organization in Washington, in two respects. First, it has received no Government funds. Second, in spite of limited resources it is achieving promising results.

I include at this point in the RECORD a copy of a letter from former OEO Director Sargent Shriver denying him funds; a news article concerning the program; a letter dated February 3, 1969, from Mrs. Agnes T. Marks, Coordinator, Legion of Mothers, expressing support for it; a letter to Mrs. Marks from Presidential Assistant Daniel P. Moynihan expressing approval of it; and finally, another letter from Mrs. Marks, dated September 22, 1969, urging termination of the community action programs under OEO:

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY,

Washington, D.C., June 20, 1966.

Brother JOSEPH ZAMBON,  
K Street Project Material Assistance,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BROTHER JOE: I want to thank you for the information you sent me on the K Street Project and the wonderful things you are doing for poor children and their families in Washington, D.C. I'm glad that you have had the chance to talk with some of our people here. They have certainly been impressed by what you are doing.

I'm so sorry that we are unable to find a way in the guidelines under which our program must operate to help you directly. I know that Chris Weeks and Joe English have explained some of the difficulties we have had in doing this.

I would certainly hope that you would be able to continue to obtain private support for such a worthwhile effort. The possibility of Catholic charities being able to give you some assistance is something I certainly hope you will explore.

I am very sorry that I was unable to see you this week but the pressures here, as we prepare for our Congressional Presentations, have made my schedule very tight. Please accept my best wishes for the continued success of your program.

Sincerely,

SARGENT SHRIVER,

Director.

IT'S POVERTY AT ROCK BOTTOM: BROTHER JOE'S PLAN LACKS FUNDS  
(By Michael J. Woods)

Brother Joseph Zambon, a native of Chadwicks, now lives in the hearts of 6,400 impoverished Negroes in a ghetto under the shadows of the nation's capitol. He is the son of Mrs. Irene Zambon, 31 Elm St., Chadwicks.

During a recent visit to his home town, Brother Joe spoke with concern of his proj-

ect's inability to gain federal aid through the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).

This is a letter he received last month from Sargeant Shriver, OEO director.

"Dear Brother Joe: . . .

"I want to thank you for the information you sent me on the K Street Project and the wonderful things you are doing for poor children and their families . . . I'm glad that you have had the chance to talk with some of our people here. They have certainly been impressed by what you are doing.

"I'm sorry that we are unable to find a way in the guidelines under which our program must operate to help you directly . . .

"I would certainly hope that you would be able to continue to obtain private support for such a worthwhile effort . . ."

Just what is Project K, and why can't it receive federal support? Brother Joe answers the first part of the question with ease and enthusiasm.

The project gets its name from K Street, the heart of a five-block Negro ghetto within walking distance of the nation's capitol. Two years ago, Sister Mary Leo of the Sisters of Notre Dame began gathering children from poor tenements into her convent at night so they could have a clean, lighted place to do their homework.

But she discovered they couldn't study on empty stomachs. And the ones without shoes were ashamed to even come.

Then Brother Joe stepped in with what he called material assistance. He set up a shop in an abandoned hardware store on K Street and began collecting from labor, church and other groups and dispensing food, clothes, beds and shoes.

He organized a corps of women volunteers from the suburbs who came in to visit the homes of the children who came to the center hungry or shoeless.

Now numbering more than 200, the recruits come from Lions Clubs, church sodalities, Jewish Clubs, Kiwi Clubs (a group of ex-airline hostesses from the area), and many other organizations.

They advised hard-pressed mothers on the expenditure of their relief checks and inter-vened with negligent landlords.

Through a program termed by Brother Joe "suburban surplus for the poor" beds, tables, clothing, chairs, silverware, dishes, surplus foods, shoes were soon pouring into the project center.

The surplus came in rented trucks, by car, in the shopping bags of suburban mothers who came downtown by bus, any way they could carry what they had to offer.

"Yet," said Brother Joe, "their charity wasn't of the strict and cold variety. It was based on continuing interest. Contact was maintained with poor families and with their needs to give them that necessary base of minimum physical standards from which they could go on to self-sufficiency and human dignity."

This summer a program was begun to bus poor children from the slums to suburban parks where women volunteers waited with picnic lunches—"a short reprieve from daily squalor."

Just how bad is the situation on K Street? "It's poverty at rock bottom," said Brother Joe. He explained many of the families lack beds enough to sleep in. Children can't go to school because they actually don't have shoes. Families sometimes live on potato chips for two or three days at a time.

Walls of crumbling plaster in many tenements are wet with the dripping of faulty plumbing. The average family-man, according to his employers, is fortunate to earn a dollar an hour, Brother Joe said.

When Brother Joe thinks about the government's refusal to finance Project K, he becomes philosophic. It is not the average poor man who starts to riot says Brother Joe. He at least has something. It is the man at rock bottom who cannot hope, because he cannot think for hunger, which cries out madly for justice in the end.

Before a man can better himself, he must first be a man, he said sadly. "Through our work, many of these poor shelters have been made into homes. The breakdown of family life has been arrested simply by giving the essentials of family living which these people never had—food, clothing, beds, the first stirrings of dignity."

"But," said Brother Joe, "what began as charity on a shoestring now is at the breaking point. The project has barely sustained itself with donations and contributions. A fine thread of stability, of hope has been strung through the ghetto where three years ago a white man dared not walk. Children smile."

Now, Brother Joe said, the project can barely meet its operational expenses. Surplus waits in the suburbs with no way of being carried downtown. Volunteers can no longer meet the demands of a growing awareness of poverty and of the slender thread of stability that exists.

With all its apparent need, why is Project K ineligible for federal money? Brother Joe quoted the words of many letters and personal contacts with OEO personnel:

"Your project cannot be funded in its present form, primarily because of its emphasis on emergency services rather than more far-reaching community development services."

Brother Joe said he can understand that "the war on poverty is necessarily a long-range affair, that its scope is as broad as its good will. But there seems to be a vital gap in the battle lines," he added.

"Through this gap human dignity slips away and dissention, chaos and riot enter. What price to fill this one small gap? To bring a pair of shoes from the suburbs to K Street so a boy can know he is a human being?" Brother Joe asked.

In trying to find the answer to this question, Brother Joe recalled the words uttered by Congress in passing the OEO Act of 1964: ". . . to mobilize the human and material resources of the nation, to combat poverty in the United States. . . ."

"Our job is not very sophisticated," said Brother Joe, "but we get the job done. We feed, we clothe, we love. We strengthen the family unit which is the heart of our great country."

FEBRUARY 3, 1969.

SIR: We would like to express our appreciation to those who responded to our correspondence.

The Legion of Mothers has been actively supporting a pilot project dealing with the poor living here in the District of Columbia over the past four years. It is known as the "K" Street Project and is under the direction of Brother Joseph Zambon. This project was executed eight blocks from the Capitol in North West Urban Renewal No. 1. Approximately 6,500 people in this ten block area were living in abject poverty.

The primary purpose of the pilot project was to reestablish the family unit, to strengthen and to stabilize it. This was achieved by first administering to the material needs of the families and at the same time instilling discipline, personal and social. As a result mothers were able to maintain their homes—properly administer to their children—who in turn, when properly fed and clothed, were able to attend school regularly and to function in society.

As a result of the "K" Street Pilot Project the following conclusions were drawn:

1. The family unit—the basic structure of society—must be reestablished, reinforced and protected. A discipline must be instilled and fostered—based on pride—which is achieved through the administration of the material and other needs of the family. In the pilot project this was achieved by working with the mother in the home and with the children in the home and in the neighborhood.

The pilot project confirms the basic concepts purported by Daniel Moynihan, assistant to the President on Urban Affairs who recognized the family unit as the unique structure of society. Through the pilot project we have been able to realistically carry into practice a program placing the emphasis on the family unit. The lack of continuity in the home has substantially contributed to the problem of crime.

2. Grass root political representation of the poor is not a prerequisite to solving poverty. This representation will develop as the families and the community are stabilized. At that point the community will assert itself in bringing about desired change.

3. The O.E.O. Act of 1964 expresses implicitly the wishes of Congress and properly implemented would solve many of the problems of poverty. Proper implementation however, cannot be achieved under the existing Community Action Program, because the program does not realistically carry into practice the desires of Congress. We would hope that Congress in its devotion to the poor of our nation, would see that its wishes are carried out as stated in the Act.

We feel that using the "K" Street Project as a guideline, the principles purported by Mr. Moynihan could be realistically placed into action under the existing Act. With your support a successful poverty program could be executed.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. AGNES T. MARKS,  
Coordinator, Legion of Mothers.

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
Washington, March 17, 1969.

DEAR MRS. MARKS: Thank you for your letter regarding the "K" Street Project which you have initiated in North West Urban Renewal No. 1. Having driven through this area recently by car, I know firsthand the problem conditions you describe in your letter.

I will be most interested in the results of this very important experiment, dealing with the all-important tasks of strengthening the family.

Sincerely,

DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN,  
Assistant to the President.

WASHINGTON, D.C., September 22, 1969.

SIR: The Legion of Mothers are in agreement with the termination of the Community Action Programs under OEO. It has been our experience in working with the poor in the "K" Street Project, that these programs have been ineffective in reaching the poor.

We have been impressed with the philosophy of Mr. Daniel P. Moynihan (Presidential Assistant on Urban Affairs), in regard to the reestablishment and strengthening of the Family Unit. We feel that the existing Community Action Programs do not fulfill these needs. These programs are unable to reach down into the neighborhood and into the homes, which is most necessary as demonstrated in the "K" Street Project.

The proposal by the new Administration to give monetary grants in the way of subsidies will be as equally ineffective because this method, is not in accord with Mr. Moynihan's original philosophy. It is necessary, to go directly into the homes to assist and advise these families. They are unable to function without proper guidance and overall interest concerning their welfare.

We would hope that in the wisdom of this August Body, that you would explore the need for a technique that will not fail to produce the results desired. The "K" Street Project is completely in accord with Mr. Moynihan's previous philosophy and realize if properly implemented would bring about these desired results.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. AGNES T. MARKS,  
Coordinator, Legion of Mothers.

CXV—2454—Part 29

## PROGRESS ON U.N. CONSIDERATION OF SOVIET JEWRY

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, 58 Members of the House, on November 21, joined me in urging the State Department to take several steps to lend support to a request by Israel that the United Nations take up the consideration of the case of 18 Jewish families in the Soviet State of Georgia. These families, with great bravery, wrote to Israeli Premier Golda Meir to let her and the outside world know their petitions to Soviet officials for permission to leave the Soviet Union for Israel have been ignored for years. In effect, they are being held captive by the Soviet Union's refusal to allow them to emigrate to Israel.

The specific steps the signers of the appeal urged on the State Department, and a copy of the letter the 18 Soviet Jewish families, appeared in the November 21 issue of the RECORD.

According to status reports on the matter I have received from the Department of State and from Ambassador Yost, the documents concerning the case of the 18 Jewish families have been officially circulated by the Secretary General to all member delegations, and the United States has announced its concern over this case, and treatment of Soviet Jews in general, in the course of recent General Assembly debate. Both of these steps were among those suggested in our appeal.

The remarks before the General Assembly made by the U.S. delegate, Ambassador Rita E. Hauser, seem to me to be among the most outspoken and detailed that have been made by the U.S. delegation, and I feel that our representatives are to be commended for their forthrightness on this most important humanitarian issue.

Finally, on the matter of the Human Rights Commission taking up this matter, which was the purpose of one of our requests. I am informed that an item has been placed on the agenda of the next meeting of the Commission concerning violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and that it will be possible under this item to take up the treatment of Soviet Jews and the case of the 18 families in particular. In the past, the United States has supported requests by Israel to take up such matters, and I am hopeful the United States will again do so vigorously when the Commission meets in February.

The replies I have received from Ambassador Yost and the State Department, and the recent remarks on Soviet Jewry by Ambassador Hauser, appear below:

DECEMBER 10, 1969.

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BINGHAM: The Secretary has asked me to reply to your letter of November 21, 1969 referring to the request submitted to the Secretary-General of the

United Nations by the Israeli Ambassador concerning the treatment of Soviet Jewry.

You expressed the feeling of those Members of Congress for whom you have written that the United States should join and support the effort of the Government of Israel to focus international attention and opinion within the framework of the United Nations on the problem of Soviet Anti-Semitism.

You listed three specific actions which the United States Delegation should take in achieving United Nations action on this matter. Two of the actions which you have proposed have in fact taken place.

The request submitted by Israel concerning the treatment of Soviet Jewry has been officially recognized in the United Nations. The letter of November 10, 1969 from the Permanent Representative of Israel which was addressed to the Secretary-General and which transmitted a copy of a letter from a group of eighteen Jewish families in the USSR has been circulated as an official document of the United Nations General Assembly to all the Member States. A copy of this letter as it appeared in document A/7762 of November 13, 1969 is enclosed.

The subject of the treatment of Soviet Jewry was discussed in Committee III of the General Assembly on November 25, 1969. The matter was first raised in the Committee by the Representative of Israel. Following upon his intervention, the United States Representative in Committee III, Mrs. Rita E. Hauser, delivered a statement on behalf of the United States Delegation expressing our concern over the situation of Soviet Jewry. A copy of this statement is enclosed.

Concerning referral of the matter to the Human Rights Commission, it would not be necessary as you suggest that the Chairman of the Commission act to request referral by the Secretary-General. The matter can be proposed for the Commission's provisional agenda in advance of a session of the Commission on Human Rights by any member of the United Nations. Or the matter can be raised during a session of the Commission by any member of the Commission speaking under an appropriate item already on the agenda. For example, the Commission on Human Rights at its 23rd session held in 1967 decided to give annual consideration to an item dealing with violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in all countries. Pursuant to this decision there will appear on the agenda of the next session of the Human Rights Commission a general item with this title. It would consequently be possible for the question of Soviet Jewry to be raised under this item. At the last session of the Commission on Human Rights the subject of the treatment of Soviet Jews was raised by the Delegation of Israel and supported by the United States Representative under the item dealing with the report of the Subcommittee on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities. At the next session of the Commission on Human Rights the annual report of the Subcommittee will again be an item on its agenda; the question of the treatment of Soviet Jewry might therefore be raised under this item as well.

The next session of the Commission on Human Rights is scheduled for February 23 to March 27, 1970. The U.S. Delegation to the Commission, will, as in the past, consult with the Delegation of Israel, which is also a member of the Commission, in order to determine the best course of action to follow on this matter at that meeting.

We appreciate having your views and those of your colleagues on this important matter.

Sincerely yours,

H. G. TORBERT, JR.,  
Acting Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations.

U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO THE  
UNITED NATIONS,  
December 4, 1969.

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BINGHAM: Thank you for the copy of your letter, dated November 21, to Secretary Rogers containing suggestions for United Nations consideration of treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union.

I am pleased to inform you that action has been taken on your first and third suggestions. The Secretary-General circulated the request of the Government of Israel as document A/7762 (copy attached).

Regarding the third suggestion, Mrs. Rita E. Hauser, United States Representative to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, made a statement on November 25 on the treatment of Soviet Jews during consideration of human rights questions in the Third Committee of the General Assembly. This statement, which was interrupted several times by delegates from the USSR and the Ukraine, supported a prior intervention by Israel. Copies of the Israeli and United States statements are enclosed.

We are pleased with the outcome of the Committee consideration of this subject. The Soviets demonstrated exceptional sensitivity during the debate, and we feel that our efforts resulted in worthwhile publicity and a good measure of sympathy among other delegations, several of which also spoke out.

We will be giving careful consideration to our position on the question in the Commission on Human Rights, as we prepare for the next session in February.

Sincerely,

CHARLES W. YOST.

STATEMENT BY MRS. RITA E. HAUSER, UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE, IN COMMITTEE III, ON SOVIET JEWRY, NOVEMBER 25, 1969

For many years my Delegation has manifested a continued interest in the protection of minority groups. We have shown this interest through statements in the General Assembly and in other relevant bodies of the United Nations, such as the Human Rights Commission, and through our participation in the work of the Sub-Commission for the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities.

Our interest in this important matter is not limited to any one country or region. It stretches the world over, and is based on general humanitarian principles. Needless to say, it would be somewhat anomalous if the United States were indifferent to the problem of protection of minorities, considering the sizeable ethnic and racial minorities which comprise the population of the United States.

For some time, it was a common theory in my country that the special qualities of the diverse ethnic and racial groups would disappear with time as generations succeeded the original immigrants to our shores. This was widely known as the "melting pot" theory. We now appreciate that while a certain melting into the American prototype does take place, many ethnic and racial groups have kept their separate identities and flavor—all the while Americans—and that this distinctness contributes so much to the dynamism and innovativeness of my country. It is best illustrated by the multitude of non-English words which enter our vocabulary, and in the changing culinary and artistic tastes of America. Distinctiveness is most cherished by us when it produces the diversity of outlook which we believe to be the essential ingredient of sustained progress in all domains of life.

It is in this spirit that many Americans remain deeply concerned over the fate of minorities close to them whose life and existence may be impaired elsewhere. Who could fault the interest Irish-Americans recently held in events taking place in Londonderry,

or the continued and deep involvement of Black Americans, in particular, in the problems of apartheid and in the civil strife now raging in one part of Africa. These are natural and abiding bonds felt with others of the same ethnic or racial group. While millions of Americans are interested in the welfare of others elsewhere in the world, and have manifested this interest with great generosity in times of distress such as war, famine or earthquake, we appreciate that those closest to the minorities in question feel even the more involved in the welfare of these minorities.

It is in this light that my Delegation has repeatedly spoken out on the matter of protection of the substantial Jewish minority in the Soviet Union—more than three million people.

We wish to note that we read with consuming interest the literature distributed here by the Soviet delegation on this subject. It appears to us, on considered reflection and upon review of material available from many other sources, that the situation, in actual fact, of the Jewish minority in the Soviet Union does not correspond to their legal situation or to the situation described in the distributed literature.

We do not doubt that the Constitution and laws of the Soviet Union place Jews on an equal level with all other Soviet citizens. In fact, however, they appear to suffer from discrimination in employment and opportunities; disabilities in public life; and, most important of all, the Jews are being deprived of the cultural ingredients needed to preserve their separate identity: schooling, training centers for religious leaders and other cultural tools. We have serious doubts as to their ability freely to exercise their religion. May I say in this regard that it is not uncommon for equal protection of the law to exist on paper without a corresponding situation in fact. This discrepancy plagued my country for some time as to its Black minority, and we are still struggling to accomplish an identify of fact and law.

My Delegation was distressed by the contents of the recent petitions to the United Nations Human Rights Commission from Georgian Jewish families. These petitioners are brave people who, we feel, are compelled to cry out for help by the negative circumstances surrounding their life as Soviet Jews. In these last few days, my Delegation was presented with a copy of another petition, which we have every reason to believe is authentic, and which will shortly be delivered by private interested persons to the U.N. Secretariat. I should like to read parts of this petition, which I believe best illustrates the nature of life today for a Soviet Jew.

"It is already two years since my son—a writer—has been expelled from his society and deprived of all means of earning a livelihood. My son and I are forced to exist on my pension, which is 49 rubles. In this letter I shall try to explain for what sins we have been punished so severely.

"My son had never been particularly nationalistic. On the contrary, he had received a true internationalist education. But he found it impossible to overlook the insulting attitude toward his people. He could not ignore the injustices and cruelties, and could not reconcile himself to the degradation of man. He always considered national enmity as the greatest of ills.

"In 1966 my son decided to write a book dealing with the history of the Jewish people, so as to attain mutual understanding between peoples and nations. He was, however, denied the possibility of carrying out this work. Still, my son could not reconcile himself to a situation where one nation is exalted in every way and all its actions are proclaimed to be holy, while another, a small people, is debased in every way.

"Therefore, in 1967 he applied to the Government of Israel with a request that he be admitted as a repatriate. In answer to this

request he received an invitation to come to Israel. The Soviet authorities agreed to consider my son's application for an exit permit only on condition that he give up his Soviet citizenship. He was thus forced to apply to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, stating that he was giving up his Soviet citizenship. He sent this statement on May 31, 1967, but until this day he has received no official written reply—although he has been told orally that his request to give up Soviet citizenship has been denied. At the same time, because he made this statement, he was expelled from the Writers' Committee of the Literary Fund of the USSR and from his trade union—which has deprived him of the possibility of working and of earning a living.

"In answer to his request for employment, the demand was put to him to 'repent'. But what should he repent of? Is devotion to one's own people a crime? Are feelings of human and national dignity forbidden feelings? Has a man no right to defend himself and his people from insults? My son has drunk to the full his cup of suffering and degradation. Around him for many years there existed an atmosphere of anti-Semitism, as a result of which his family disintegrated. Even in his early youth he was expelled from school because he refused to consider his father 'an enemy of the people'. Later, he was prosecuted by the organs of State Security, was prevented from working, and it was demanded of him that he should 'frankly confess' that he had allegedly written an 'anti-Communist Manifesto'.

"In April 1969, my son again received from the Israel Foreign Ministry an invitation for permanent residence. The Soviet authorities, however, on various pretexts, refuse to let him go. I cannot understand why they need him. For two years already, he has been shunted aside from participating in the life of society; he knows no state secrets, he has no intention and no possibility of harming the Soviet State in any way".

We note with interest the Jewish Congress held in Bogota, Colombia, in early September, 1969, attended by delegates from many Latin countries. That Congress decided, after examining all the documentation available, that discrimination against the Jewish minority existed in the Soviet Union. The Congress prepared a petition to the Soviet Government which urged the following:

- (a) That the Jewish minority be permitted to develop a free cultural life;
- (b) That acts which directly or indirectly express hate or Anti-semitic prejudice should be impeded and punished;
- (c) Guarantee Jews the free exercise of their religion in the same manner that is permitted to other religious groups; and
- (d) Recognize that, as provided in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, every person has the right to leave any country and the right to leave or return to his own country.

Other Jewish Congresses recently held in France and Sweden, among others, reached the same result.

We subscribe fully to this call made upon the Soviet Government. We hope that immediate steps will be taken to ameliorate the life of Soviet Jews and that their situation, in fact, will soon correspond to their situation in law. We believe this matter to be of consummate interest to the United Nations.

#### RAILROAD PASSENGER SERVICE

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, recently the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee's Transportation and

Aeronautics Subcommittee, of which I am chairman, was privileged to hear the testimony of Mr. Edward D. Unger, president of Federated Consultants, Inc., and Maj. Gen. John J. Lane, retired, of Consultants International, Inc. Their testimony summarized a report they prepared which deals with intercity rail passenger service in the United States. Following 3 consecutive years of hearings on this topic, their testimony was the first which provided substantial, concrete evidence on costs and minimum rail networks, which the subcommittee could use in considering the many bills before Congress. Their analysis and recommendations came at a time when rail passenger service is on the verge of extinction.

This careful study provides a solid framework within which the committee can consider the serious problems facing passenger service. Their estimates put in factual terms what needs to be done to provide a basic network of necessary passenger service serving the Nation's major metropolitan areas. I think the conclusions of General Lane's and Mr. Unger's study will be helpful to my colleagues in considering pending passenger train legislation, and I include them in the RECORD at this point:

#### RAILROAD PASSENGER SERVICE

(Statement of John J. Lane, Major General U.S. Army (ret.), November 13, 1969)

I am John J. Lane, Maj. Gen. U.S. Army (retired). I have been in the transportation business for twenty years. Before I retired in March of this year, I was the commander, military traffic management and terminal service for four years, an organization which influenced transportation expenditures of over two billion dollars a year. One of my responsibilities was that of supervising the movement of all Department of Defense military personnel in the United States. In 1968 this accounted for about six and one half million passengers of which about 1½ million were moved in groups of ten or more directly by my office. All were moved commercially. Currently, I am working as a transportation management consultant with Consultants International, Inc.

With me is Mr. Edward Unger, economic consultant of Federated Consultants, Inc. We want to thank the chairman of the committee for giving us the opportunity of presenting to you a summary of the results of a study we have made on intercity rail passenger problems. The study was made for the rail foundation, a group of private citizens dedicated to improving rail passenger service and the creation of a modern rail passenger network as part of a balanced passenger system. The comments made by Mr. Unger and by me today are personal and based on our research and experience in the transportation business. They do not reflect the thinking or position of the rail foundation or any other organization.

We recognize that a complete study to resolve all problems relating to rail passenger traffic including operating deficits, condition of service, condition of cars, condition of roadbeds, taxes, labor and regulations, and to form a balanced transportation system could not be accomplished in the time frame available to us if this Congress is to reverse the current trend of rail passenger discontinuances. Accordingly, we have looked at the overall passenger requirements problem, and we have concentrated on those areas which we feel could help reverse the current trend of discontinuances and poor service by providing Congress with a basis for action this year. An action which will still be within any scope of action which may be required at a future date.

Our research indicates that the Government can be faced with a major passenger movement crisis within the next five years. Commenting on a bill which would upgrade the Nation's airports and airways, Mr. Volpe of the Department of Transportation, said in September: "We are on the verge of a real emergency situation calling for prompt remedial action."

An Air Transport Association (ATA) study forecasts that passenger volumes by air alone will increase four fold by 1985. The 1968 figure of 146 million passengers will reach 266 million in 1975 and 669 million by 1985. To the forecast add airport flight requirements for air freight that will increase from 14 million tons enplaned last year to 25.2 in 1985. How such requirements for flights can be handled is not quite clear to anyone at this time.

The cost of providing transportation facilities is not small. It should be kept in mind that a new jet port for New York will cost in the order of \$400 million. Expressways cost around \$10 million per mile in urban areas. Railroad bed rehabilitation costs start at about \$20,000 per mile. In addition, there is strong public reaction developing in this and other cities to converting desirable real estate in and around urban areas to layers of concrete.

What is needed, obviously, is a national transportation policy which requires consideration of all transportation resources in solving the problems of the future. It is a basic mistake to attempt to solve the transportation passenger problems of this country by any single mode. Dr. Nelson, formerly of DOT, has said, "There cannot be effective coordination of transportation at the Federal level so long as the Bureau of Public Roads counts up benefits and costs of highway systems only, and allocates funds for highway construction on that basis; so long as the Federal Aviation Administration reckons benefits and costs of air systems only, and grants funds for airport construction on that basis; so long as the Federal Railroad Administration considers rail systems only and acts on that basis, and so long as the Corps of Engineers totes up benefits and costs of waterway systems only, and expends waterway construction funds on that basis. . . ."

Obviously, development of a national policy is a long range requirement for passenger problems that face us today. Conditions encouraging air and highway travel over the past 20 years have changed considerably in the recent past. Expanding requirements for individual travel have caused a saturation of many of our larger airports and clogged highway access to larger cities during critical periods. Highway accidents and aircraft near misses have caused concern across the country. Real estate in and around our expanding larger cities is either astronomically expensive or not available to meet requirements for future air and highway travel. In the meantime, rail passenger capacity has been drastically curtailed in the past 2 years.

An objective look at all modes of passenger transportation is required as soon as possible so that this nation can meet its requirements for transporting people by establishing a total system which includes all modes and in which each mode complements each other mode without duplication effort. Such a system would provide for meeting all passenger requirements at least cost to the government. It would require an objective reallocation of governmental transportation funds to support the capacity required of each mode. Without the long range objectives of a national policy, problems are handled only on a piecemeal basis and on the basis of solving the problems of each mode separately. This is not to say that all action should be suspended by the government pending an ideal solution to the problem. Some constructive emergency treatment is needed now.

Passenger movement problems are not static. At a point in time where highways and air terminals are facing saturation with projections of increased passenger traffic in the years ahead, we stand at a threshold where rail passenger service is about to be phased out as a future capability if not supported by the government. We should not wait for the ultimate solution of the long range studies which must be made if we are to have any rail passenger service left. Virginia Mae Brown, chairman of the ICC, stated in a letter to Senator Magnuson on 16 July 1969, "The past year has only substantiated our opinion that significant segments of the remaining intercity passenger service, except for service in high density population corridors such as the north-east corridor will not survive the next few years without a major change in Federal or carrier policies."

The causes of deterioration of rail passenger service have been many:

1. Government support of airports and highways with very little to the railroads encouraged movement by air and highway.
2. Declining revenues caused many railroads to lose interest in carrying passengers and resulted in a deterioration of service.
3. The high cost of acquisition of new equipment and the cost of improvement of roadbeds resulted in declining expenditures for capital improvements.
4. Lack of planning by many railroads and lack of a national transportation policy for the movement of people caused deterioration in rail service and diversions to other modes.

5. Approval of discontinuances in isolation without an assessment of the impact of each discontinuance on other rail schedules on a national basis resulted in poor service.

As a result of our three month study, we believe it is the consensus of knowledgeable people in and out of the railroad business that if rail passenger traffic in this country is to continue at all with a level of service acceptable to the public, some kind of public support is required now. An excellent study made by the ICC "Investigation of costs of intercity rail passenger service" published on 16 July 1969 indicates the seriousness of current passenger losses to the railroad industry. Of eight railroads studied, carrying 40 percent of the passenger load, the average loss was fourteen and three-quarter million dollars in 1968. The highest loss for a single railroad was almost 22 million dollars. As a result, railroads cannot be expected to make large capital investments in passenger operations at this time.

Unless our Government embarks on a realistic and immediate solution to the current intercity passenger movement problem, the movement of people will soon become the bottleneck of our expanding economy. Air and road traffic will be super-saturated; rail traffic will be non-existent.

Realistically, the rail mode appears to provide the most promising immediate solution to intercity passenger movement. The railroads do not need more real estate. Their rights of way already provide access to the centers of most cities. Improvement to roadbeds provide freight as well as passenger advantages. They can move masses of people. Resulting air pollution is minimal. The Metroliners already have shown that the public will patronize trains with decent cars and service rather than be subject to the increasingly frequent delays of air traffic on short runs.

If intercity rail passenger traffic is to survive at all, action by this Congress is highly desirable. The rail passenger system needs an immediate transfusion of support if complete collapse is to be circumvented. It is essential that Congress reverse the current trend of discontinuances by providing guidance to the Interstate Commerce Commission, Department of Transportation and the railroads this year and by setting up within

the DOT initial funds and an implementing organization which can carry out the desires of the Congress now and in the future.

To that end and to provide a yardstick for your decisions, our study proposes for the first time we believe a basic intercity network which can be used for development of equipment costs now and for an expanded system as needs arise. Historically, each railroad is an island and operates accordingly. We recommend considering all rail passenger traffic as part of a balanced national system. To that end, we hope that our suggestions will provide the Congress with a basis for concrete action this year which will be well within the parameters which long range studies may develop for future action. Any action by you would be a first step in rescuing this important national asset from further deterioration. A national asset for which I am certain there will be increasing demands in the future.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD D. UNGER, PRESIDENT, FEDERATED CONSULTANTS, INC., WASHINGTON, D.C.

We would like to summarize the results of the study we recently performed for the RAIL Foundation of Washington, D.C.—*A Preliminary Plan for Up-grading the U.S. Inter-City Rail Passenger Fleet*. The study generally concerned with the current and future status of inter-city rail passenger service in the United States. Specifically, we directed our attention to determining the amount of money that would be required to begin rehabilitating and/or replacing the existing fleet, as the basis of a longer-range program of up-grading the entire fleet.

In view of the many bills before this Congress dealing with inter-city rail passenger service, we would like to direct pertinent parts of our findings to the possibility that there may be public investment in the industry. Such public investment should be approached with the fullest knowledge available and in consideration of all alternatives. To this objective we directed our efforts at examining the major historical mistakes which helped create the present situation, how, if those mistakes are rectified it would set the stage for rejuvenating competitive inter-city service, and the number and cost of equipment for an alternative five-year program to begin up-grading the passenger car fleet.

The decline of inter-city service has taken some twenty years to reach its present low level. Virtually all of the data reflecting this period indicates declines in inter-city service. There are, though, a number of identifiable reasons for the decline; some were induced internally within the industry and some were created externally; it all took place, however, in lieu of a national transportation policy.

The basic cause for the current situation is that inter-city passenger service was not responsive to a shift in demand for it. For some seventy-five years trains were the dominant force of public transportation in this country. Its function varied from trans-continental runs to shorter-haul inter-city runs. Regardless of distance most trains developed as extended, continuous path transport modes, beginning at one point and continuing through a number of other points until it arrived at the end of its journey. Each train was a journey by itself, a process that worked well in the absence of competition.

Over-all, the growth of air and highway travel caused a change in the demand for rail travel. Geographical factors in the West and population in the East combined with competing technologies to precipitate the change. At a time when piston planes then jets were providing trans-continental transportation in hours, trains were still operating every day over six routes to the West Coast.

Rigid adherence to daily service in face of declining demand resulted in polarized ridership patterns. Transcontinental routes to the West Coast, for instance, now are most heavily travelled in the summer months, showing 75% capacity utilization for three or four months and 30-40% capacity for the remaining months.

Inter-city service in the more densely populated eastern part of the country declined for more complex reasons. Population became concentrated into metropolitan groupings in all regional subsections of the eastern half of the country. Not only did air and highway travel between these metropolitan areas provide competitively substitutable modes in speed and technology but most importantly did they compete in concept and function. Daily trains still left one city, stopped at numerous others and terminated at another city hundreds of miles away. In the meantime demographic activity was generating a demand for transportation between large metropolitan areas. An increasing volume of travel developed back and forth between the population centers.

At the same time the nation was crisscrossed with standard-gauge tracks. The total number of railroads operating over these tracks, however, was substantial. Railroad passengers, while physically being able to travel virtually anywhere by rail, were faced with a number of different management philosophies.

Even today, there are some twenty-eight individual railroads which provide some type of inter-city service. While this is a dramatically fewer number of railroads than existed previously, it still represents the regional characteristic of our railroads. Each railroad, as you can see from these examples, has its own parameters of track. The whole network is a total of its components—in this case not something efficient by itself. A through-train run by more than one railroad is subject to the individual vagaries of each management. So basic a process as check-through baggage, for instance, may be challenged by a carrier more interested in commuter service. Furthermore, equipment procurement loses economics of scale when each road purchases a small lot with widely varying specifications. Even two or three discontinuance proceedings involved in individual sections of one train reflect the highly regionalized nature of the inter-city system.

Historically the highmark in rail passenger service came just after World War II, with the decline beginning in the 1950's. It was during that period that the competitive effects from other modes began to be reflected in fewer number of passengers and lower revenues. As losses attributable to inter-city trains increased, the common reaction was to reduce those losses by reducing costs. This was accomplished by the singularly narrow method of eliminating one train at a time. Each whole train discontinued under Section 13-A was a reduction in total costs equal to the cost of that train.

Of course, the ancillary result was a rapid decline in the number of trains and level of service. It also precipitated a more than proportionate decline in the volume of equipment ordered and delivered, and provided the impetus for a trend to the repair of equipment aimed at preserving safety often to the abandonment of comfort. A continually deteriorating financial situation simply inhibited continued investment in passenger equipment.

The twenty year decline in inter-city service developed in lieu of a national transportation policy. Each competing mode developed in response to many demands, especially in relation to public activity in its behalf. The highway trust fund bolstered the Interstate Highway System and the Federal Government has the responsibility for building and operating commercial airports. Rail passenger service, throughout, remain independ-

ent of the changing factors which affected its position.

The decline in intercity equipment has more than proportionately reflected the decline in the service itself. The fleet is old and generally tends to be deteriorating at least from the viewpoint of comfort. The last significant orders were delivered in 1956—fourteen years ago. This creates the situation where, even if there is a surplus of equipment for current operations, its age and condition is questionable. Obviously, a public investment program would require a census of equipment using a standard classification schedule.

Our basic objective was to create a desirable level of service, while correcting existing mistakes. We then determined the minimal number of cars which would be needed for this basic system. For the purpose of determining the costs of a program for rehabilitating and replacing the inter-city fleet, we super-imposed existing equipment on the equipment which would be necessary for a basic, desirable level of service. Because it would take up to ten years to completely replace the existing fleet, we assumed a phased five-year program in which to begin rejuvenating inter-city service.

The difficulty in measuring inter-city passengers is carried through in attempting to determine which equipment is used for inter-city travel. Our research, for example, showed a 5% to 15% difference in the number of inter-city cars derived from two reliable sources—AAR Statistics and the Official Rail Equipment Register. Regardless of the overlapping in counting, it was determined that a sufficient volume of equipment exists to begin a rehabilitation/replacement program.

We assumed that the present level of service, including existing equipment, would be the beginning of a comprehensive upgrading program over an extended period of time. On this basis we established two distinct types of service, depending on the unique demand for each.

Conceptually, short-haul service is based on a deviation from existing inter-city service. The key factor was to avoid extended transportation services connecting a series of cities over long distances. It is based on the concept that rail transportation is more competitive in providing frequent service between two discrete points. Such intensive short-haul services involves creation of city-pair links or routes. It creates a shuttle-type effect, with at least one daily-pair of trains between each city pair.

In order to determine economic demand for the high level of investment required, we assumed a short-haul network based on population concentrations, or Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas with populations in excess of 500,000. Axiomatically, a large proportion of the demand for inter-city travel will come from these areas.

Of approximately fifty-five population centers, excluding intra-Northeast Corridors, there are some 75 pairs of cities generally 300 miles or less from each other which form the basic passenger network which can be expected to generate competitive demand for train service.

This short-haul intensive service will require at least one daily pair of trains between each city grouping. Since this is the beginning of a rejuvenated network, it may be anticipated that other city-pairs will generate demand for additional daily trains.

The long-haul network is primarily designed for those routes for which there is a unique demand. The New York to Florida route, for instance, can operate daily at a profit. Some of the Western routes, which are operated at higher capacity during the summer months, may require only three-times-a-week service during the winter.

The smallest number of cars required for the basic intensive service networks is 700

coaches, 100 lounges, 300 foodservice and 100 sleepers; totaling 1,200.

(Throughout, we were concerned with main line coaches, diners, lounges, and sleepers. It was assumed there were enough locomotives available and declining mail and baggage uses obviates the need for more headend cars. We also excluded the Northeast corridor because of the existing level of investment.)

Regardless of the source of information, it is obvious there are sufficient numbers of cars in existence—between 4,500 and 5,000 coaches, diners, lounges, and sleepers. Their usable condition, however, is one of the most speculative questions to be asked.

We arbitrarily determined that to be serviceable, some would require light rehabilitation and the majority medium to heavy rehabilitation.

Absolute cost data for inter-city equipment is extremely ambiguous. Existing equipment is anywhere from 15 to 60 years old. Even the newest equipment would likely require \$10,000 to \$70,000 each to rehabilitate. While these costs are low relative to new car costs, after rebuilding it would still be aging equipment. An accelerated applied research program may provide significant improvements in design and facilities for new equipment. Further, it is widely assumed that most equipment physically lasts less than the 25-30 years depreciation allowed for accounting purposes.

With the 1,200 cars needed, and cost of light rehabilitation and medium to heavy rehabilitation, it would require \$50.2 million to rehabilitate only 1,200 cars in the existing fleet.

However, if there is an alternative investment possibility, and there was only total replacement required, assuming 1,200 cars to begin rehabilitating the network, it would take \$345 million to build the new equipment, and we have estimated somewhere approximately \$4 million for a one-year research program.

New equipment costs can only be estimated on the basis of the few coaches built in the last ten years and by comparison with commuter cars now being built. While new cars would be expensive, they would be new and incorporate new configurations developed during the applied research program. In addition, it may be assumed that new equipment would reduce maintenance costs.

We should like to emphasize the perspective both of these cost charts are to be put in. In the first case, they are to form the nucleus of a rejuvenated system and do not represent the total of all passenger equipment which will be necessary over a long-range program.

They are designed for a five year period and are constructed to be alternative, as either individually or in an evolving program where some cars are rehabilitated while new cars are ordered and delivered. This will give the government the option of phasing programs as events develop. Because short-haul intensive service is a departure from existing concepts, we assume the need for departure from complementary components of inter-city service. Short trains incorporating new technologies will probably reduce manpower demands per individual train.

New technologies will also be required if the system is to be rejuvenated. The most current events point to a change in railroad research and development methods. The preponderance of thought in this country has been towards such exotic developments as the tracked air cushion vehicle. A consortium of three North American companies, conversely, recently acquired the rights to a British process which would permit speeds up to 150 m.p.h. on existing track. The important aspect is that it allows high speeds with existing basic configurations.

For these same reasons we suggest an intense one year, \$4 million applied research program.

### TEN CONGRESSMEN JOIN IN STATEMENT ON GREECE

#### HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the military dictatorship of Greece stands convicted today before the world by its own action in withdrawing from the Council of Europe. The leaders of that dictatorship, minutes before it faced a verdict by 17 European nations on its acts of torture and oppression, pleaded guilty to those charges by fleeing the scene and the council. Let there be no mistake, the dictatorship recognized it could not afford a verdict from honest men and honest nations.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that the days of this dictatorship are numbered. The earlier worldwide condemnation of its oppressive rule by the European Commission on Human Rights, as well as by the resolution of the NATO Assembly, had isolated the Greek dictatorship. Within Greece, political leaders of all tendencies have defied the dictatorship's threats of prison and exile to demand the restoration of free elections, democratic rights, and the rule of law. Even that small part of the population which once supported the junta has been alienated by its cruelties and its pervasive corruption, which surfaced so blatantly in the maneuvers surrounding the Onassis-Niarchos competition for an oil refinery. At the same time the incompetence of the dictatorship has undermined the foundations of the Greek economy. Commerce and industry have stagnated, while the country has gone deeper and deeper into debt. The balance-of-payments deficit for the first 7 months of 1969 exceeds that for any previous full year.

The claims of the dictatorship that anarchy and a Communist takeover led it to overthrow the legal government of Greece has been disproven before the nations of the world. But now, through the actions, corruption, oppression, and torture of that dictatorship, anarchy does threaten.

The question today is not whether the dictatorship will fall, but when and how, and what will happen after its departure. For if the fall of the present dictatorship is significantly delayed, and if the dictatorship, by bribes and promises, should still retain enough support in the armed forces to conduct a last ditch resistance, the results could be tragic. Despite the best efforts of Greek democratic leaders to assure the reestablishment of full legal guarantees for all, the pent-up anger of the Greek people at the dictatorship's atrocities might overflow the channels of legality. At the same time, military resistance by the dictatorship would produce large-scale bloodshed as well as horrible destruction to Greece.

To assure a swift and bloodless restoration of democracy and legality, constructive U.S. action at this point is necessary. Above all, it is essential that the United

States take steps that will leave no doubt in the minds either of the Greek people or the dictatorship of where this country stands.

In order to convince even those military elements who still back the dictatorship because of the favors they have received and expect from it, the United States should stop immediately the shipment of all military aid, and join with other countries to bar the dictatorship's acquisition of weapons through commercial channels. The United States should recognize the stand of the Council of Europe and should support efforts to suspend Greek membership in NATO until Greece restores the democratic rites which NATO was founded to defend. The suspension of arms deliveries and rapid action by the United States also are necessary because of Papadopoulos' threat to apply for admission to the Warsaw Pact.

The friendship of the Greek people for the United States has been traditional. Today the United States should act because of its friendship and kinship to the Greek people, act by denying the oppressors of Greece arms and support.

In addition to making it clear in these ways that we are the allies of the Greek people and not of their oppressors, the United States could help to effect a peaceful transition from dictatorship to democracy by offering to arrange for the removal to exile of members of the present dictatorship. Such an offer would make it possible for the dictatorship to leave without widespread bloodshed and without facing the penalties it deserves for its crimes. Such an offer should remain open only for a short period of time, for if the transition is to be peaceful it must also be swift. A continuation of the dictatorship can only lead to further bloodshed. The safe removal of the leaders of the dictatorship should be arranged only if it is to avoid bloodshed.

The nightmare in Greece may be coming to an end. The decision on whether it is going to end lies both in Greece and in the United States. Firm action by the United States can help now.

Joining me in this statement are GEORGE BROWN, JR., PHILLIP BURTON, JOHN CONYERS, JR., BOB ECKHARDT, DONALD M. FRASER, ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER, ABNER J. MIKVA, BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL, and WILLIAM F. RYAN.

### EFFECTS OF WATERSHED PROJECTS ON WILDLIFE

#### HON. BENJAMIN B. BLACKBURN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago all Members of the House received a letter from me concerning the channelization of the Alcovy River in the State of Georgia. At that time, I presented the Members of this House with an article which I wrote for Field & Stream magazine showing the adverse effects that channelization has upon wildlife.

Since that time a number of Members

have requested additional information concerning the adverse effects of watershed projects upon wildlife. For the information of my colleagues, I am hereby inserting several articles which have come to my attention which I believe will answer any questions on this subject:

STATEMENT ON SMALL WATERSHED PROJECTS  
BEFORE THE GEORGIA GAME AND FISH COMMISSION, ATLANTA, GA., MARCH 20, 1969

(By C. Edward Carlsen, regional director, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, Atlanta, Ga.)

Gentlemen, I am honored to sit with you today to discuss a matter of mutual concern, the continuing despoilation of fish and wildlife habitat. This is but one example of environmental degradation which is going on at an ever-accelerating pace all around us. Air pollution, water pollution, estuarine destruction, urban sprawl are the prices we pay for the cultural developments accompanying our burgeoning human population.

Some are inclined to condone all our abuses of the planet as the cost of *Progress*. I disagree with that philosophy and so does everyone who has taken time to analyze the situation. An awakening public is beginning to appreciate that a check-rein on racehorse exploitation and growth is both a good and a necessary thing, for we have come to realize that conservative management of our environment is essential to the survival of the human race.

Conservation of the fish and wildlife resource is a significant element of the whole. Fish and wildlife are part of the web of life. They are indicators of a healthy environment which grows a healthy people. That, gentlemen, pinpoints our role and responsibility in the scheme of things.

I remember with fondness the waterfowl and squirrel hunting the Alcovy supplied 10 and more years ago, but in the year and a half I have been back in Georgia I have not had the opportunity to become reacquainted with the area. Therefore, I am not going to talk about the Alcovy project per se. I am not adequately familiar with it. I do, however, wish to support Director Bagby's statement concerning the time schedule as it relates to the project. My record shows that we received the watershed data sheets on July 12, 1968. And I do desire to apprise the honorable Representative Sorrells that streambottom hardwoods are indeed choice waterfowl habitat. There are two broad groups of ducks, diving ducks and puddle ducks. The diving ducks are the ones he was referring to which require a "runway" for take-off. The puddle ducks take off like quail and I am sure you are familiar with them.

I wish to spend the few available minutes in talking about stream manipulation projects, and in particular channelization and drainage features which destroy or set the stage for the destruction of fish and wildlife habitat.

Stream modification projects have destroyed between three and four million acres of bottomland hardwoods of significance to waterfowl in the last 20 years in the Southeast alone. In contrast, gentlemen, we have acquired only 158,751 acres of wintering ground habitat for waterfowl from 1948 to 1968 in Region 4 and it has cost \$12,043,325 from our Duck Stamp Funds in the process.

Let me say immediately that not all of these losses have been caused by P.L. 566 projects. Public Works activities authorized by the Congress have also been involved. In some cases these and P.L. 566 projects have been intermeshed on the same stream, one complementing the other. However, the net result has been the same, alteration of fish and wildlife habitat.

[From *Economic Geography*, Vol. 29, No. 3, July 1953]

SETTLEMENT CONTROL BEATS FLOOD CONTROL

(Presented before the Association of American Geographers at Cleveland, March 31, 1953, by Walter M. Kollmorgen, chairman of the Department of Geography, University of Kansas)

In the Kansas River Basin, as well as in many other river basins, there is an urgent need for alternative plans dealing with flood problems. Such plans should be submitted to the public for acceptance or rejection, and they should be submitted with revealing price tags. Under present procedure, the public is confronted with a one-or-nothing program and the proposed program is likely to be extravagant in financial cost as well as in land cost, i.e., land destroyed by permanent flooding. Geographers and other technicians could be very helpful to engineers with a dam-building complex by exploring alternative arrangements to reduce flood losses and translating these various arrangements into plans for public consideration.

FLOODPLAIN CANNIBALISM

Present programs for bringing some measure of flood protection to the Kansas River Basin—and also certain other basins—by the construction of a multiplicity of dams represent an interesting form of floodplain cannibalism. This cannibalism results in part from the common misconception that flood control means control of floods. Since no scheme yet devised will control floods in the Midwest, the tantalizing mirage of "flood control" must lead to a multiplication of dam structures until major portions of our prized alluvial valleys lie buried under a stair-step series of lakes.

Equally interesting is the fact that irreplaceable farm land is being cannibalized by replaceable sites for urban developments. During the 1951 flood, according to the Corps of Engineers, about 90 per cent (\$479,000,000) of the damages experienced along the main stem of the Kansas River occurred in urban areas. It is this large urban loss which is now cited to justify the greatly expanded dam-building program in the Kansas River Basin. To bring a greater measure of protection to these urban areas it is proposed to flood permanently from 150,000 to 200,000 acres of the best agricultural lands in eastern Kansas or in lowlands adjacent to the Kansas River. Flooding these large tracts of lowlands will also blight the economy of many miles of adjacent uplands which are or should be in grass. These lowlands supply large amounts of concentrated feeds to supplement the forage of the uplands. It follows that the present plan of controlling floods is nothing less than a Rube Goldberg dream and one with a frightful price tag.

Let us try to gauge the nature of the appetite of the carnivore many propose to liberate in our floodplains. In 1944 the Pick Plan recommended an expenditure of somewhat less than one billion dollars to bring a reasonable measure of flood protection to the entire Missouri Basin (House Document No. 475). Since then and particularly since 1951 the flood control plans for the Kansas River Basin alone have been so extended and elaborated that in extent, with the result that much of the hill land and slope land has a thin veneer of soil. The Flint Hills of Kansas extending north-south of Topeka and Manhattan are an extreme example of this kind of land. Here lie thousands of acres of land with only a few inches of soil and soil material on a very shallow bedrock. Much of the remaining land has a hardpan within a foot of the surface and bedrock at a depth of two to three feet. This land already presents a serious problem in management because of the tendency to overplow and overgraze. Flooding a third of the floodplain lying in this area will create an almost insoluble problem in soil con-

servation. Many hundreds of upland grazing units within the area will lose a dependable supply of concentrated feeds. In combination, these changes mean more overgrazing, more overplowing, more small, uneconomic farming units, and, most of all, more devastating erosion. These geographic changes seem to be completely ignored by the Army Engineers and also big city pressure groups, who seem to be totally ignorant of where their food comes from and what gives them employment. It is urgent and even imperative that in the problem we face, structural engineering become the handmaiden of geographic engineering if we are to go forward rather than backward in a resource conservation effort. The tragedy of the Pick-Sloan Plan is that it destroys more wealth than it creates, and it achieves this by squandering several billions of dollars of public money.

COST-BENEFIT CLARIFICATION AND RECTIFICATION

It is submitted that geographers and other technicians can make a basic contribution to all water-control and water-management programs by scrutinizing and rectifying a weird structure of fairland economics generally referred to as cost-benefits ratios. This structure has become particularly complicated with the advent of the multiple benefits concept. By magnifying one or several real or imagined benefits, almost any kind of engineering monuments can now be justified. This is particularly true of non-reimbursable benefits because beneficiaries make no special payments for projects developed and so no account can go into the red. If beneficiaries would be required to reimburse the federal Treasury for many of or most of the benefits listed on water-control programs, the entire program would shrink to size and sense overnight.

From the standpoint of landforms and soils, floods have a constructive as well as a destructive side. This should be, but is not, reflected in flood-loss estimates. Consider, for example, the major and unusual flood in the Kansas River Basin in 1951. Some alluvium deposits improved terrain and drainage; other deposits made for an improved soil structure after shallow or deep plowing. Still other deposits of proper texture will prove of value in that they increase the inventory of certain plant foods. Let us briefly consider some of these constructive processes.

Prior to the flood, some floodplain farmland was uneven in elevation, possibly with pockets of water, wet spots or seepage spots. Drainage problems may have made for some waste land or land marginal for farming. The fill or deposits left by the flood obliterated some of the uneven terrain and greatly improved the drainage. Examples of this are not difficult to find. A friend of mine remarked that before the flood he valued his land at \$300 per acre, but after the flood he valued it at \$400 per acre because fill of proper textured material had solved all drainage problems and removed all waste land. Here is an example of where an inventory of flood losses should also include an inventory of flood gain.

Another flood gain that was not uncommon was the deposit of sandy material of limited depth over fine-textured gumbo land. Gumbo land presents problems in management, drainage, and crop production. Several inches of sand deposits can readily be plowed into a gumbo soil, and in combination this mixture greatly improves the working qualities and productivity of the soil. Even deposits of sandy material from 12 to about 24 inches deep were mixed with formerly exposed soil material by deep plowing, that is, plowing three to four feet deep. Plowing at a depth of about three feet cost about \$30 per acre. This expense was associated with the flood loss and was therefore largely paid for by the government. Now it develops that these

deep-plowed fields yielded about 20 bushels more corn per acre than the shallow-plowed fields which had little or no fill or deposits. The result is that plans are now underway to deep-plow other fields with little or no deposits to rejuvenate them or to increase their productivity. In other words, increased yields from many deep-plowed fields in one year paid for this special operation and there are those who believe that deep plowing may become a standard practice in the floodplain to increase soil productivity. Here is another benefit that was not listed to partly offset the flood losses.

It is not necessary here to dwell on the value of new alluvium of proper texture. For several thousands of years these new deposits made a garden spot of the Nile Valley. Now that dams are regulating more and more the flow of that stream and the silt remains behind the dams, Egypt is rapidly approaching productivity and fertilizer problems. Cotton also yields a shorter staple and a more brittle fiber. Closer to home we have the example of the Missouri River floodplain between St. Joseph, Mo., and Sioux City, Iowa. In 1952 farmers in that floodplain boasted some of the best corn and soybean yields they ever experienced—early in the year their lands were flooded and new alluvium was deposited. The flood losses were given wide publicity; the high yields that followed have hardly been noted. Here again, only the losses are stressed and magnified, partly to justify big engineering works.

That too much stress has been given to land destruction is well indicated in news releases by agricultural specialists at Kansas State College, Manhattan. Under the date of Sept. 11, 1951, Manhattan, Kansas, comes this news item:

"Flood a Soil Aid—K-State Scientist Says Most of the Kaw Valley Will Produce Better as a Result—Can Build Up the Sand—Only Loamy Earth Is Damaged by Deposits—Some Drainage Problems Erased.

"A Kansas State College soil scientist says a large part of the land flooded by the Kansas river in July will produce better crops in the future because of the flood.

"Describing the popular conception of soil damage as 'grossly exaggerated,' Harry C. Atkinson, associate professor of soils, said the sandy soil many persons think is ruined will be the best sweet potato and watermelon land in the valley within a short time.

"Atkinson and W. A. Badgley, USDA soil scientist, have been surveying the north side of the Kansas river from Wamego to Lawrence since April. They have run a spot survey of the north valley from Wamego to Lawrence, but will not complete their detailed survey until 1952.

"Atkinson said it is too early to give figures, but he estimated that only 10 to 20 per cent of the severely flooded land on which all crops were lost has been damaged by the flood.

"The other 80 to 90 per cent, he said, eventually will yield better crops.

"Pictures the college has of sand deposits after the 1903 flood show they now are part of land that is selling for \$400 to \$600 an acre, Atkinson said.

"Once the sandy soil is built up with organic material it will produce alfalfa, sweet potatoes, corn and other crops—the same as the 1903 sandbars have been doing consistently, he said.

"Sand deposits on loam soil are detrimental, he continued, but sand on sand makes no change in the ability of the soil to produce. Sand on clay is beneficial so far as workability of the land is concerned.

"We've heard nothing but bad news from the flood," he said. "Besides enriching a large part of the river valley land, it filled in some low spots that were formerly drainage problems. Now they will drain off."

"Where raging water scoured and cut away top soil, it definitely lowered the productivity

and the value of the soil, he said, but those washed away spots are not completely sterile and will produce lighter crops.

"Atkinson's survey shows much of the flooded land is richer with elements needed for crop production than it was before the flood. There is little or no need for fertilizers except on land with heavy sand deposits, he said, and they need nitrogen added." (Kansas City Times, Sept. 12, 1951.)

The foregoing estimate, it should be noted, comes from a soil scientist who was in the process of studying the flooded lands.

Present methods of figuring cost benefits also do not make allowances for the disturbed hydrological conditions which follow the impounding of large bodies of water in floodplains. Suppose a dam about 100 feet high is thrown across a floodplain and impounds a lake with a depth somewhat less than 100 feet. Ground-water conditions will be disturbed for many miles above the upper part of the lake and deterioration of land will follow. Moreover, the stream debauching into the lake will have its gradient disturbed, will drop part of its sediment before it reaches the lake, and will experience a rapid process of aggradation. Before long it will meander frequently and widely over the floodplain, leaving stranded bridges, causing road problems of many kinds, and also bringing many losses to farmers. A realistic method of cost-benefits computation would have to provide for much land deterioration and loss above impounded lakes, particularly in wide floodplains with gradual slopes.

Many other peculiar cost-benefit manipulations serve to justify a clutter of dams in the wide floodplains of the Midwest. Multiple benefits are usually mixed into this fruitcake which is then wrapped as a gift package. Although flood mitigation may be the main purpose in building a dam, other benefits may be assigned to irrigation, power development, and river navigation. However, these multiple benefits usually create a conflict in purpose. For example, for irrigation, navigation, and hydro-electric power, water needs to be stored in large quantity, but for flood control reservoirs should be empty when a flood season threatens. To serve these partly conflicting purposes, a great reservoir is built, at tremendous cost in money and irreplaceable land, which can be kept partly filled and partly empty.

Particularly the benefits assigned to navigation have no basis in fact or in promise. Expenditures on the Missouri River to bring water navigation to Sioux City are rapidly reaching the half-billion dollar mark. This program was inaugurated in the 30's in terms of a 6-foot channel and this was largely achieved by the early 40's. The traffic at that time, however, needed to be nearly 1000 per cent greater than it was to justify the development costs. Subsequently a 9-foot channel became the objective, and this has largely been achieved. Even with this channel depth, the recent traffic on the river is but an insignificant proportion of the tonnage projected to justify development costs. It is still correct to say that the real cargo hauled on the river needs to be increased by over 1000 per cent to justify the money thrown into the muddy Missouri to make it navigable. Compounding this nonsense, the government has even placed its own barges on the river and thereby increased the waste of the taxpayer's money, for during most years these barges have lost money for the government although they are not required to pay one cent for the use of this expensive waterway. To flood even one acre of good farm land to achieve this sort of waterway is a social, economic, and political iniquity.

GEOGRAPHIC ENGINEERING WILL MITIGATE FLOOD LOSSES

In the lower Kansas River Basin as much as one-half of the best floodplains may be destroyed by present and proposed dams.

Justification for the destruction of so much good land is based on flood losses, particularly losses which occurred in 1951. These losses, however, are largely the result of unwise encroachment on the floodplain, particularly city developments. Losses of personal property and permanent improvements were far greater than land and crop losses. Proper geographic engineering with a limited amount of structural engineering could have reduced the latter losses to a small percent of the actual losses, and these limited losses in turn would not have justified the expensive clutter of dams now proposed.

Farmers farm floodplains by necessity but urban and industrial developments in the Missouri Basin encroach on floodplains by choice and not by necessity. No basic resource is lost by zoning enough floodplain land against improvements to allow a stream several stream widths between dikes in urban and industrial areas. If such a program of set-back dikes had been developed in urban areas prior to recent floods, there would have been no big urban losses, basin-wide losses would have been much smaller, and no justification in terms of cost-benefits would have sanctioned the extravagant program of development now underway. Under present plans we will flood many hundreds of acres of the finest agricultural land in the state to protect one acre of urban floodplain land which has only limited site value for improvements that could readily be shifted to secure upland locations.

Farm losses could also be greatly reduced by geographic engineering. Again we refer to the floodplain of the Kansas River for an example. This floodplain has an average width of somewhat more than two miles. At least up to the great flood of 1951, farmers always considered it their privilege to build farmsteads within a stone's throw of the stream. It was this indiscriminate location of farmsteads on the floodplain that contributed to heavy farm losses. Yet, within sight of all these farmsteads, and usually within a distance of less than one mile, there are extensive high and dry uplands ample to accommodate all these misplaced farmsteads. Many of these farmers already negotiate distances of one or several miles to scattered tracts of farmland. Geographic engineering could serve to zone all the flood-threatened areas against farmsteads, and government aid could be extended to relocate improvements now in danger areas. In combination with this program, flood danger could be mitigated by building small wet and dry dams in V-shaped tributary valleys rather than on floodplains several miles wide. Instead of considering this arrangement, which would cost but a fraction of the present big dam program, we are in the process of extinguishing up to 50 per cent of our floodplain in eastern Kansas, which, among other things, will drive more farmers onto the thin erosive soils of the hills.

Summarizing the above observations gives these interesting results:

1. Urban and industrial losses would be largely obviated by set-back levees and zoning and thus cancel the biggest share of the assessed benefits which now justify big dams.

2. Farm improvements in valleys several miles or less in width would be zoned to flood-free elevations and therefore cancel the second highest assessed benefits which now largely justify the big dams.

3. Crop losses on wide floodplains would be mitigated by damming narrow tributary valleys—largely V-shaped valleys—but occasionally losses would be accepted on this usually highly productive land.

4. Land and soil destruction by flooding is largely a myth and therefore does not justify flooding out one set of farmers behind dams to save another set of farmers below the dams.

5. Water navigation on the Missouri as a cheap mode of transportation is a total myth and justifies no expenditures whatsoever.

In combination, the above observations and facts suggest very clearly that flood-control planning and execution is not a task that should be entrusted alone to military technicians. Flooded floodplains are in no way to be compared to an enemy, although our attack on flood problems suggests the lavish expenditures of money and resources thrown into a military campaign. Geographic engineering directed at settlement control can resolve many of the flood-loss problems. Only a secondary role in this effort should be assigned to structural engineers to impound waters in narrow V-shaped valleys and to erect set-back dikes in metropolitan areas. In this way our collective wealth and welfare will be enhanced and not lie buried under vast inland lakes.

#### STATEMENT ON CHANNELIZATION

(By Georgia Conservancy, Inc., 1025 Candler Building, Atlanta, Ga.)

To the Honorable Clifford Hardin, Secretary, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Mr. Secretary: The public is becoming increasingly aware of the aesthetic, recreational, and scientific values of free-flowing rivers and streams. Consequently, stream channelization as practiced by the Soil Conservation Service is no longer viewed as being in the public interest, but it is now regarded as willful destruction of valuable outdoor resources. We note that channelization is often used to artificially adjust benefit-cost ratios to make the construction of dams appear economically attractive.

The public's objection to stream channelization is further compounded when it is realized that the Soil Conservation Service would spend millions of tax dollars to work in direct opposition to two other publicly financed federal programs. These programs are improvement of wildlife habitat and outdoor recreational opportunities administered by the Department of the Interior, and the Soil Bank program administered by the Department of Agriculture.

Channelization is an evil in itself: The flagrant destruction of our natural outdoor resources. But, to force the public to finance it during times of high taxation, in direct opposition to other tax supported programs, is an outrage.

We say that if dams are needed to provide people with water and genuine outdoor recreational opportunities, then let the dams be built and justified on their own merits. We do not oppose the construction of reservoirs for valid public benefit, but we strongly oppose the needless sacrifice of our remaining natural streams, and the callous waste of tax dollars by the Soil Conservation Service through its channelization policies.

#### THE EFFECTS OF CHANNELIZATION UPON THE FISH POPULATIONS OF LOTIC WATERS IN EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA

(By Jack Bayless and William B. Smith, North Carolina Wildlife Resources Commission, Raleigh)

#### ABSTRACT

This paper concerns an evaluation of the effects of habitat alteration associated with stream channelization in eastern North Carolina. The evaluation was based upon a comparison of fish populations found in 23 channelized streams, and 36 proximate natural streams within the Chowan, Neuse, Northeast Cape Fear, Pamlico, Perquimans, and Tar River Watersheds.

These comparisons indicated that reductions in the magnitude of 90 percent occurred both in weight of game fish per acre, and in number of game fish exceeding six inches total length per acre, following channelization.

The data further revealed that no significant return towards the natural stream population occurred within a 40-year period following channelization.

For some time, fishery workers have realized that alteration of habitat caused by a formal program of channelization of natural stream beds to obtain better drainage and to reduce flooding of surrounding croplands was detrimental to indigenous fish populations. Until now, however, the extent of damages to fishery resources have not been fully evaluated, but the increasing number of channelization projects and particularly their encroachment upon larger and better fishing streams demand that a careful estimate of the fishery losses be made and mitigation of demonstrable damages be sought on behalf of the fishermen.

In North Carolina alone, for example, 235 watersheds have been deemed feasible for assistance under Public Law 566. A total of 62 watershed improvement project applications involving some 2,900,000 acres have already been authorized for planning and 400 miles of streams have been altered or are under construction as of this writing. In addition P.L. 566 projects, many miles of streams have been altered by other agencies. Unfortunately, accurate estimates of the total mileage of streams affected in North Carolina are not available.

When these channelization projects are considered individually, the losses to the fishery resources often appear insignificant because they usually affect small streams. This concept is very misleading in light of a recently completed survey and classification of streams in North Carolina which demonstrated that the small, black-water streams of eastern North Carolina produce some of the best game fish populations to be found in the State. Even if these streams were not so valuable individually, collectively they represent a sizable portion of the public fishing waters. The detrimental effects of excessive siltation and more rapid water-level fluctuations in the receiving waters downstream also must be considered when channelization of the magnitude described above is encountered.

In view of detrimental aspects of stream channelization, data were compiled from various sources to indicate impact of stream channeling upon resident fish populations and more specifically the effects upon game fishes. Correlation of past effects with project types should yield: some gross means for assessing the probable damages that could be anticipated from future projects; possible means for avoiding losses to sport-fishery resources; and mitigation measures for losses which are absolutely unavoidable.

Data used were principally those contained in Survey and Classification Reports upon the Chowan, Neuse, Northeast Cape Fear, Pamlico, Perquimans, and Tar River Watersheds issued by the North Carolina Wildlife Resources Commission. From these data, plus intensive field observations, a total of 23 channelized streams, and 36 proximate natural counterpart streams, were selected (See Figures 1, 2, and 3).

Comparisons between fish populations found in natural streams and channelized streams definitely revealed that stream channelization has serious detrimental effects upon total carrying capacity, number of game fish exceeding six inches in total length, and weight of game fish per surface acre. There is also a significant reduction in average size of the fishes. No appreciable alteration in the ratio between game and nongame species was found.

The channelized streams used in this study were separated into three distinct ecological classifications according to a slight modification of those proposed by Van Deusen (See Figures 1, 2, and 3).<sup>1</sup> Often channelization disrupted physical characteristics and al-

<sup>1</sup> Van Deusen, R. D., A simplified technique for classifying streams useful in fishery and related resources management. The Progressive Fish-Culturist, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 14-19.

tered fish populations so drastically that it was difficult to determine what the ecological classification of a stream might have been prior to alteration. In such a case, the stream was assigned the same ecological classification as applied to adjacent natural streams of the same approximate size.

With the exception of a greater reduction in the average size of game fishes in the Largemouth-Pickerel streams, there was no appreciable variation in effects of channelization upon fish populations in the three ecological stream types studied (Figure 4). Average reduction per acre for each stream type in the number of game fishes exceeding six inches in total length was generally in the magnitude of 90 percent. Reduction in standing crop approximated 80 percent, and loss in weight of game fishes was approximately 85 percent.

Although percentage loss in the stream types was similar, there was a much greater numerical loss of game fishes exceeding six inches in length, as well as in average weight of game fishes, from the Redfin-Warmouth streams because this stream type invariably contained a much larger standing crop.

When averages from all of the channelized streams used in this report are compared with averages from all of the natural streams, each of the eleven major species of game fishes evidences a significant loss in average number per acre, average weight per acre, and average number exceeding six inches in total length. Alteration of habitat apparently has a more serious adverse effect upon the redfin pickerel, chain pickerel, redbreast sunfish, and largemouth bass; while the bluegill, pumpkinseed, and warmouth appear to be somewhat less seriously affected.

Estimates of the original fish populations found in a stream prior to dredging were predicated upon the assumption that they were equivalent to those currently found in comparable adjacent natural streams. A quantitative estimate of the effects of dredging upon any single species, therefore, is strongly influenced by the number of that species found in the counterpart natural stream. For example, the numerical loss of yellow perch from Largemouth-Pickerel streams is far greater than from Robin-Warmouth streams because the former type of stream naturally contains many more yellow perch in the original standing crop (Figure 4).

Wherever possible, the elapsed time between channelization and population sampling was established. Average weight of game fisheries per surface acre, and number of game fish exceeding six inches in total length per acre, were grouped according to the period of time that had elapsed since construction of channels. From these data, it is apparent that recovery toward a natural game-fish population is very slow, and presumably the population will never recover, if the channels are properly maintained in the interest of flood prevention.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

In North Carolina, the Wildlife Resources Commission, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Soil Conservation Service, and the local sponsors of Public Law 566 projects, are co-operatively seeking means for accomplishing a mutually satisfactory program. Progressing toward this end, several proposals for alleviating unavoidable losses have been developed. Although the relative efficacy of individual proposals has not been fully evaluated and may not be applicable in every situation, nevertheless, they are listed below in hope they will be of value to other agencies facing similar problems.

1. Block off oxbows with spoil from stream channels to provide permanent ponds.
2. Replace fish producing waters lost during channelization with impounded water on an acre-for-acre basis.
3. Construct small, deep ponds adjacent to

channels to serve as sanctuaries for fishes during periods of low water.

4. Off-set the dredged channel from the natural channel to maintain water in the natural stream bed.

5. When a natural stream parallels the main river for an appreciable distance above the confluence, cut the channel directly into the main river.

6. At every opportunity, use flood-water retarding structures or clearing and snagging instead of channelization.

FIGURE 1.—Location of study areas in eastern North Carolina: Site locations for dredged and natural stream comparisons

ROBIN-WARMOUTH, CLASS 2

Width: 0-30.  
Depth: Mod., abundant pools.

Flow: 0-50.  
Summer temp.: Warm.  
Turb.: Varies.  
Bottom: Sand, muck, silt.  
Alk. pH: Varies.  
Fauna: Robin, other Centrarchids, Creek Chubs.  
Other: Typical medium size Piedmont stream.

Name of stream	Average game fish per acre 6 inches and greater in total length	Game fish			Average number of nongame fish per pound
		Average total pounds per acre	Average weight (pounds) per acre	Average number per pound	
<b>Group 1:</b>					
Burgaw creek <sup>1</sup>	8.0	11.5	5.7	11.2	221.6
Long Creek	520.0	207.8	174.6	4.2	75.0
Rileys Creek	182.3	239.8	145.1	1.9	4.8
<b>Group 2:</b>					
Middle Swamp <sup>1</sup>	91.8	76.6	35.8	9.8	53.5
Slough Creek <sup>1</sup>	24.9	13.8	10.7	9.9	379.0
Aycock Swamp	133.4	65.0	40.0	27.5	59.8

<sup>1</sup> Dredged stream.

FIGURE 2.—Location of Study Areas in Eastern North Carolina: Site locations for dredged and natural stream comparisons

LARGEMOUTH-PICKEREL, CLASS 4

Width: Over 10'.  
Depth: Mod., deep pools.  
Flow: Over 5.

Summer temp.: Cool.  
Turb.: Clear.  
Bottom Predominantly sand.  
Alk. pH.: Low.  
Fauna: L.M.B., Chain Pickerel, Robin.  
Other: Blackwater upper Coastal Plain streams. Highly stained.

Name of stream	Average game fish per acre 6 inches and greater in total length	Game fish			Average number of nongame fish per pound
		Average total pounds per acre	Average weight (pounds) per acre	Average number per pound	
<b>Group 1:</b>					
Broad Creek <sup>1</sup>	36.0	30.5	6.1	31.8	52.2
Pantego Creek <sup>1</sup>	0.0	13.5	1.0	45.0	180.5
Bath Creek	688.6	615.3	251.0	7.7	7.6
Lower Dowry Creek	525.0	197.7	192.0	4.3	253.5
Pungo Creek	100.0	139.2	63.6	5.5	97.5
<b>Group 2:</b>					
Grindle Creek <sup>1</sup>	10.3	25.8	3.2	40.7	345.0
Swift Creek <sup>1</sup>	4.3	111.9	1.4	37.2	51.5

<sup>1</sup> Dredged stream.

FIGURE 3.—Location of study areas in eastern North Carolina: Site locations for dredged and natural stream comparisons

REDFIN-WARMOUTH, CLASS 11

(Dredged and comparator streams by ecological classification)

Width: 0-30'.  
Depth: No pool or riffle.

Name of stream	Average game fish per acre 6 inches and greater in total length	Game fish			Average number of nongame fish per pound
		Average total pounds per acre	Average weight (pounds) per acre	Average number per pound	
<b>Group 2—Continued</b>					
Batchelders Creek	119.8	87.6	61.2	6.8	50.7
Chicod Creek	85.8	79.8	36.4	14.6	27.4
Town Creek	164.6	597.7	71.2	5.3	2.7
Tranters Creek	255.0	270.3	73.8	16.0	11.1
<b>Total average:</b>					
Dredged	12.7	45.4	2.9	38.7	157.3
Natural	277.0	283.9	107.0	8.6	65.1

Flow: 0-20 cfs Imp.  
Summer temp.: Warm.  
Turb.: Clear.  
Bottom: Sand, muck, detritus.  
Alk. pH.: Low.  
Fauna: Redfin pickerel, Warmouth, Flier.  
Other: Swamp drainage stream of Coastal Plains.

Stream name	Average game fish 6 inches plus length average number per acre	Game fish			Nongame fish average number of fish per pound
		Average total pounds per acre	Average number of fish per pound	Average weight (pounds) per acre	
<b>Group 1:</b>					
Eagle Swamp <sup>1</sup>	11.1	14.2	40.2	10.5	231.0
Quinerly Creek <sup>1</sup>	81.9	45.2	9.6	39.7	240.0
Briery Run	60.0	68.0	17.3	40.0	46.5
Core Creek	374.7	147.9	10.2	70.4	43.3
Moselys Creek	41.2	52.7	7.6	25.5	4.1
<b>Group 2:</b>					
Cannon Swamp <sup>1</sup>	0.0	7.5	0.0	0.0	463.0
Clayroot Swamp <sup>1</sup>	60.0	30.1	9.9	14.1	31.2
Fork Swamp <sup>1</sup>	117.8	74.1	10.7	39.1	14.8
Johnsons Mill Run <sup>1</sup>	18.1	4.4	8.3	3.3	321.5
Cow Swamp	650.0	189.3	12.5	131.1	102.6
Creeping Swamp	150.0	39.0	7.9	28.0	37.3
Hardee Creek	100.0	67.7	11.4	31.5	168.5
Juniper Branch	400.0	295.9	11.1	106.4	78.5
Palmetto Swamp	455.2	176.2	9.2	86.2	28.4
<b>Group 3:</b>					
Black Swamp <sup>1</sup>	125.0	132.5	23.9	57.5	44.4
Conetoe Creek <sup>1</sup>	6.4	17.9	17.8	2.7	129.6
Bynum Mill Creek	625.0	364.9	11.0	182.4	86.3
Cokey Swamp	203.1	167.7	7.8	73.8	13.6
Kitten Creek	866.6	199.2	11.7	93.8	104.2
Otter Creek	1,550.0	658.1	7.7	343.1	23.5
Tyson Creek	433.3	324.2	19.7	210.7	101.5

<sup>1</sup> Dredged stream.

Stream name	Average game fish 6 inches plus length average number per acre	Game fish			Nongame fish average number of fish per pound
		Average total pounds per acre	Average number of fish per pound	Average weight (pounds) per acre	
<b>Group 4:</b>					
Bear Grass Swamp <sup>1</sup>	25.0	31.6	11.9	16.9	37.4
Flat Swamp <sup>1</sup>	14.3	76.9	26.4	3.2	68.8
Turkey Swamp <sup>1</sup>	40.0	27.2	23.8	10.9	157.0
Briery Swamp	1,266.0	544.0	10.6	209.0	27.1
Collie Swamp	2,666.0	1,264.0	10.5	594.0	10.2
<b>Group 5:</b>					
Burnt Mill Creek <sup>1</sup>	28.6	41.4	31.9	30.0	386.5
Yeopim River	317.0	210.2	8.9	148.5	158.0
<b>Group 6:</b>					
Ahoskie Creek <sup>1</sup>	55.5	16.3	6.4	15.6	301.6
Cutawhiskie Creek <sup>1</sup>	0.0	239.7	59.7	6.7	31.2
Flat Swamp <sup>1</sup>	0.0	39.9	35.7	5.7	585.0
Horse Swamp <sup>1</sup>	14.3	25.7	38.3	12.7	105.5
Chinkapin Creek	60.0	47.0	13.2	21.5	95.3
Deep Creek	0.0	108.3	37.1	28.3	41.8
Potecasi Creek	100.0	80.1	24.6	43.4	23.6
Stoney Creek	88.3	65.3	9.4	20.0	161.5
Urahaw Swamp	200.0	306.3	35.6	173.0	21.8
Urahaw Swamp	650.0	287.5	18.3	170.0	19.6
Whiteoak Swamp	1,500.0	1,000.0	18.0	250.0	59.5
<b>Total average:</b>					
Dredged	37.4	51.6	23.6	16.8	196.0
Natural	555.0	289.5	14.4	134.0	63.3

## COMPARATIVE PRODUCTION DATA FOR DREDGED AND NATURAL STREAMS

Game species	Averages for class 2—"Robin-Warmouth" streams						Averages for class 4—"Largemouth-Pickereel" streams					
	Average number per acre		Average weight (pounds) per acre		Game fish per acre greater than 6 inches total length		Average number per acre		Average weight (pounds) per acre		Game fish per acre greater than 6 inches total length	
	N <sup>1</sup>	D <sup>2</sup>	N <sup>1</sup>	D <sup>2</sup>	N <sup>1</sup>	D <sup>2</sup>	N <sup>1</sup>	D <sup>2</sup>	N <sup>1</sup>	D <sup>2</sup>	N <sup>1</sup>	D <sup>2</sup>
Redfin Pickerel.....	118.4	11.1	11.9	1.3	70.7	5.2	5.6	18.9	0.2	0.4	1.4	3.8
Chain Pickerel.....	12.4	9.0	20.0	3.4	12.4	6.2	92.1	1.0	24.1	Tr	63.9	-----
Mud Sunfish.....	6.9	-----	.9	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Flier.....	40.1	9.6	4.3	.4	13.0	-----	13.2	1.1	.7	Tr.	1.0	-----
Warmouth.....	59.9	70.6	3.3	4.9	9.0	10.4	114.9	9.3	9.1	.5	32.4	1.0
Redbreast Sunfish.....	206.8	3.4	37.1	.5	105.9	1.3	46.6	-----	7.7	-----	19.3	-----
Pumpkinseed.....	35.9	22.9	1.7	1.7	-----	4.1	171.4	48.2	10.6	.8	21.8	6.0
Bluegill.....	152.9	34.7	2.9	3.0	7.9	8.3	150.2	20.6	12.3	1.0	28.8	2.0
Largemouth Bass.....	19.5	5.6	12.7	1.8	14.6	5.6	46.0	2.4	13.2	Tr.	13.0	-----
Black Crappie.....	10.0	3.0	1.6	Tr.	5.5	-----	11.8	3.1	2.1	Tr.	6.7	-----
Yellow Perch.....	1.9	-----	.6	-----	1.0	-----	114.1	-----	23.3	-----	88.2	-----
Total.....	664.7	169.9	97.0	17.0	240.0	41.1	765.9	104.6	103.3	2.7	276.5	12.8

  

Game species	Averages for class 11—"Redfin-Warmouth" streams						Averages for all ecological classifications—2, 4, and 11					
	Average number per acre		Average weight (pounds) per acre		Game fish per acre greater than 6 inches total length		Average number per acre		Average weight (pounds) per acre		Game fish per acre greater than 6 inches total length	
	N <sup>1</sup>	D <sup>2</sup>	N <sup>1</sup>	D <sup>2</sup>	N <sup>1</sup>	D <sup>2</sup>	N <sup>1</sup>	D <sup>2</sup>	N <sup>1</sup>	D <sup>2</sup>	N <sup>1</sup>	D <sup>2</sup>
Redfin Pickerel.....	953.0	53.7	72.7	4.7	533.0	19.1	633.0	41.1	48.5	3.5	344.0	14.7
Chain Pickerel.....	83.0	4.3	17.9	1.2	40.7	3.5	74.1	4.3	14.6	1.1	34.2	3.3
Mud Sunfish.....	73.4	9.5	5.4	0.9	2.2	1.1	62.0	6.6	3.6	0.6	3.2	0.8
Flier.....	102.8	33.1	6.4	0.5	6.6	-----	75.1	24.5	5.0	0.5	7.2	-----
Warmouth.....	141.0	103.3	9.2	3.3	11.5	7.6	122.5	81.9	7.9	3.9	13.7	6.9
Redbreast Sunfish.....	108.5	7.6	20.6	0.4	47.5	1.0	115.5	5.8	19.2	0.3	51.8	0.8
Pumpkinseed.....	157.5	59.2	5.5	1.6	-----	0.3	140.5	47.2	5.5	1.4	4.2	0.7
Bluegill.....	193.5	142.5	3.5	1.5	3.0	0.9	179.5	114.6	5.4	1.6	8.2	2.1
Largemouth Bass.....	12.3	2.9	2.1	0.3	3.5	1.0	20.5	3.2	6.1	0.4	8.4	1.5
Black Crappie.....	5.3	6.8	0.5	0.1	2.0	-----	7.4	5.8	1.0	Tr.	3.5	-----
Yellow Perch.....	26.6	19.5	1.3	0.8	4.5	2.8	41.3	13.6	4.0	0.6	21.5	1.9
Total.....	1,856.9	442.4	145.1	15.3	654.5	37.3	1,471.4	348.6	120.8	13.9	499.9	32.7

<sup>1</sup>Natural streams.  
<sup>2</sup>Dredged streams.

#### REPORT ON THE EFFECTS OF CHANNELIZATION AND DRAINING BY THE U.S. SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE IN WATERSHEDS IN GEORGIA

(By George T. Bagby, director, State game and fish commission)

The President's Council on Recreation and Natural Beauty made up of the Vice President, Secretary of Interior, Secretary of Commerce, T.V.A., Secretary of Agriculture, and other department heads had this to say about water resource projects in their book "From Sea to Shining Sea." I quote:

"The Council proposes that Federal flood control and other water resource development programs and projects seek to retain or restore natural channels, vegetation, and fish and wildlife habitats on rivers, streams, and creeks and apply the same policy to federally assisted public and private projects affecting rivers, streams, and creeks."

Under the provisions of Public Law 566, the U.S. Soil Conservation Service is authorized to plan and construct with Federal money projects to prevent flood damage and erosion, and to store flood water for municipal and industrial water supplies, irrigation, and recreation.

Public Law 566 does not give veto power over these projects to state game and fish commissions. It does require the U.S. Soil Conservation Service to submit copies of plans to the state game and fish commissions and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.

These two agencies are required by the law to make comments to the Soil Conservation Service on what effects the proposed project plans would have on fish and wildlife. This advice is not binding on the SCS in any way, and that agency can completely disregard the comments of wildlife agencies if they choose.

This has frequently been the case in the last decade since the 566 law was passed. Today, the game and fish agencies of most of our sister states are embroiled in constant conflict with the SCS because of the extensive and widespread damage these projects

do to fish and wildlife habitat, primarily from dredging of stream beds and draining of wildlife wetlands, especially riverbottom hardwoods.

Such destructive projects are a national conservation issue. Only last October, the Southern Division of the American Fisheries Society adopted a resolution calling on the SCS, TVA, and the Corps of Engineers to halt any further watershed projects until an economic evaluation can be made of the value of fishing, hunting, boating, and other recreational values of the small streams affected.

Our sister wildlife agencies in the states of North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, and Louisiana, to name only a few, have strenuously protested this destruction. The position has been supported fully by the Southeastern Association of Game and Fish Commissioners, and by many state and national conservation organizations. In this connection, I would like to quote a statement by Mr. Charles Kelley, Director of the State of Alabama's wildlife agency, made in his report as president of the Southeastern Association of Game and Fish Commissioners at their 1967 conference in New Orleans:

"A major problem existing in my state at this time concerns watershed projects. The original concept was to design, through federal assistance, watershed projects in such a manner as to improve the renewable natural resources within the watersheds. From the very beginning, public monies have often been used to develop agricultural resources which directly benefit the individual landowner at the sacrifice of such public resources as fish and wildlife: the loss of which is felt by many people. From the trout streams in North Carolina to the shores of the gulf coast, channelization has played havoc with our valuable fish and wildlife habitat."

"Fish and wildlife losses, as a result of channelization of one watershed stream when examined alone, may appear to be insignifi-

cant. Not only will stream channelization destroy the fishery resource of the watershed stream itself, but channelization destroys the spawning habitat for such species as wall-eyed pike, sauger, and white bass. Without adequate stream spawning habitat, these species will ultimately disappear or be greatly reduced."

"Not only is channelization detrimental to the fishery resources, but it destroys feeding and occupational habitat for a number of game and furbearing animals and the wood duck."

"... If fish and wildlife losses were given proper consideration as a factor in arriving at the cost benefit ratio of the watershed, I am sure that in many cases impoundments would replace channelization in order to arrive at a cost benefit ratio figure which would assure federal funds for the project."

"Fish and wildlife organizations can no longer stand still and watch our natural stream areas turned into man-made ditches devoid of fish and wildlife. We must continue our efforts to gain greater appreciation of our fish and wildlife resources, or most surely we will suffer to an even greater extent in the future."

The destructive effect of channelization and drainage of fish and wildlife is well documented. A study by the North Carolina Wildlife Resources Commission of 23 streams that have been channeled shows that 90 percent of the game fish were lost, both by weight and number. It is important to note that 40 years after channelization there was no significant improvement in the fish population. A Mississippi study before and after a stream was channeled showed drastic reductions of the game fish. In a stream that once had an average of 240 pounds of game fish per acre before channelization, afterward this was reduced to only five pounds of tiny game fish.

We all know that drainage of wetlands means the annihilation of ducks and other waterfowl. Such areas serve as refuges for deer, rabbits, squirrel, raccoon, and many species of furbearing animals.

There are 164 of these watershed projects planned on every major fishing stream or lake in Georgia or just upstream from it. Each one of them includes plans for dredging streams and draining wetlands that are essential for wildlife. Forty-six of these projects have already been approved for construction, and 14 have been completed. A list of these projects is attached to this report.

We have seen these projects and the destruction that they have already caused to wildlife and fishing in Georgia. We are going to show you some pictures of some of these projects in a few minutes so that you can judge for yourself the destruction that they do. After that, we will give the other concerned persons present today a chance to be heard.

But first, I want to clarify for this commission and the public the position which our department has taken on the watershed project proposed on the Alcovy River above Lake Jackson in Gwinnett, Walton, and Newton counties.

The false statement has been deliberately and maliciously made that the State Game and Fish Commission and its director have opposed the approval of the Alcovy River Watershed Project. This is a barefaced lie. We are not trying to kill this project. We don't have that authority. We are not trying to keep these three counties from having seven large lakes for recreation and municipal and industrial water supplies. We are in favor of them, and have publicly stated that we would stock these lakes free of charge and that our fish biologists would help to manage them to produce the best possible fishing. We have not opposed planting cover crops and wildlife food patches. We would favor opening up boat passageways through the Alcovy for fishermen, hunters, and boaters.

We have objected to one portion and one portion only of the proposed watershed plans, and that is the channelization and drainage of the Alcovy River above Lake Jackson.

Under the provisions of Public Law 566, we are required to make comments on the effects of the Alcovy Watershed Project of fish and wildlife habitat. We did not ask to make these comments. We were invited to make them at the recent meeting in Monroe by a letter on February 7, 1969, from Mr. Cecil Chapman, State Conservationist of the U.S. Soil Conservation Service. Previously, in our letter of August 23, 1968, we concurred with a report by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service that the Alcovy Project as presently designed by the U.S. Soil Conservation Service would adversely affect fish and wildlife habitat. We have never approved the Alcovy Project from the day when we were first officially notified of it, years after it has been sold to the local landowners by the Soil Conservation Service. We have never changed our position on the Alcovy Project or any other destructive dredging or draining proposals. Our files are filled with letters this department has written the SCS for years and years objecting to such practices. We have held many meetings with the SCS to register our complaints, but they have gone virtually unheeded.

We were asked to comment on the Alcovy Project, as well as required by public law. We have made public our biological comments on the adverse effects that the channeling and drainage portions of the project plan will have as it is now drawn. We have no other step to take. Our department cannot veto the project. It is the responsibility of the Soil Conservation Service and the watershed group to weigh the testimony that we have given them to the best of their ability, and then take whatever action in regard to the project that they wish. The matter is out of our hands.

While we do approve of the reservoirs in this

project, we don't believe that it is necessary to destroy the streams and swamps below them in order to build the lakes. There is no doubt that draining the 4,000 acres of swamps will destroy the wildlife that depends on them for their existence. Channelization of miles of streams on the Alcovy and its tributaries will destroy the fishing in them. Even the biologists of the SCS admit this. We believe that this destruction will also adversely affect fishing in Lake Jackson as well. The watershed plans could be changed to prevent this damage. Enlarging the reservoirs instead of channeling the river is the obvious answer.

The engineers of the SCS tell us that the channel they will dredge in the Alcovy won't fill up with silt, because of the swift, shallow water flow that will be created. If the silt from this seven-year construction project won't fill up the Alcovy River channel above Lake Jackson, then where will it go?

What will happen when the swamps are drained where the silt from flood waters once settled out, before it reached Lake Jackson.

The Alcovy River section of Lake Jackson is never the red mud color of the Yellow River and South River sections, even in the winter. In the spring, it is the first section of the lake to clear, producing good largemouth bass and crappie fishing for thousands of Georgians and hundreds of lake cabin owners and their families. In three months in 1966 alone, more than 300,000 crappie were caught in Jackson. With its clear water in the Alcovy arm, Lake Jackson is more fertile than any other reservoir in Georgia, with a rich green plankton bloom just like a well-fertilized farm pond. But with muddy water, it would be no more productive than any muddy pothole spurned by fishermen. Muddy water prevents plankton bloom in the water that is so important in feeding fish. It interferes with their reproduction and it makes them harder to catch.

Our department is spending thousands of dollars attempting to stock white bass in Lake Jackson. These fish will spawn in the Alcovy, unless it is channeled. Their success would give thousands of fishermen a new species to fish for. In addition, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service only recently approved our request for 23,000 striped bass to stock in Lake Jackson this fall. These fish will congregate in the Alcovy in the spring attempting to spawn, producing good fishing. This fishery may be wasted if the Alcovy is made into a shallow but swift muddy water ditch.

The Soil Conservation Service would have us believe that there will be no additional silt in the Alcovy as a result of this project. We aren't so sure. They don't mention the silt that will be flushed downstream while the bulldozers, the draglines, and the dynamiters are working, let alone the ditches and gullies that will form at every rain.

But the Alcovy project is not the most frightening aspect of the small watershed program of the SCS. What disturbs me even more is the list of fine little fishing streams marked for destruction, running into every major lake and river in Georgia. We know that these channeled streams and these swamps are gone during our lifetime, if not forever.

When projects like the Alcovy threaten our irreplaceable wildlife resources, it is the duty and the obligation of the State Game and Fish Commission to inform the people what the effects of these projects will be, without being accused of irresponsible criticism, without being called liars, without being threatened with political reprisals. When the people have been fully informed of all the facts, we believe they will make the right decision, and that is the only right that we ask from the public.

In one of Robert Frost's poems he poses a

question which is basic to the future of man on earth. He says:

"Nature within her inmost self divides  
To trouble men with having to take sides."

I do not think he means that man must decide to be for nature and against development; but nature itself compels man to decide whether other life is to be allowed to survive along with man, or if all is to be subordinated to the human species. I believe that the Georgia Game and Fish Commission has a vital role in Georgia in taking the side of nature's creatures, in ensuring that we share our world with other species and in this sharing, I am convinced man becomes a better being.

Once man has laid his hand upon a natural environment, change begins to take place.

Unless he considers other species, this change will continue to destroy the conditions necessary for others until, eventually, man finds himself alone in his landscape and he cannot live for himself alone.

The Georgia Game and Fish Commission and the Soil Conservation Service has responsibilities in preservation and conservation of the environment required by wildlife. Together we can provide a measure of balance which we must have if we are to avoid being swallowed up by a complex, technological age in which man can too easily forget that he is but one part of a system of nature, the temporary custodian of a life that has been lived for centuries before and which must go on for centuries to come.

A hundred years ago there was room on earth for all the creatures of field and forest and enough left for man to reap his required harvest. Today man's needs have multiplied, his numbers have increased beyond the wildest dreams of earlier days and we must face the fact that this increase in numbers, this increase in needs for the resources will grow in geometrical measure.

We have little time left and we have much to do, yet we are considerably better placed now than once we were. Many Georgians now recognize that steps must be taken and taken soon and fortunately there are things happening. It has been said that the best time to plant a tree was thirty years ago, the second best time is today. The same is true for conservation. The best time to conserve the habitat necessary for our wildlife would have been fifty or a hundred years ago. The second best time is now. As Director of the Game and Fish Commission, I am committed to pursuing the ideal of conservation, of creating a balanced environment. I am convinced that our mechanisms for conserving the quality of our natural environment are incomplete and inadequate. Unless we direct ourselves now to improving these mechanisms and coping with this question, we will have to pay the price tomorrow, and we might not be able to meet the bill.

*Man must learn to control his appetite for immediate benefits if his long term needs are to be met.*

WATERSHED PROGRESS DECEMBER 31, 1968  
COOSA RIVER FLOOD CONTROL PROJECT—  
SUBWATERS

1. Settingdown Creek.\*
2. Noonday Creek.
3. Sharp Mountain Creek.
4. Pumpkinvine Creek.
5. Etowah River Reach.
6. Little River.\*
7. Amicalola Creek.\*
8. Raccoon Creek.
9. Cartecay River.
10. Mountaintown Creek.\*
11. Talking Rock Creek.
12. Stamp-Shoal Creeks.\*
13. Mill-Canton Creeks.
14. Ellijay River.
15. Long Swamp Creek.
16. Allatoona Creek.\*

\* Completed project.

## PILOT WATERSHED

17. North Fork of Broad River—Completed.  
 PUBLIC LAW 566 WATERSHED PROJECTS—CONSTRUCTION COMPLETED OR ALL CONTRACTS AWARDED
18. Bear Creek.
  19. Rocky Creek.
  20. Santee Creek.
  21. Barber Creek.
  22. Rooter Creek.
  23. Hazel Creek.
  24. Mill Creek.
  25. Hightower Creek.
  26. Palmetto Creek.
  27. North Broad River.
  28. Marbury Creek.
  29. Sandy Creek.
  30. Little Tallapoosa River.
  31. Haynes Creek—Brushy Fork Creek.
  32. Tobesofkee Creek.<sup>1</sup>

## PUBLIC LAW 566 WATERSHED PROTECTION PROJECTS—APPROVED FOR CONSTRUCTION

33. Sallacoa Creek Area.
34. Head of Little Tennessee River.
35. Little River.
36. Potato Creek.
37. Lower Little Tallapoosa River.
38. Pine Log Tributary.
39. Bull Creek.
40. South River.
41. Little Satilla Creek.
42. Bishop Creek.
43. South Fork Broad River.
44. Middle Fork Broad River.
45. Rocky Comfort Creek.
46. Fishing Creek.
47. Middle Oconee-Walnut Creek.
48. Cane Creek.
49. Dry Creek.
50. Hiwassee River.
51. Mill Creek.
52. Turtle River.
53. Pennahatchee Creek.
54. Beaverdam Creek.
55. South Fork Little River.
56. Bridge Creek-Ochlocknee River.
57. Grove River.
58. Euharlee Creek.
59. Little Sandy Creek and Trail Creek.
60. Big Cedar Creek.
61. Fort Lawton-Little Buckhead Creek.
62. Eli Whitney.
63. Ebenezer Creek.

## PUBLIC LAW 566 WATERSHED PROTECTION PROJECTS—APPLICATIONS RECEIVED

64. Big Slough.
65. Walkerville Branch.
66. Mill Branch.
67. Ten Mile-Briar Creek.
68. Little Creek.
69. Big Creek.
70. Johns Creek.
71. Jacks Creek.
72. Bay Branch-Mill Branch.
73. Long Creek.
74. Calls Creek.
75. Pudding Creek.
76. Lookout Creek.
77. Rose Creek.
78. Dryden Creek.
79. Cox Creek.
80. Hog Creek.
81. Newbern Creek.
82. Chickasaw Creek.
83. Wahoo-Little River.
84. Breastworks-Dry Creek.
85. Wildcat Creek.
86. Holly Creek.
87. Hill Creek Area.
88. Sweetwater Creek.
89. Crooked Creek.
90. Alligator Creek-Camp Branch.
91. Aycocks Creek.
92. North Oconee River.
93. Snapping Shoals Creek.
94. Young Cane Creek.

<sup>1</sup> Except recreation facilities contract.

95. Phillema Creek.
96. Hopeful.
97. Lake Lanier.
98. Whitewater Creek.
99. Hemptown Creek.
100. Lost Creek.
101. Tesnatee Creek.
102. Cat Creek.
103. Black Creek.
104. Centralhatchee Creek.
105. Hillabahatchee Creek.
106. Cabin Creek.
107. Fish Pond Drain.
108. Yellow Water Creek.
109. Arkaquah-Butternut Creek.
110. Coahulla Creek.
111. North Tattall.
112. Pettit Creek.
113. Falling Creek.
114. Hard Labor-Big Sandy Creek.
115. Headwaters of the Chattooga River.
116. Coldwater Creek.
117. Peavine Creek.
118. Soque.
119. Brasstown Creek.
120. South Tattall.
121. Clark Creek.
122. Fishing Creek.
123. Echeconnee Creek.
124. Alcovy River.
125. Little River-Indian Creek.
126. Willacoochee Creek.
127. Tri-Creek.
128. Hudson River.
129. Soap and Lloyds Creek.
130. Upper Mulberry River.
131. Elkins Creek.
132. Middle River.
133. Germany Creek.
134. Briar Creek.
135. Jones-Tatum Creeks.
136. Kiokee Creek.
137. Yellowjacket Creek.
138. Millstone & Long Creek.
139. Woodbine Area.
140. Little Kiokee Creek.
141. Uchee Creek.
142. Fighting Town Creek.
143. Swift-Tobler Creek.
144. Curry Creek.
145. Sumac Creek.
146. Mills Creek.
147. Suwanee Creek.
148. Richland-Beaverdam.
149. Chattooga River.
150. Newport-Jericho Area.
151. Ten Mile Creek.
152. Sandy Run Creek.
153. Little River.
154. Little Ogeechee.
155. Frank's Creek.
156. Mill Creek and Bay Gall.
157. Evans County.
158. Mulberry Creek.
159. Fifteen Mile Creek.
160. Big Mortar-Snuff Box Swamp.
161. Cedar Creek.
162. Upper Apalachee River.
163. Riverbend-Baconton.
164. Walnut Creek.
165. Bluestone Creek.
166. Buckhead.

EFFECTS OF UNRESTRICTED SWAMP DRAINAGE  
(By Walter M. Keller, extension forester)

The broad classification termed "wetland forests" includes many kinds of woodland, and about all some of them have in common is a profuse supply of water. These wetland forests—about 20 million acres in all—stretch more than a thousand miles along the lower coastal plain from the James River in Virginia to southern Florida. The vegetation of these forests, the soils, the wildlife, and even their uses reflect the hydrology of this vast watery domain. The wetlands are the headwaters for countless streams and lakes, as well as the recharge areas for huge groundwater reserves which provide a fresh-water buffer against the intrusion of salt water into coastal plain water supplies. Moreover, they

serve as water storage sites for impoundments serving irrigation, fish and waterfowl management, hydropower production, and sundry other human activities.

The lower, wetter sites where running or standing water is present—at least on a seasonal basis—appear to be consistently associated with tupelo-blackgum-cypress production. The effect of drainage to date has been to thoroughly remove the possibility of retaining this water, thus paving the way for replacement by dryland vegetation associations. In any event, changing water relations through drainage, impoundment, or other means will surely modify the whole wetland environment. The Southeastern Forest Experiment Station in their 1962 Annual Report, and McKnight, Furnival and Putnam in Agricultural Handbook No. 181 in discussing tupelo-swamp blackgum stands, states that: "Artificial drainage will decelerate growth or kill older trees if it permanently lowers the water table. Prolonged droughts cause mortality and induce insect attack."

In deep swamps, both tupelo and cypress seed regularly and copiously. They regenerate well only where seedbeds are moist, where competitors are unable to cope with flooding, and where ground cover is limited to annual herbs. Seeds will germinate even if water subsides as late as midsummer, but seedlings and saplings are fairly intolerant and are not aggressive against other competition. When drainage removes the surface water and dries the site, tupelo and cypress regeneration is eliminated by other competition—most often the less valuable maple-ash-button-bush association.

Tupelo produces high-quality veneers and lumber, and is the basic raw materials for a sizeable segment of the eastern North Carolina wood industry. Tupelo is also a high stumpage value species, and provides considerable income to farmers and woodland owners. The latest (1962-63) Forest Survey of North Carolina shows 4,230,000,000 board feet of tupelo-blackgum and 1,200,000,000 board feet of cypress in standing timber in the coastal plain area of North Carolina. It is not surprising that commercial users of lowland timber who depend on wetland trees such as tupelo and cypress are seriously concerned as a result of the reduction in swamp areas where these trees thrive.

More than a million acres (Southwide) of wetland forest have already been altered by drainage since 1950, and the end is nowhere in sight. Much of this drainage work has been done by wood-using industries as a by-product of dredging operations to get spoil for building roads into wetland areas. Recently, however, Public Law 566 (PL 566) entitled the Small Watersheds Act has become increasingly important as a factor affecting wetlands forests.

Individuals and public agencies advocating drainage of tupelo, cypress, ash, and similar bottomland swamp types are proceeding on very tenuous grounds unless they recognize that they may be doing violence to forest production, and wish to proceed despite this result. Tupelo, green ash, swamp blackgum and similar species appear to thrive under regimes of continuous saturation. These are valuable species, capable of continually supplying raw material industry wants and needs, provided the types are managed properly. We do not yet know everything that is needed for optimum production of these species, but with our present state of knowledge, we cannot endorse drainage of hardwood swamps, and we know of no one who has the facts in hand to form a basis for recommending the practice. For the present we side with those who hold the view that at least for tupelo, swamp blackgum, green ash and cypress, a saturated habitat comes closer to the right environment than the unrestricted water removal that apparently takes place where drainage is applied with unrestrained vigor.

There is plenty of operational experience and engineering know-how on designing ditch systems and draining wetlands. We would suggest that this know-how be applied in all drainage projects to modify procedures so as to preclude or minimize damages to tupelo-cypress swamps. Rates of flow can be manipulated by wing control structures in the ditches. Variations in pattern and spacing of ditches, use of shallower ditches, and use of peripheral ditches may offer some possibilities in preserving these wetland forest conditions.

There is, however, virtually nothing available on how drainage modifies soil and hydrology for timber production and other purposes. Systematic observations on cause-and-effect relationships are few and far between. It is imperative, therefore, that some early answers be sought to guide new programs and help wetland managers avoid costly enterprises which could be highly damaging to the Southeast's water resources, timber sites, and game habitat.

STATEMENT REGARDING ADVERSE EFFECT OF PUBLIC LAW 566 PROJECTS ON WILDLIFE RESOURCES IN EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA AND SUGGESTIONS FOR PREVENTION

(By Frank B. Barick, chief, Division of Game, North Carolina Wildlife Resources Commission, at meeting in Asheville, N.C., Oct. 21, 1965)

While the situation at hand appears to be a conflict between the North Carolina Wildlife Resources Commission and the United States Soil Conservation Service we should acknowledge at the outset that the Soil Conservation Service has long been recognized as one of the champions of wildlife conservation. Furthermore, the history of the Soil Conservation Service in North Carolina includes a close and harmonious working relationship with the Wildlife Resources Commission. We are proud of this relationship and wish to preserve it.

Our remarks are directed not at an agency but rather at a law—Public Law 566—implementation of which is serious threatening important wildlife resources in some parts of our state. Those of us in the Commission's Division of Game are particularly concerned about the destruction of hardwood swamp habitats in the eastern part of our State.

In opposing this phase of the PL 566 we wish to make it clear that we are not opposing the philosophy of federal help to private landowners, nor are we opposing the right of the landowner to manage his land as he sees fit so long as he is spending his own money to do it. But we are opposing the destruction of publicly-owned natural resources through the expenditure of public funds. This is what PL 566 has been doing in some parts of North Carolina. We are here to show you where and how this destruction has been done and to request your assistance in preventing future damage.

By working with our good friends in the Soil Conservation Service we have made some progress, within current limits of the law, in exploring methods of preventing damage. But as of this date we must report that:

(1) Of three completed projects in eastern North Carolina we can point to none which has not been highly destructive to wetland wildlife.

(2) Of several projects currently in the planning or active stage we can point to none for which the final approved plans include adequate provision for the protection of wetland wildlife resources.

(3) If the same pattern of operation continues in the future, PL 566 projects scheduled for eastern North Carolina threaten extensive and serious damage to several species of wildlife that are important in the recreational potential and economy of this region.

(4) We are also advised that destruction of these hardwood swamp habitats has had, and will continue to have unless altered, a seriously adverse effect upon other natural resources such as timber and water.

(5) We find it difficult to reconcile conversion of hardwood swamps to cropland following PL 566 drainage, with agricultural reports indicating a surplus of croplands not only today but for the next 40 years.

For the next few minutes we shall present evidence in support of these contentions and then we shall offer suggested guidelines for solution of the problem. Since we are some four hundred miles removed from the scene of the problem we have arranged to bring the scene to you in a series of color slides which show hardwood swamps before and after drainage.

1. Cashie Swamp north of Windsor in Bertie County, North Carolina. This is a typical hardwood swamp full of water after a period of heavy rainfall in mid-winter (February, 1965). The swamp is bisected by the road on the right, swamp flow is from left to right through the high bridge. Note that the road is high enough and the bridge wide enough so that they are never under water. We are advised by forestry experts that winter flooding such as this is essential to production of the high quality fast growing tupelo gum and the slower growing cypress shown. Swamps such as these serve as resting, roosting and feeding places for mallards and black ducks as well as woodies. They are escape areas for deer and wild turkey and raccoon. There is enough water to provide good fishing (jack, robbin, bass) and trappers catch many mink and otter along these runs.

2. Goshen Swamp near Kenansville in Duplin County, North Carolina. Another typical hardwood swamp showing natural winter water level (December, 1964). This site is near the edge of the swamp and the two large trees are water oaks which produce acorns highly prized by practically all wildlife. Winter flooding of swamps into the zone containing oak trees is essential if waterfowl are to make use of this food. One trapper reported catching 30 otters in this one swamp run. Other trappers used the area also.

3. Stubbs Veneer Mill, Windsor, North Carolina. This mill, and several others like it in eastern North Carolina are dependent upon the high quality tupelo gum which grows in southeastern hardwood swamps. The veneer made at these mills is used in the furniture factories in the central and western parts of the state. North Carolina leads the nation in manufacture of furniture and hardwood plywood. Veneer manufacturers tell us that loss of locally produced raw materials through swamp drainage would be a serious blow to these important segments of the state's economy.

4. Ahoskie Creek drainage ditch in Hertford County, North Carolina. This and the next several pictures were taken in February, 1965, after a period of heavy precipitation which measured 2.3 inches on a local rain gauge. Note that while the ditch in this picture is full, subsequent pictures will show that the swamp through which it runs is dry. Prior to ditching, this swamp looked like the ones shown in pictures one and two. Note the excellent stands of tupelo gum on both sides of the ditch. Some of these already show signs of incipient die-back in the tops during the first year after drainage. Note also that all trees have been removed from the right-of-way which is about 150 feet wide.

5. Same ditch. Culverts placed through the spoil at swamp floor level effectively remove all the water in the swamp since the ditch was dug through the lowest portion. Note that the water level in the ditch even after heavy rain is about four feet below swamp floor level. Prior to ditching the water would

lie about four feet deep above the swamp floor.

This is the other end of the culvert shown in the previous picture, on the swamp side of the spoil. Note that the rapid flow of water from the swamp into the culvert pipe after a period of heavy rainfall has been so effective that the culvert is less than one-fourth full.

7. At another location in the same swamp drainage project, water has eroded through the spoil and cut a channel from the swamp into the main ditch. These natural breaks in the spoil further accelerate swamp drainage and drying.

8. This photo was made behind the spoil and ditch shown in the previous pictures. Immediately after a period of heavy rain in January, 1965, there is no water in the swamp. Similar rains in previous years, prior to ditching, would have resulted in water depths to the top of the butt swell on the large tree in the foreground. Prevention of water accumulation will, within a few years, result in the development of a dense understory of shrubs and vines and a change in forest type which will make it unuseable by waterfowl. Removal of standing water also eliminates the sanctuary effect for deer, bear and wild turkey.

9. This picture shows the swamp edge of the same watershed where ingrowth of briars and honeysuckle has been accelerated by swamp drainage. Even if it were temporarily flooded, waterfowl would be disinclined to use such locations because of the dense tangle of vines and shrubs.

10. Public Law 566 and the administrative directives under which these drainage ditches are dug specify that they shall not be for the purpose of creating additional farm land. This several-acre field of tobacco in the Ahoskie Creek project was planted in 1964 after ditch construction, much of it on "new land" made available by accelerated drainage.

11. In this last picture, note the contrast with the previous few pictures. This is a typical tupelo-cypress swamp showing normal winter water level prior to drainage. Swamps such as these are important wintering grounds for migratory waterfowl as well as production areas for wood ducks. They serve as escape areas for deer being pursued by dogs and constitute the primary reason for the large deer herds in eastern North Carolina. These swamps also serve as hunting season sanctuary for wild turkey and important feeding areas for them during the dry seasons of the year. Excellent stands of valuable high quality fast growing timber are produced in swamps, especially where they are under proper management. These swamps in their natural state serve as detention reservoirs to prevent downstream flooding, and by slowing down runoff help replenish underground water supplies. After the Ahoskie drainage project was completed groundwater monitors of the U.S. Geological Survey reported a drop of four feet in the local groundwater level. Industry and population planners tell us that water shortage constitutes the next major threat to our expanding human populations. Hardwood swamp drainage is hastening the day of confrontation with this problem.

As of July 1, 1965, three Coastal Plain PL 566 projects were listed as having been completed.<sup>1</sup> They covered 24,170 acres and contained 41.9 miles of channel improvement similar to that shown in the above pictures. No provision that we know of was made in any of them to preserve wildlife resources associated with swamp habitats. The completion of these projects and initiation of others similarly designed is what originally aroused the concern of wildlife interests in North Carolina.

<sup>1</sup> U.S.D.A., S.C.S.—Status of PL 566 Watershed Projects in North Carolina, July 1, 1965.

In response to concern expressed by wildlife interests procedures were developed to increase consideration of wildlife values. As a result of coordination efforts several of the 23 Coastal Plain PL 566 projects currently in the planning or active stage were investigated by field biologists of the Wildlife Resources Commission and their reports suggested methods of preventing or mitigating damage. Many conferences were held with personnel of the Soil Conservation Service and with landowners and sponsors.

It may help explain our concern if we were to back up at this point and briefly trace the history of disposal of information provided regarding wildlife resources. In at least one early case<sup>2</sup> the project application contained information contrary to that reported by the state biologist. In some subsequent cases the work plan acknowledged that investigations regarding wildlife resources had been made and that these reports had been filed.<sup>3</sup> In one later case<sup>4</sup> the local sponsors refused to provide recommended mitigation costing them about three cents per acre (as compared with \$3.50 per acre for drainage). On more recent projects,<sup>5</sup> sponsors have indicated a more favorable attitude toward wildlife but in considering specific mitigation proposals we are advised that several landowners have refused to accept them. However, work plans on these projects are not yet complete and so we are not in a position to report on the adequacy of consideration given wildlife values.

Now as for the future. The North Carolina Soil and Water Conservation Needs Inventory of 1962 indicates a total of 211 watersheds in North Carolina, and need for conducting works of improvement in 208 of them. Of these, nearly half, or 101, are located in the Coastal Plain. Approximately 5.18% of Coastal Plain watersheds, or 778,389 acres, are classified as wetlands. These make up 53.8% of the state's total wetland types I and VII<sup>6</sup> which are classified as being of highest value to waterfowl, deer and wild turkey. Thus, if no change is made in method of operation. North Carolina stands to lose over half of all her hardwood swamp wildlife habitat to PL 566.

*Gentleman, we consider the projected destruction of 54% of a state's timbered wetland game habitat by a federal program to be a serious matter. We earnestly solicit your assistance in preventing it.*

Various proposals have been made to prevent this damage—some obviously impossible and others basically unsound. It has been proposed, for example, that the Commission's biologists make recommendations regarding engineering design which would accomplish the drainage of cropland without damaging the swamps. It soon became obvious that lack of an engineering background ill-qualifies a biologist to solve engineering problems.

It was also proposed that after a project had been initiated, the state biologist contact the landowners and convince them that they should participate in underwriting the cost of project modification to provide for wildlife. This approach is basically unsound since it is inconsistent with established principles delineating areas of federal and state responsibilities. It first assumes that it is proper for the federal government to sponsor projects which have the effect of destroying a state's natural resources, then it places the burden of rectification on the State. For the State to suggest that the landowner be as-

sessed for rectification of damage to "state-owned" wildlife resources caused by a federal project is ridiculous. Furthermore, if the landowner needs public assistance to improve production of his privately-owned crops, how can he be expected to finance production of a crop that belongs to the public and over the harvest of which he has little or no control?

When viewed from this perspective it becomes clear that—

(1) Any project established by federal subsidy should include federal funds for the protection of the State's wildlife resources endangered by the project.

(2) Identification of potentially significant damage to a State's wildlife resources is the responsibility of the state agency having jurisdiction over these resources.

(3) Development of project design to provide for protection of the State's wildlife resources is the responsibility of the sponsoring federal agency. The State may help guide this project design by describing the physical conditions necessary to sustain the wildlife values threatened.

(4) Review of projects to determine adequacy of design for protection of wildlife values is the responsibility of the state agency having jurisdiction over wildlife resources.

Gentlemen, we propose these as the basic guidelines within which PL 566 projects operate, in so far as wildlife values are concerned.

#### LABOR DEPARTMENT APPROVAL OF ALIEN DOMESTICS

**HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year the Department of Labor amended its regulations on the approval of labor certification for alien live-in domestics. Although I certainly favor protecting the American labor force to the greatest extent possible, these new regulations were just simply too rigid and worked a considerable hardship on many American families—particularly working mothers—who were unable to obtain suitable household help.

I raised this matter with the Secretary of Labor and urged that the Department review and reconsider its policy. In a letter to me last month, Secretary Shultz indicated that important changes were being made.

In view of the importance of this issue, I am inserting herewith, for inclusion in the RECORD, my exchange of correspondence with Secretary Schultz as well as pertinent newspaper articles:

SEPTEMBER 17, 1969.

Hon. GEORGE P. SHULTZ,  
Secretary of Labor,  
Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I have recently been informed by one of my constituents that the Department of Labor is approving applications for labor certification for live-in domestics only in those instances where there is either a pre-school child in a motherless home or where there is a pre-school child in a home in which both parents work.

I would appreciate your advising me as to whether this is, in fact, the basis for approving ES-575's. If so, I would be most interested in knowing why this change in policy has been made, whether it is being ap-

plied on a nationwide basis or just in New York and how the Labor Department intends to administer it.

Thank you very much for your cooperation and assistance. I will look forward to receiving your report.

Sincerely,

RICHARD L. OTTINGER,  
Member of Congress.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,  
Washington, D.C., October 6, 1969.

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN OTTINGER: Thank you for your September 17, 1969 letter in which you requested clarification of the circumstances under which an alien household domestic service worker may be certified for employment in the New York City area. As you may be aware, certification for alien employment may only be made in those cases where it has been determined that U.S. workers are not available for a job offered an alien and if the wages and working conditions offered will not adversely affect U.S. workers similarly employed.

Labor Department policy provides for the certification of household domestic service workers wherever circumstances warrant under existing labor market conditions. There has not been any departure from this policy in the New York area or any other area.

Normal job offers to alien household workers require routine household duties such as cleaning, laundry, ironing, cooking, and serving meals, requiring little or no experience. The work week is 40 to 44 hours. In the absence of extenuating circumstances such as an invalid in the household, unreasonable commuting distances, a motherless household with preschool-age children, or a household where both parents work and there are preschool-age children, the duties listed above may be performed by dayworkers, live-out maids, caterers, and babysitters.

This position is based on the fact that workers are available to perform specified duties rather than on any finding that there is a shortage of workers willing to live at their prospective places of employment. In those areas where it can be determined that there is no availability of live-in workers, live-out workers or dayworkers, certification may be made.

In those cases where applicants have limited their availability to jobs requiring unusual duties to be performed, certification may be granted provided all other conditions of employment meet Labor Department regulations and standards.

Within the above framework, applications for alien domestic workers may be approved.

I hope this information clarifies your points in question and will be helpful in replying to your constituents.

Sincerely,

GEORGE P. SHULTZ,  
Secretary of Labor.

OCTOBER 7, 1969.

Hon. GEORGE P. SHULTZ,  
Secretary of Labor, Department of Labor,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Thank you for your October 6 report concerning the certification of alien live-in domestics in the New York City area.

I read your report with interest and appreciate your furnishing me with this information. I cannot, however, disagree more strongly with your findings.

The market really is not the same for day workers and live-in domestics. Many working mothers need sleep-in help and simply cannot depend on three or four different employees, as you recommend. As a lifelong resident of Westchester County, New York,

<sup>2</sup> Sunbury-Hobbsville, Gates County.

<sup>3</sup> Dunn Swamp, Columbus County.

<sup>4</sup> Caw Caw, Brunswick County.

<sup>5</sup> Little Contentnea, Edgecombe, Pitt, Greene and Wilson counties; Chicod, Pitt and Beaufort counties.

<sup>6</sup> As classified in "Wetlands of the United States," Circular 39, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 1956.

I know there is a critical shortage of day workers. Even assuming day workers would be available, local intra-county transportation leaves a great deal to be desired and it would be very difficult, if not impossible in some cases, for one to reach his place of employment by public transportation. Finally, I find that many of my constituents require domestic assistance on the weekends, as well as during the week, and day workers are not suitable.

The criteria presently being employed by the Labor Department has little, if any, bearing or relation to reality in many sections of the New York City area—especially my constituency—and I very strongly believe that both prospective employer and employee are being unjustly penalized.

I would be grateful if you and your staff would promptly and thoroughly review the Labor Department's current policy and take immediate corrective action. I will appreciate being kept informed of your progress.

Sincerely,

RICHARD L. OTTINGER,  
Member of Congress.

[From the New York Times, November 3, 1969]

LIVE-IN MAIDS FACE TIGHTER VISA RULES ON ENTERING UNITED STATES  
(By Paul Delaney)

WASHINGTON.—The Labor Department has moved to tighten its requirements for work visas to make sure that women do not enter the country in the guise of live-in maids only to increase competition with Americans for higher-paying jobs and husbands.

Under a new set of guidelines, to be announced by Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz tomorrow, women applying for visas to work as live-in maids will have to show proof of experience and the promise of a job. They also must be single, and must be able to convince the authorities that they are not planning to enter the country primarily to look for a husband.

The 10 regional manpower administrators will keep track of the women more closely than they have been watched in the past, under the new guidelines that will become effective Dec. 1.

Most of the women affected by the new regulations come from the West Indies or Mexico. Current rules require them to stay single and stick to domestic work, but the controls have been loosely applied.

A department spokesman said 40,457 women received work visas as live-in maids in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968.

"It's anybody's guess where most of them are now," he said. "They come here as maids and then they shoot off into other jobs for more money, to the detriment of the American worker."

The spokesman said it should be no more difficult for Americans to get live-in help under the new regulations. But he added that prospective maids would not be admitted to work in areas where domestic help was already adequate.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,  
Washington, D.C., November 12, 1969.  
HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN OTTINGER: This is to reply further to your September 17 and October 7, 1969 letters concerning the circumstances under which an alien household domestic service worker may be certified for employment in the New York City area and your obligations to the Department's current policies.

I am in complete agreement with you that many working mothers need live-in domestic help and simply cannot depend on three or four different employees through the course of a week. There are situations where live-

out workers limit their availability to normal hours of work such as 8 to 5 o'clock or 9 to 6 o'clock. Where there is limited or no availability of live-in workers, I believe applications for alien household domestic service workers should be approved provided there is appropriate justification. Since your September 17 letter, the Labor Department has amended its guidelines on October 10 to amplify and clarify previous guidelines. Accordingly, please note the following criteria applicable to live-in maids.

If there is availability of live-in maid workers, applications must be disapproved in accordance with the law. However, if there is no availability of live-in workers, and the combination of job duties and hours of work are not usual for live-out workers, the application may be approved provided all other conditions meet standards.

If the duties required are such that the job cannot be restructured and an employer demonstrates that he requires the services of a household domestic beyond 5 or 6 o'clock for duties such as cooking, serving meals, occasional child care, and serving at parties, his application may be approved.

When the hours of work and the duties to be performed are customary for live-out household workers, and if these workers are available, applications for alien employment must be disapproved.

I believe that you will agree that this policy is reasonable and serves to meet the law.

I hope this information meets with your satisfaction and will enable you to reply to your constituents.

Sincerely,

GEORGE P. SHULTZ,  
Secretary of Labor.

[From the New York Times, December 2, 1969]

GOVERNMENT EASING ENTRY OF FOREIGN DOMESTICS—YIELDS TO COMPLAINTS OVER THE DEARTH OF HELP

(By Peter Millones)

The United States Department of Labor, badgered for many months by irate women unable to obtain satisfactory domestic help, has decided to ease its restrictions on the entry of available foreign labor.

"We are not opening the floodgates, but we have changed the emphasis," Frank Busbee, chief of the Division of Immigration Certification, said in an interview.

He and other top Labor Department officials are convinced that they do not have the solution to complaints from women in New York and elsewhere about the rapidly dwindling supply of live-in, child-care women, maids, cooks and daytime household workers.

But they are prepared now to be "more realistic" before denying applications from American families for foreign domestics.

The policy shift comes at a time when some employment agencies, unhappy over fee losses, have been threatening to organize protest marches on the Labor Department, and some immigration lawyers have started suits challenging some of the department's actions on alien domestic applications.

A study of the domestic-help situation has shown the following:

The Labor Department approved 15,500 applications in the last fiscal year—62 per cent of those it received—despite complaints from some agencies, some lawyers and others that few domestics have been allowed to enter the United States in the last year.

The number of American domestics is diminishing each year, in large measure because of low wages, the stigma attached to domestic work, and racial tension between whites and blacks, while rising affluence has made more families seek household help.

Some women, such as teachers, nurses and other professional workers, have re-

mained at home rather than return to work because of their inability to obtain satisfactory live-in help.

The domestics shortage and tight entry restrictions have encouraged many aliens—believed to be in the thousands—to enter the United States on tourist visas, "disappear" throughout the country and take jobs illegally, risking apprehension and deportation.

By and large, the source of domestic help for Americans has come from two areas—low-income Americans, mostly Negroes, and immigrants.

The trend away from domestic work among Americans has been evident for some time. For example, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that in 1965, 29.2 per cent of the non-white females employed were working in private households. This year, only 18.6 per cent are in private households.

The obvious reason for the decline, aside from the stigma, is the traditionally low pay for domestics, even now \$1 an hour in some cases, although many employers meet or exceed the Labor Department's requirement that aliens be paid \$1.75 an hour plus room and board.

The other source—immigrants—has been sharply curtailed by the rising prosperity of European countries which has discouraged emigration and more importantly by changes in 1965 in the United States immigration laws.

Those changes are only now having their full effect, namely, making domestics who are reliable highly prized workers.

Even with the Labor Department's "change of emphasis," officials in Washington do not see any short-term answer to the shortage of domestic help.

Dr. Arnold Weber, Assistant Secretary for Manpower, says: "What you have is an industry that is in a state of chronic disequilibrium and you solve it by changing the whole character of the work in terms of the wages and the capital-labor mix, not by relying on a supply that comes in and doesn't last."

WAGES A KEY FACTOR

The Labor Department does not actually acknowledge that there is a shortage of domestics. It contends that those employers who offer prevailing wages, decent working conditions and actively seek help can find it.

Yet the department is financing training programs for domestics in New York and several other major cities.

Mr. Weber notes: "If you tell a housewife that she can't have a live-in (alien) maid, somehow she thinks you're intruding on the sanctity of the home, although she's really an employer. She doesn't distinguish between her roles, but we have to distinguish."

The women he refers to contend that a high percentage of the limited supply of American domestics are unreliable or unavailable when needed.

To Jackson G. Cook, a long-time immigration lawyer and others, the Labor Department's policies and regulations have been "telling the American people they can't have maids or any kind of help."

He adds: "The Labor Department is trying to better the status of workers here to the point where there's nobody to do the menial tasks."

AMBIGUITY IS CHARGED

The Labor Department has been the focal point of public resentment over the domestic shortage primarily because it has left ambiguous—even to its own officials—just who can and who cannot obtain help.

In 1965, changes in the immigration law required that those aliens who wanted to enter the country to work as domestics (and in some other occupations) receive clearance from the Labor Department.

This clearance was to be given only if Americans were not available to do the same

work and only if alien workers would not adversely affect the wages and working conditions of Americans.

On these two grounds, the Labor Department has denied many applications, and as a result discouraged people who would otherwise file applications for alien help from doing so.

The department's reasoning has been that Americans are available when paid reasonable wages, and also that aliens brought into the country usually leave their employer in less than a year and find different work, thus competing with American workers they were not intended to compete with.

The latest survey of the department has found that "74 per cent of the aliens who left their sponsoring employers for other jobs were working in occupations that the Department of Labor would not have certified—clerk, factory laborer, charwoman and food server."

The central problem has been with families that want maids or nursemaids or cooks available at night. Even the Labor Department acknowledges that these live-in workers are in short supply, presumably because many domestics now prefer to have their own family life.

The department's policy on this was characterized privately by one Labor Department official as "tortured logic." Some families needing day and nighttime help were told to hire one day worker and then a babysitter or a caterer or any one else who would be available at night, rather than bring in an alien.

Stanley Mailman, chairman of the New York Chapter of the Association of Immigration and Nationality Lawyers, believes that this view, and some of the department's requirements, encouraged fraud. Many employers, he said, frustrated at obtaining domestic legally hired aliens who were in the country illegally.

#### SHULTZ EXPLAINS SHIFT

This policy has now been reversed, according to officials. Secretary of Labor George P. Shultz outlined the new policy in a letter to Representative Richard L. Ottinger, Democrat of New York, who has questioned the department's procedures.

In a letter dated Nov. 12, Mr. Shultz said: "If the duties required are such that the job cannot be restricted and an employer demonstrates that he requires the services of a household domestic beyond 5 or 6 o'clock for duties such as cooking, serving meals, occasional child care and serving at parties, his application may be approved."

Although the change will undoubtedly assist many families heretofore unable to obtain live-in help, and thus ease somewhat the over-all demand for domestics, aliens will still have to wait at least several months to enter the country.

This is because of the 1965 immigration law changes, which set a limit of 120,000 entries, including domestics, from the entire Western Hemisphere.

More people apply for entry than there are visas available and domestics, even with Labor Department approval, must wait in line. The Immigration Department and the State Department handle this step.

#### LIMIT FOR EUROPE, TOO

Entries from the Eastern Hemisphere (Europe) are also limited, under a complicated formula, to a total of 170,000 immigrants a year. How long or short a period a domestic waits for entry depends on the number of other immigrants from his country.

"If we let in the entire quota," Mr. Weber says, "we still wouldn't satisfy the demand. The traditional response is to improve the conditions economic and non-economic, to attract a larger supply of labor."

## THE INADEQUACIES OF THE POST OFFICE POLICIES

### HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, for months now my colleagues and I have labored to understand the new policies and operations of the Post Office Department. I have exhausted every effort to reach a cooperative atmosphere in which cooperation can be effected.

The new policies were introduced to us as the answer to increased efficiency and as a method for better service in postal deliveries. It is my conclusion, after studying these policies in operation for several months now, that they have been an obvious failure.

I am going to make three indictments against the Post Office Department that illustrate a few problems that Postmaster General Blount must correct. The first point that I would like to bring up is that by reserving new appointments to persons who have experience in the post office, they are perpetuating the political party which now controls the local post offices. In the rural areas where there are large numbers of second- and third-class post offices, these post offices are operating out of commercial stores. The postmaster is practically always the owner of this commercial enterprise. When the postmaster decides to retire, he will take in a person as his next replacement and give this person experience only if he agrees to purchase his store when he becomes postmaster. The post office, therefore, is becoming a part of the commercial enterprise. This is a practice which should be ended immediately, but as long as the new policies exist, this practice will continue.

The second matter that I would like to bring to your attention is the complete lack of public explanation of the new policies now being followed by Postmaster Blount. In my experience, I have never confronted a more ineffective means of explaining policies being followed by a Government agency. It seems as if those in the post office are perfectly content to enforce new policies but to accept none of the public responsibility for the effects it is having on the persons concerned with the operations of local post offices. I will go even further and state that agents in the post office still place the blame of changes in local post offices on their U.S. Representatives and not on Postmaster General Blount.

The third and final subject that I wish to bring to your attention is the policy now being followed to disregard the legal requirement of confirmation of postmasters. Until new legislation is passed concerning the post office, it is the law that all postmasters must be confirmed by the Senate. In order to bypass this confirmation, Postmaster Blount has decided upon the course of creating permanent temporary postmasters in charge. There has not been one confirmation of a postmaster since January 20, 1969, al-

though thousands of temporary postmasters in charge have been installed. By following such action, the Post Office Department is showing it's complete disrespect for the law and is illustrating a disrespect for the Senate.

Unless their policies are changed, I feel that it will be my duty to introduce legislation that will limit the designation of any person as temporary postmaster in charge for 1 year. If such a position cannot be filled by a permanent postmaster who deserves confirmation from the Senate, the post office should look for a new postmaster.

## ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP

### HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 10, 1969

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I am joining with my colleagues ably led by the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. FINDLEY) in discussing the concept of Atlantic partnership and European integration which formed the main topic of the recent conference of the American Institute on Problems of European Unity at Georgetown University between October 17-19, 1969.

One of the areas on which discussion was focused was Great Britain and the choice for that country between orientation toward the United States—the "special relationship"—or joining an exclusively European grouping.

The panelists, led by Prof. David Calleo from the School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University, generally felt that Britain has made a bona fide move to become a member of the European Economic Community, but that British thinking is still permeated with what is often called "Atlanticism." Another idea expressed by some of the panelists was that Britain would still prefer a Soviet-American condominium of world power to the emergence of Europe as a third force.

The panelists proceeded to analyze the reasons for this ambiguity in British thinking and tried to decipher how the two concepts could be practically reconciled enabling Britain to join the EEC without turning isolationist toward the United States.

It was pointed out that British entry into the EEC would enable the latter to augment its military strength by a merger of the French and English nuclear establishments to which would be added the financial strength and technical know-how of Germany. The panelists generally thought that this would be advantageous to U.S. interests as it would strengthen European defenses against the Soviet Union while certainly it would not be a challenge to our nuclear arsenal.

The panel closed on the note that the concept of Atlantic partnership is in reality much broader than the Anglo-American "special relationship," and it could be well expanded to encompass our relations with all of the Western European countries in EEC and thereby pave the way for British entry into EEC.

## ORGANIZED CRIME AND CREDIT CARDS

## HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, organized crime often seems so distant from the lives of most of us. We hear of narcotics traffic, gangland slayings and so forth, but it never seems to touch our lives. We forget about it.

But recent developments suggest that those of us with this complacent amnesia may have reason to pay a bit more attention to our latter day, button-down Al Capones. Like the rest of the business world, the Mafia has discovered the credit card. And now every one of us with a batch of nifty little plastic charge-whatever things in our wallet cannot rest quite so easily in the belief that our lives will not become involved in the underworld. Organized gangsters have been making a mint through numerous schemes to make fraudulent use of credit cards.

The Washington Post on December 7, 1969, carried a story on one of the more sophisticated techniques employed and I wish to insert the article in the RECORD at this point:

## FIGHTING CREDIT CARD FRAUD

(By Robert E. Dallos)

NEW YORK.—To Alphonse Confessore it seemed like a foolproof scheme. As repairman on the machine that embossed the names and numbers of Diners Club credit cards, he was easily able to make about 1,000 cards for himself.

What followed turned into a nightmare for the Diners Club. While members got their renewed cards as usual, the duplicates were sold to the underworld where, as one club official puts it, "they funded criminal specialties."

Diners Club says such cards provided air transportation and luxurious hotel accommodations for narcotics traffickers, stacks of airline tickets for subsequent sale on the black market or to transport highpriced prostitutes between cities and rented cars for use in robberies.

## DINERS CLUB TAKEN

Before it was over, more than 400 of Confessore's cards had been used and the Diners Club had been taken for \$719,887.23.

But Confessore did not figure on a computer. It helped crack the case when it showed the suddenly abnormal spending patterns of the card holders. Confessore recently was found guilty of fraud in federal court with five co-defendants. Early Sunday, while out on bail awaiting sentence, he was found on a New York street with five bullets in his head and neck, an apparent victim of a Mafia execution.

The Confessore case points up both the growing sophistication of credit card crime and the intensified efforts of credit card issuers to come up with a better method to combat it. Their biggest new weapon is the computer.

As the number of credit cards in the United States has proliferated—there are more than 300 million currently in consumer wallets and they are used to charge between \$40 billion and \$60 billion annually—so has their illegal use.

## FRAUD LOSSES SECRET

Exact fraud loss figures are kept secret. But the American mutual insurance compa-

nies that pay some of the losses, estimates that more than 1.5 million cards are stolen or lost each year and that fraud losses have jumped from \$20 million annually in 1966 to more than \$100 million a year today.

With so many cards in circulation it is not surprising that many find their way into the wrong hands. They have, in fact, become an important tool of the underworld.

The 37-year-old son of Joseph (Joe Bananas) Bonanno, the deposed Mafia boss, was found guilty recently in federal court of having fraudulently used another man's Diner's Club card to run up \$2,400 in bills on a coast-to-coast tour.

"The major factor in credit card fraud losses is the professional crook," says Milton Lipson, a former FBI agent who now heads the American Express Co.'s 300-man investigative force. "The industry could live with the amateur."

"You can no sooner end the fraudulent use of credit cards than you can end sin," says John J. O'Toole, head of the Diners Club security force. "But the computer can help retard abuses and lower the percentage of fraud losses to sales."

About a year ago American Express—it has 3 million card holders who put \$1.3 billion on the cuff last year—put into operation its antifraud computer. It has been programmed to remember the details of all credit accounts, including the numbers of lost, stolen or canceled cards and the purchasing habits of its members.

When an American card is presented to an airline, hotel, restaurant or other of the 250,000 American Express establishments, credit authorization is normally required if the transaction exceeds a fixed amount. (This amount is usually \$100 but can be lowered to as little as \$10 in areas swamped with stolen cards.)

When credit authorization is required, the establishment contacts the computer in New York by telephone.

When no negative information on a card is uncovered in the computer's memory bank, it will answer verbally (it has a 60-word vocabulary) within seconds that the transaction is authorized.

Where negative information is found, the computer tells the caller to hold the wire and the call is automatically transferred to human authorizer seated in front of a television screen onto which the entire history of the credit card in question is flashed.

## RUSSIA REKINDLES SPACE RACE

## HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the San Diego Union of October 15, 1969, examined the current status of our national space program in writing of the aggressive and continuing effort of the Soviets to develop and use space. As this editorial so aptly points out as we are dismantling our space effort, the Soviet Union continues to press on with the development of their space capability. It is important that we look ahead and strive for a balanced space program which will not only serve to support the economic well-being of our Nation and the world but also to support our national security.

The item follows:

## RUSSIA REKINDLES SPACE RACE

Again the thoughts and concerns of the United States of America turn to space as

seven Soviet cosmonauts and three Russian vehicles orbit the earth.

The Apollo program which landed Americans on the moon is convincing evidence that the United States still is well ahead in manned space exploration.

But the Soviet attempt to construct a station above the earth dramatically calls our attention to the fact that planetary conquest and satellite development are but one aspect of space applications.

Soyuz 6, 7 and 8 reveal emphatically that Russia was concentrating its space program on manned stations above the earth even as we were reaching for the moon.

We must ask ourselves why.

A space station can be used for cosmic research. It can be a way station for deeper or more thorough planetary exploration. Or a space platform can serve as military high ground from which an enemy could destroy our satellites and perhaps dominate the earth. This is not a comforting thought, but it is one which we must contemplate despite the treaty which supposedly bans weapons of mass destruction from space.

Because of the closed Soviet society and its record of past treaty violations, we may not know the intent of the Soyuz program until we see its full application.

To be secure and for peace of mind, we should press forward to prepare ourselves for any possible Soviet space use. Unfortunately, the outlook for progress is not optimistic.

The vast manpower, brainpower and technology that gave the United States its lead in space is being slowly dismantled. For budgetary reasons, the United States has cancelled the Air Force program for a manned orbiting laboratory. A basic National Aeronautics and Space Administration manned space laboratory cannot be sent aloft until 1972 with present financing. Congress has yet to consider a \$9 million appropriation for rudimentary research into a more sophisticated civilian laboratory to follow that.

All this is food for thought.

The United States, with a gross national product of \$900 billion, is systematically weakening its own national security and space programs. The Soviet Union with a gross national product of less than \$400 billion, has a defense budget nearly as large as ours when the Vietnam War is excluded.

It is maintaining a high troop level on two fronts, filling the oceans with its navy, spending millions to assist Cuba, North Korea, North Vietnam and the Arab nations.

And now Moscow is showing the world that it intends to continue the space race with enterprise and vigor.

Soyuz illuminates the value the Soviet Union places on the domination of the area beyond the earth.

It should bring home to us the folly of false economy.

## TRANS-ALASKA PIPELINE

## HON. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mrs. HANSEN of Washington. Mr. Speaker, during the very limited time that the House, sitting as a Committee of the Whole, discussed the supplemental appropriations bill, I did not have the opportunity nor did I wish to take the time of the House unnecessarily to present all the most interesting facets of the trans-Alaska pipeline. However, I do not think it fair to elected Representatives of this Nation that no statement

be presented to them for their ready reference and information. Therefore, I take the opportunity of now summarizing for this House the report in chapter III, Department of the Interior:

#### SUMMARY OF REPORT

Testimony developed during the hearings created grave concern on the part of the Committee with regard to the approach being taken by Departmental officials in connection with their responsibilities relative to the construction of the proposed Trans-Alaskan Pipeline. The Committee is of the opinion that in many respects the submission of the supplemental fund request for the Bureau of Land Management, the Geological Survey, and the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife totaling \$2,405,000 was premature.

First of all, the very serious and involved problem of native land claims which has been under consideration by the Congress for several months has not been resolved. None of the testimony given during the hearing reflected the interrelation and probable influence which the granting of the pipeline right-of-way might have in the final settlement of native land claims.

In this same connection, no definite action has been taken by the Congress or the Secretary to date with regard to Secretary Hickey's official notification of his intention to exempt the pipeline right-of-way acreage from Public Land Order 4582 issued January 17, 1969. By law, if this exemption is not obtained, the necessary permit for the right-of-way cannot be issued.

The Committee was surprised and disappointed to learn during the course of the hearings that little, if any serious consideration had been given by Departmental officials to assessing private oil companies who will build the pipeline for additional costs to be incurred by the Department of the Interior directly as a result of the pipeline construction. To repeated questions propounded by the Committee in this connection the answer was "The solicitor has the legality of such action under consideration". No assurance was given the Committee as to when the Solicitor might eventually reach a decision. It should be pointed out that when Departmental officials appeared before the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries on October 31, 1969, the Under Secretary of the Interior in a direct response to a question by a member of that committee agreed to give further consideration to the matter. (See pp. 656-657 of printed hearings on this bill.)

The Committee strongly feels that any costs incurred by the Department of the Interior for inspection and protection of American natural resources in Alaska are properly chargeable to those oil companies constructing the pipeline, and the Committee directs that in negotiations for issuance of rights-of-way permits, adequate fees and/or reimbursement be charged for recovery of expenses incurred by the Department which are directly attributable to its immediate and continuing supervision of the pipeline.

The Committee was impressed by the myriad of possibilities, both known and unknown, that the ecology of this area could be imperiled as a result of the pipeline construction. The Committee therefore looks to the responsible officials in the Department of the Interior to enforce every reasonable precaution to protect all natural resources of this area from destruction.

Because of the above-described circumstances the Committee was reluctant to recommend funds for this purpose at this time. However, in view of the overall situation, and the urgent necessity for safekeeping the fragile ecology of this region, it was deemed advisable to make funds available in order that there would be no reason from an appropriation standpoint for

the best interest of the Federal government not being adequately protected.

The Committee has recommended appropriations in the order of priority. It is first necessary for the Geological Survey to determine the geological feasibility and precise location of the pipeline; after which the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife will be responsible for the placement of the pipeline from the standpoint of wildlife and sport fish. The third priority is for the issuance of the rights-of-way permits by the Bureau of Land Management after the previous determinations have been made.

In spite of the fact that Alaska has been heavily dependent upon commercial fisheries as an economical resource, and that the international boundaries of several nations are also related to the well-being of this resource management, the Committee was appalled and surprised that representatives of the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries did not attend the hearings to present the information necessary for total evaluation of the effects construction of the pipeline will have on this natural resource.

I also feel that Members are entitled to some of the facts regarding rights-of-way, the length of line, total cost, et cetera. I herewith list them below:

#### ALASKA PIPELINE

1. Width of right-of-way: 54 ft.—pipeline; 46 ft.—maintenance, 100 ft.—total. Additional 100 ft. for access road requested.
2. Size of pipe: 48" diameter.
3. Length of line: 772 miles, (686—BLM) (54—State) (28—military) (4—private).
4. Total cost: \$1 billion—oil companies (est); \$9.7 million—BLM, \$2.9 million—Sport and commercial fish, \$4.0 million—Geo. Survey.
5. Roads built by oil companies: Livgood to Yukon—53 miles, 200 ft. wide—all weather gravel. Will turn over to Alaska upon completion.

In response to the committee hearings, Acting Secretary of the Interior Russell E. Train courteously and immediately forwarded to me the following letter dated December 9:

DEAR MRS. HANSEN: I understand that in connection with that portion of this Department's request for a supplemental appropriation pertaining to the Trans-Alaska Pipeline System right-of-way application, you have asked whether there is adequate statutory authority for us to charge TAPS for certain extraordinary costs necessitated by the pipeline. The problems presented by the TAPS application are unique and are greater than those presented by any land use application previously presented to this Department. Such problems result both from the magnitude of the project and from the nature of the Alaskan terrain and environment through which the pipeline is proposed to pass.

To meet the peculiar problems of the TAPS application, we have developed a series of stipulations which we propose to make a part of the right-of-way permit, if and when that permit issues. These stipulations are unique and contain comprehensive and detailed provisions; they will require extensive supervisory activities by personnel of the Department during construction and operation of the pipeline.

The Solicitor has advised me that, to the extent this Department reasonably incurs supervisory and other associated costs which are necessitated by the unique problems presented by the TAPS project and which are not expenses which this Department otherwise would incur in the normal operations, there is adequate statutory authority for us to charge such reasonable costs to TAPS. These costs, of course, would be charged in

addition to the fair market value use and occupancy charges we normally require for pipeline rights-of-way permit is issued TAPS, the Department intends to charge TAPS for these extraordinary costs . . .

Sincerely yours,

RUSSELL E. TRAIN,  
Acting Secretary of the Interior.

I also append a memorandum to the Secretary of the Department of the Interior from the Solicitor of the Department of Interior dated December 10:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
OFFICE OF THE SOLICITOR,  
Washington, D.C., December 10, 1969.

To: The Secretary.

From: The Solicitor.

Subject: Charges to Trans-Alaska Pipeline System for extraordinary Departmental costs.

In connection with that portion of this Department's supplemental appropriation request pertaining to the pipeline right-of-way sought by the Trans-Alaska Pipeline System, Chairman Julia Butler Hansen of the House Interior Appropriation Subcommittee has asked whether there is adequate statutory authority for us to charge TAPS for supervision and other extraordinary costs necessitated by the Pipeline. It is my opinion that you have the discretionary authority, under the appropriate circumstances, to impose on a pipeline right-of-way applicant reasonable charges to reimburse the Department for expenses necessarily incurred by it in connection with the application and the subject matter thereof.

This discretionary authority stems from several statutory sources. The first of these is that section under which any pipeline right-of-way will be issued TAPS, Section 28 of the Mineral Leasing Act, 30 U.S.C. sec. 185. That section provides in part that

"Rights-of-way . . . may be granted by the Secretary of the Interior for pipeline purposes . . . under such regulations and conditions as to survey, location, application, and use as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior. . . ."

The broad language of this section grants the Secretary discretionary authority to condition the granting of a right-of-way permit upon the payment by the applicant of reasonable charges; this section does not limit those charges to the fair market value use and occupancy charges we now make under 43 CFR 2234.1-6.

The authority includes the extraordinary costs incurred by the Department resulting from the TAPS application. Section 35 of the Act (30 U.S.C. sec. 191) reinforces this conclusion. That section, by providing for the disposition of monies which are received under section 28 but which do not result from sales, bonuses, royalties or rentals, recognizes that there may be receipts, and hence charges, under section 28 which are not for the use or occupancy of the right-of-way. The nature and amount of those charges, of course, would be set under the discretionary authority contained in section 28.

Section 201 of the Public Land Administration Act, 43 U.S.C. sec. 1371, also is directly in point. That Section provides in part that:

"The Secretary of the Interior may establish reasonable filing fees, service fees and charges, and commissions with respect to applications and other documents relating to public lands and their resources under his jurisdiction, and may change and abolish such fees, charges, and commissions."

(The only restriction made by this section relates to Federal Register publication prior to taking action thereunder.) The Senate report on this act noted that:

"The charges made for various administrative services need to be brought into line with present-day costs . . . Sections 201-204 authorize the Secretary to establish, modify, and abolish fees required to be paid as

service charges with respect to applications and other documents pertaining to the public lands. . . . This authority relates only to such items as filing fees, service fees, and commissions. It does not cover payments for the use, or purchase, of lands or their resources and it will not, therefore, effect schedules of charges for such items as rentals for . . . rights-of-way.

Senate Rep. No. 1755, 86th Congress, 2nd Sess.

The Senate report reproduces in full the Interior Department's report on the House bill. The Department stated therein that:

"Title II would authorize the Secretary to modernize provisions for the payment of fees required as service charges. The Congress has urged charging self-sustaining fees to the fullest extent possible. See act August 31, 1951 (5 U.S.C. sec. 140). . . . In some cases no specific statutory provision has been made for the payment of service charges by those who are the primary beneficiaries of such charges. Examples of such services are the handling and recording of papers . . . and the making of surveys and field examinations."

The peculiar expenses which the Department will incur by virtue of the TAPS application and the right-of-way permit, if granted, are within the ambit of 43 U.S.C. section 1371. I understand that these expenses will consist primarily of on-site inspections and investigations (i.e. "field examinations") and the processing in various ways of the application and subsequent numerous technical and other documents which TAPS will be filing frequently during the construction and operation of the pipeline, if the permit is granted.

Further, these sections of the Mineral Leasing Act and Public Lands Administration Act should be construed in light of the following Congressional pronouncement:

"It is the sense of the Congress that any work, service, publication, report, document, benefit, privilege, authority, use, franchise, license, permit, certificate, registration, or similar thing of value or utility, performed, furnished, provided, granted, prepared or issued by any Federal agency . . . to or for any person . . . shall be self-sustaining to the full extent possible. . . ."

65 Stat. 290, 31 U.S.C. sec. 483a

Based on all of the foregoing, it is my opinion that you have the discretionary authority to charge a pipeline right-of-way applicant for the extraordinary costs incurred by the Department. The peculiar circumstances of the proposed Trans-Alaska Pipeline would warrant the exercise of this discretion and the imposition of such charges.

The problems presented by the TAPS application are unique and greater than those involved in any land use application previously presented to this Department. Such problems result both from the magnitude of the project and from the nature of the Alaskan terrain and environment through which the pipeline will pass if a permit is issued. The stipulations to be made a part of any right-of-way permit that may issue are unique and contain comprehensive and detailed provisions; they will require extensive supervisory activities by personnel of this Department during construction and operation of the pipeline.

The TAPS application and project require the Department to incur extraordinary expenses; these are necessitated by the unique problems presented by the TAPS application and, except for that application, would not be incurred by the Department in its normal program activities. Therefore, under these circumstances, it would be proper for you to exercise the authority granted the Secretary, as set forth above, and to assess such extraordinary charges to TAPS if a permit issues to them.

MITCHELL MELICH,  
Solicitor.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to express my appreciation to the Secretary and to the solicitor for their responses and I commend to the Members of the House the hearings on this entire subject. The Geological Survey hearing will be found on page 474 through page 502, the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife hearing record will be found on page 503 through page 542, and the Bureau of Land Management hearing record will be found from page 581 through page 672.

I trust that all Members will take the opportunity to thoroughly understand all facets of this immeasurably important problem.

BEN SELVIN

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, for the past 15 years, Roslyn, N.Y., which is part of the Third Congressional District which I am proud to represent in Congress has been the home of a most amazing gentleman. The talents and the accomplishments of Mr. Ben Selvin, of whom I speak, were recently brought to my attention by a friend of mine, Allen C. Miller, receiver of taxes in Manhasset, N.Y.

Since the article he brought to my attention tells the story of a most interesting member of my district, I would like to take this opportunity to include an excerpt from the community newspaper's article in the RECORD:

RECORDS FLOWED FROM HIS BATON: BEN SELVIN: MUSICIAN, FARMER, BUSINESSMAN

(By Diane Bennett)

"Have stop watch; will travel," is what he said after he reached the compulsory retirement age at the company where he was engaged in the third major career job of his life, and he meant it. He's now embarked on a new job—in the music field, of course.

Music is his destiny and his hobby, his love. But in his 71 years, he has owned an alfalfa farm in the California desert, a potato farm on long Island, business property in Philadelphia and a gas station in Queens.

He has recorded the greatest number of song titles in the history of American music, contended with the labor giant of the music industry, James Petrillo, once worked with Rudolph Valentino when the star of "The Sheik" was still a waiter, and was artist and repertoire director for such singers as Bing Crosby, Dinah Shore, Doris Day, Frank Sinatra and Nelson Eddy.

Remember "Dardanella"? If you do recall that song, which was the first million-record seller, you remember Ben Selvin, entrepreneur, businessman and music man extraordinaire. A resident of Roslyn for the past 15 years, Selvin was the originator of one of the big name bands during the era of dance bands, who recorded under nine different names before he left the performing side of show business to enter the recording world.

His various careers defy compression into a story of newspaper feature size. His musical interests have led him from the concert halls, where he made his debut as a violinist at the age of eight, to the beer saloons of Harlem, where he played lugubrious tunes (also on the violin), moving the prostitutes to maudlin tears. He went on to band-leading at elite Broadway clubs and traveled on to the executive suites at RCA Victor and the 3-M Music

Co., where he worked on present day institution known as Muzak—the recorded, piped-in music was Selvin's baby.

At 71, Selvin is light years away from the days when he sang as a boy soprano in a New York synagogue, and where he almost headed into a career as a female impersonator. That would-be career folded before it budded. The Broadway impresario who promoted the deal had ordered gowns, bras and other necessary items of feminine apparel for the dimpled, curly-headed youth; at that precise juncture, his voice cracked. The incident bounced him into another show business arena—the movie houses, where he improvised melodies on the piano to synchronize with the silent films that unfolded on the screens.

Today, in his eighth decade, Selvin is still making music pay and having a great time doing so. His new career, just under way, is that of selecting classical music to be recorded to lyrics, to help teach youngsters to remember themes of important musical works.

Selvin is a very canny, friendly man, direct and charming, whose careers though most often show business-oriented, were boosted by sidelines that were seized where offered as the main road away from poverty.

The son of immigrant parents who lived on New York's East Side, Selvin explains his gas-farm investments. "I was raised in poverty; I didn't want that for my kids."

After he had been with Muzak for many years, Selvin was offered a job as president of a record company, in partnership with New York's bon vivant mayor, Jimmy Walker. He had been promised a piece of the Muzak business; it didn't materialize. So the man who early in his career as a bandleader bought a gas station "not because I like to pump gas but because I wanted security," became the mayor's partner.

During a stint with another record company, Columbia, he was an artist and repertoire director, selecting the songs for Crosby et al. He persuaded a reluctant Doris Day to record a song she didn't like and the resulting hit was "It's Magic." He is credited with being the originator of the famed Crosby whistle. That trademark began when Crosby, a singer with the Paul Whiteman Orchestra, recorded his first song with Columbia. "They only gave me a four-piece band to work with. I suggested he whistle during the second chorus to make up for the lack of instruments," Selvin recalled.

His career as an entrepreneur began almost as early as his show business performing—from his first job on Broadway at 15, he graduated to become a member of Charlie Strickland's dance band and supplemented the then somewhat meager salary of a musician by persuading conservative New Englander Strickland, who wouldn't accept tips, to let him be the "financial adjuster" for the band. During a job in Sea Girt, N.J., he topped that, accepting Strickland's bid on the condition that he get the coatroom, auto parking, cigarettes and men's room concessions. "That put me in business," he says in a classic understatement.

He opened at the Moulin Rouge in 1917 with the Ben Selvin Orchestra making its first appearance. He was 19. The club date lasted for seven long years. It was a time of firsts for Selvin; he also recorded his and the industry's first million-selling record—waxed in a manner that seems prehistoric in this age of computers: the band was enclosed in a small room and each instrument was placed in front of a tin horn. All the horns led into one large one, where the music was impregnated onto hot wax. There were no tapes, no amplifiers, no mikes.

Selvin went on to record a total of 9,000 titles, more than any other performers in recording history. The only other person who came even close to that record is Bing Crosby, with a total of 2,600 records.

UNITED STATES IS DEPENDENT ON  
RUSSIAN IMPORTS

**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, despite growing evidence of the problem facing the United States in trading for certain commodities with the Soviet Union, this matter unfortunately has escaped public attention and has not been adequately or objectively studied by the administration.

Willard Edwards, the veteran Chicago Tribune correspondent, has studied the subject and in his column of Thursday, December 11, he very effectively discusses the complications facing us in certain critical commodities obtained in trade from the Soviet Union:

UNITED STATES IS DEPENDENT ON RUSSIAN  
IMPORTS

(By Willard Edwards)

WASHINGTON, December 10.—It will come as a shock to most Americans to learn that the United States has permitted itself to become increasingly dependent upon Russia for imports of critical war materials.

The misgivings accompanying this disclosure will be intensified by the discovery that Russia planned it that way, taking advantage of the "bridge-building" policy which became popular in the mid-'60s under the Johnson administration.

All the evidence suggests that the United States has fallen into a trap prepared by Russian strategists and given the label of the "weak link principle" in an analysis by Maj. Gen. A. N. Lagovskiy of the Red army, a leading soviet specialist in economic warfare.

A translation of Lagovskiy's text for study in the soviet armed forces has been made the basis for a perceptive study by A. C. Sutton of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford university. It appeared in the December issue of *Ordnance*, a journal devoted to industrial preparedness for national defense.

Discussing foreign trade as a weak link in the economy during a war, Gen. Lagovskiy noted the great dependence of modern warfare on certain war materials—such as chrome and platinum—and the lack of major deposits of such materials in the United States and other capitalist countries.

He advocated the encouragement of a potential adversary, such as the United States, to accept imports of such "weak link" strategic minerals from the Soviet Union.

A United States military jet airplane, he emphasized, cannot be produced in the United States by utilizing only domestic raw materials. He gave these startling figures: The United States must import 92 per cent of the chrome, 97 per cent of the nickel, 76 per cent of the raw aluminum, and 88 per cent of the cobalt needed for such an aircraft.

Russia's success in exploiting this strategy must have amazed its sponsors. In a recent typical 6-month period, 84 per cent of United States imports from Russia have been in materials related to the "weak link" strategy—not only chrome ore but industrial diamonds, platinum, palladium, rhodium, nickel, and titanium.

How and why did the United States get itself into this fix?

First, it voluntarily cut itself off from supplies of chrome ore from Rhodesia by joining in United Nations sanctions against that small nation. This political decision gave

Russia, the only other major source of the ore, a virtual monopoly.

Second, it began to rely on Russia for other critical metals under the "bridge-building" programs of the Johnson administration. The idea was that Russia would respond to trade benefits by reducing supplies to North Viet Nam and the middle east conflict.

Russia happily accepted the profits of trade but the "reciprocity" expected never materialized. It even stepped up its logistic supply of world revolution.

The psychological effect on soviet planners contains a degree of danger, Sutton noted. From their viewpoint, the situation means United States weakness and as such can be considered a sufficient invitation to initiate aggression.

It makes little sense, he conclude, to spend vast sums on a defense against soviet missiles without, at the same time, taking steps, at little cost, to remove the nation from the "potentially dangerous corner" into which it has maneuvered itself.

THE PANTHERS NEED HELP

**HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, the Black Panther movement has been in the news quite frequently and, to say the least, the picture is rather grim. Some black leaders who have no sympathy for the tactics and policies of the Black Panthers have expressed concern over the recent clashes between the Panthers and police departments in some of our larger cities—and rightly so.

An editorial appearing in the December 10, 1969, edition of the Peoria Journal Star makes the point that the Panthers can be equated with the Ku Klux Klan. I insert the editorial in the RECORD at this point:

THE PANTHERS NEED HELP

The killing of Peorian Mark Clark and the Black Panther leader last week in Chicago may serve to bring to a head the new boil which the Panthers have imbedded under the skin of human relations in America.

Some real questions have been raised by responsible people, both black and white, about the "shootout" in Chicago.

John Kifer of the New York Times reported Sunday that "an inspection of the first floor apartment did not seem to square with the police accounts of a torrid gun battle." The Chicago Daily News, in calling for Chicagoans to "cool it", editorialized Monday that "The nature and order of events inside the apartment remains to be determined," a strong indication of disbelief of the police story.

Since the Chicago incident, other violent confrontations between police and Black Panthers have occurred in Kansas City and Los Angeles and many black leaders who have no sympathy at all with the Black Panther's violent "political" program are deeply concerned about what is happening.

There is no question that a pattern of violence involving the Panthers and the police has evolved across the nation, but the pattern was not made during the past week. It began to take shape with the "ghetto riots" which spawned small groups of violent conspirators in several cities. And it was finally put together under the Panther label by a coterie of articulate ex-convicts and jobless civil rights activists who duped a few young

men who were not overly bright to sell their newspapers and play the cannonfodder roles of tough-guy revolutionaries.

The Black Panthers leaders—now mostly safe in jail or self-exile excelled in their ability to express hatred—hatred for white bigots, hatred for black "Uncle Toms", hatred for the American system of law and enterprise which is flawed by racial discrimination. Hate coupled with intimidation and demagoguery made the Panthers into a sort of a black Ku Klux Klan. The white sheet was replaced with the black beret and jacket. And the police, who the Panthers think hold American society together, became the Panthers' Enemy No. 1.

In the past two years, we are told by the Panthers, 27 of their members have been killed by police. We do not know how many policemen—or "pigs" in Panther terminology—have been killed by the Panthers.

After all of the killings the Panthers have consistently argued that the police were assassins, conveniently forgetting that it was the Panthers themselves who declared war on the police.

In most of the cases, the Panther stories of police atrocities have been disbelieved, but in last week's "shoot out" in Chicago at 4:40 a.m. the fight was so one-sided that the Panthers found sympathy if not support.

We doubt very much that anything resembling a murderous police conspiracy against the Panthers exists, but there is no doubt that a violent Panther conspiracy is aimed at police. The Panthers themselves have made no secret of this. They publish self-incriminating statements regularly in their newspapers and urge others at public meetings to join them in their war against the police. The only mystery is why the government has not taken more legal action than it already has against these advocates of violence and revolution.

It would not be a surprise if a policeman, facing a group of armed Panthers, fired the first shot. And it would not be hard to believe that a policeman might fire more shots than necessary to subdue such men. The Panthers have simply invited this to happen by stock-piling guns and threatening the police repeatedly.

It seems plain enough that our society can not tolerate the Panthers any more than it could tolerate the Klan. It seems plain enough that the way to stop the Panther movement is the same way which was used to stop the Klan.

Just as intelligent whites refused to have anything to do with the Klan, intelligent blacks must refuse to tolerate or associate with the Panthers.

The real sympathy that the Panthers need from black leaders of the day is the kind which attempts to protect these young men not from the police but from the idiotic Panther leadership which should not be allowed to continue to drive young men like Mark Clark to early graves.

The idea that the Panthers sell that no black man should speak out against "a brother" no matter what he does must give way to the higher intelligence which recognizes that killers, demagogues, and foolish people come in all skin colors. The Panthers, like the Klan, are proof of that.

LETTERS FROM A MOTHER

**HON. ROGER H. ZION**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. ZION. Mr. Speaker, last year a young Evansville soldier died in Vietnam. He was one of many fine young men from

my own community and State who gave their lives that the citizens of another land might determine their own destiny. This particular young man's mother has written me about her son and his life and ideals and I would take this occasion to pass portions of her letters along to my colleagues in the House.

When I asked this lady if I might use portions of her letters in the RECORD, she replied in the affirmative but emphasized that she wished no personal publicity from their use. She stressed that she had no political ax to grind or cause to champion. This mother's letter was, as she wrote:

The anguished cry of an old mother who is broken hearted over the loss of one of her most prized possessions or, "Gifts of God."

One of this lady's letters is a copy of one she wrote to a Vietnam moratorium organizer, Jerome Grossman of Boston, Mass., and I also include portions of this letter to Mr. Grossman. As she wrote to me:

Today, just two years ago, we took our fine young son on his last journey. This was the last time we were to ever see him alive. We took him to the St. Louis airport to get a plane to California and then on to Vietnam. He was killed near Hue during the Tet offensive of Hanoi. He was a medic with the 1st Air Cavalry. My heartfelt sympathy goes out to the parents of these young men being tried for war crimes. I do not condone the crime, but they were trained to kill, yet when they do they are condemned. My son was killed in battle as he tried to move injured soldiers. He had patched up and moved a number of them and was trying to move yet another one when he was killed. He did not carry a gun but only medicine in his back pack and in his hand, and a Bible in his pocket. I'm sure he also had a prayer on his lips. Was not this just as cold-blooded a murder as what these soldiers are accused of? Why aren't the Viet Cong murders given equal time with the American ones? The Viet Cong are killing their own people.

Another thing that bothers me are all these young people demonstrating. They are bringing on an American defeat and are condemning what my young son died for. I thought it was called treason to raise an enemy flag and to help the enemy in time of war. What happened to punishment for this?

To Mr. Jerome Grossman, an organizer of the moratorium effort in October:

Our fine young man was killed in Vietnam last year. He had received a B.A. from Wash-bash College and had a year and a half in seminary finished. He felt compelled to serve his country so he dropped out of seminary and enlisted. He was trained as a medic and he was a good medic. He has been given 11 medals for his brave deeds. While in college and seminary he worked hard. During the summers and at Christmas holidays he worked for a milling company, cut grass for our church and sold pots and pans to help pay his way. He had also been given a scholarship. Please tell me how all those long-haired "girl figures" are paying their way? Is it men like you who are giving them money? My boy could never have taken time off to demonstrate. He was too busy paying his own way through college. I believe if a lot of these characters who call themselves men but look like ill-groomed girls would see a little of what my boy did they would become better Americans. My boy never had so much as a traffic ticket. He was always clean-shaven with his hair cut and very neat. It makes

my blood boil to see these young people in college today. Tell me how they can have the money to spend on these music orgies. Someone is paying the bill.

My boy did not believe in killing but he wrote home and said "After seeing all of the destruction that the Viet Cong have done to these poor small people, I am glad to help wherever I can."

Why is it that these followers of Mao and Hanoi are praised while our good boys come home from the fighting and are looked down on and have a hard time getting a job? You have said that you would not be able to stand it if you lost a son in this war. Well, we have and I'll tell you how you stand it. When the officer comes to your door and tells you he is sorry to tell you your son has been killed, the world seems to fall down on you. You go to bed each night and cry yourself to sleep. You look at his bed and his clothes, especially his shoes, and know that your once fine young man will never fill them again. Then the letters and packages that you sent him, but that he never received because he was in the front lines trying to save all that he could, start coming back and a knife turns in your heart. You go to the cemetery and put flowers on his grave thinking at least you can do that much. He was not a "flower child" but he loved flowers and all living and growing things. You remember the time he gave up a date on New Year's Eve with a girl he was fond of just to sit with his grandmother who had just lost her husband and was lonely. You remember the morning you were ready to take him to the airport for his last journey and he put his arm around you and said "Mom and Pop, no matter what happens I want you to know that I love you."

Surely a man of your wealth and prestige could do more. We should never have gotten into this war in the first place but we ARE in it. Are you just willing to hand over to the enemy everything that my fine young boy stood for?

And, finally, she writes to me:

It hurts me to see my son's name read at these so-called "peace" rallies, when he had nothing in common with these long-haired, bead-wearing, so-called young "men".

My son was a small young man in body, but he had a big, beautiful love of God, country, family, his fellow Americans and also the Vietnamese. In one letter, he wrote that he had a wonderful experience. A Viet Cong prisoner was brought to him seemingly dead. He gave him mouth-to-mouth resuscitation and patched him up and, at the last report, this person was going to make it.

All of these fine young men have given the last ounce of devotion to their country and went to Vietnam thinking they were aiding the U.S., not the Viet Cong. It hurts me so to see these "peace" marchers carrying Viet Cong flags and praising the Viet Cong.

We have a beautiful, vast, productive country—truly a Gift of God to use in the right way. All of these young people have a golden opportunity to get their education and do something worthwhile for their country and their fellow man.

Where has the bravery and love of country and hard work to achieve a goal of our forefathers vanished to? I feel that my son and all of the thousands of other fine young men who died in the service of their country, accepting the harshness of basic training and all the other hurts of war, are true Americans.

Mr. Speaker, there is very little that I would add. These letters from the heart of a mother who loved and lost her son speak for themselves. As was her son, she, too, is a patriot of the highest order. We need more of her kind.

JOHN J. RHODES REPORTS

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, from time to time I send a newsletter to my constituents reviewing matters which may be of widespread interest. This week my newsletter centers on some of the major proposals contained in "The Nixon Legislative Program," and I include it at this point in the RECORD for the benefit of those who may be interested:

[From the newsletter of John J. Rhodes, Dec. 10, 1969]

THE NIXON LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

When President Nixon took office last January, there was a growing sense of frustration with government among Americans. The Federal government continued to spend billions upon billions of dollars while the individual taxpayer saw fewer and fewer results from such massive spending, except for the fact that the purchasing power of his dollar was being drastically eroded.

In addition to a skyrocketing inflation fed by fiscal irresponsibility on the part of the previous Administration, Nixon was confronted by an unprecedented increase in crime in the streets, riots on our campuses, and a welfare system that seemed to reward those who would not work, but failed to provide adequately for those who could not work. We had a draft system that fostered needless uncertainty for our youth and, most tragically, a long and confusing war having no apparent policy direction whatsoever.

President Nixon was summoned to provide new leadership to the nation and offer new approaches to these and other problems. The President responded by setting forth a comprehensive and well thought-out set of legislative proposals designed to speak directly to the needs of our nation. They promise real solutions to our problems and not merely band-aids to cover our wounds.

Specifically, the President has sent some fifty messages to Congress recommending the enactment of needed legislation in almost every area of concern. He has confronted inflation head-on by committing this Administration to a set of policies designed to curb the causes of the dollar's erosion. He has recommended wholesale reform of the Post Office, the draft system, the Electoral College, and the Internal Revenue Code.

At the same time, the President has called for specific changes to deal more adequately with the scourge of organized crime, obscene mail, hunger and malnutrition, narcotics and dangerous drugs. He has become the first Chief Executive to recognize and put forth concrete proposals to cope with the awesome population explosion, the crisis in urban and air transportation and the dismally unsuccessful hand-out programs now passing for welfare.

Let's take a closer look at some of the major proposals contained in "The Nixon Legislative Program" and then turn to the action they have received at the hands of the 91st Congress:

CONTROL OF INFLATION

One of the most serious problems inherited by the Nixon Administration was an intolerably high increase in the cost of living. Everyone seemed to be against inflation, but very few were willing to take the steps needed to bring it under control. President Nixon

rejected the artificial tactics of imposing wage and price controls or ineffectual guidelines, in favor of attacking the root causes of the problem.

The hard fact of the matter is that the government can add force to the steamroller of inflation simply by continuing to spend more money than it takes in. For the eight years preceding 1969, the Federal government had run an uninterrupted string of budget deficits culminating in a deficit of over \$25 billion in 1968! Today, the chickens have come home to roost and we are all paying for that spending spree in the form of the cruelest tax of all—inflation.

The President has taken action on his pledge to put this nation's economic house in order. He has proposed a cut in Federal spending of over \$7 billion this year. He has asked the Congress to phase out the tax surcharge over one year rather than six months, and to eliminate the 7% investment tax credit.

This is tough medicine. These measures aren't the kind that buy instant votes nor give instant relief. Belt tightening is slow and painful, but a President taking steps to fight inflation must make difficult decisions based on reality and not on artificial popularity.

The prospect of inflation run rampant is a very real one. Over the last two years, the prices of meat, poultry and fish have gone up 13.6%; men's clothing up 12.8%; new homes up 18.2%. This Congress, like the Administration, must match its words with its deeds to restore fiscal integrity to the Federal government and economic stability to the economy.

#### TAX REFORM

A part of the Administration's economic program is to return equity to the Federal tax system. Back in April, President Nixon initiated these changes by recommending to Congress a sound set of tax reforms that were the most comprehensive since 1954. Last August, the House passed a so-called Tax Reform Act which ran to 368 pages in length. While some changes made by the bill were desirable, many were ill-conceived and potentially harmful. Moreover, real tax reform, in my opinion, requires making the present system more streamlined rather than more complicated. While Americans don't mind paying their fair share, the uncertainty and unintelligibility which are the hallmarks of the present Internal Revenue Code, are not acceptable.

This bill is now before the Senate, where many of us had hoped that the defects in the House measure could be remedied. Unfortunately, action on the bill has turned into a competitive fiasco to see who can tax less through the Internal Revenue Service and more through inflation. As the Senate version of the bill now stands, its tax-reducing provisions would exceed its tax-raising provisions by \$5 billion in the next fiscal year! While I would be the last person to oppose tax cuts, I believe that this must be done responsibly, which means that spending must first be cut. A tax "handout" without an accompanying reduction in expenditures could cost more in terms of inflation than would direct taxes, in the long run.

One consolation is the fact that if the tax bill that finally reaches the President makes excessive pie-in-the-sky handouts and thereby threatens to cost the nation more than its "reforms" are worth, the President will exercise his veto power. Nevertheless, it will be tragic indeed if Members of Congress lose the opportunity for meaningful tax reform in an exercise of partisan politics.

#### CONTROL OF CRIME

Many of today's criminal problems result from our failure to enforce laws already on the books. Largely, this responsibility rests with the States. For this reason, a massive program designed to modernize local law enforcement agencies across the country is part of the anti-crime package which the

Nixon Administration has recommended to Congress. This package also includes measures to strengthen the attack against organized crime, to stem the tide against pornography and obscene mail within present Supreme Court decisions, and to deal more effectively with the serious problem of narcotics and dangerous drugs. While no single legislative program has a higher priority within this Administration, not a single one of the more than 20 bills on the subject has been passed by the Congress. Again, the Administration has taken the lead in an area of utmost concern to all Americans, but the Democratic leadership of the Congress has not yet acted.

#### NEW FEDERALISM

In a nationwide address last summer, President Nixon set forth a comprehensive plan designed to revamp a good share of this country's social legislation. The three-pronged approach which the President detailed was referred to as "The New Federalism" emphasizing the fact that power was to be returned to the States rather than continue to become concentrated in Washington.

In the area of welfare, everyone agrees that the present system is a colossal failure. Besides failing to meet the needs of the poor, the cost of welfare has more than tripled since 1960, and continues its upward climb. President Nixon has proposed that the present welfare system be scrapped entirely and be replaced by a Family Assistance Plan having the same qualifications and benefits across the nation, combined with a requirement that those who accept benefits must also accept suitable work or job training. In connection with welfare reform, the President recommended a new Manpower Training Act that would consolidate the maze of confusing and overlapping Federal job training programs. Both of these measures are part of a long-range program designed to get people off the welfare rolls and on to the payrolls, thus reducing the need for welfare and its cost to the nation.

The Administration has also proposed a Revenue Sharing Act whereby a set portion of revenues from the Federal income tax would be returned directly to State and local governments on a "no-strings-attached" basis. While it was an accepted tenet of previous Administrations that centralized Federal planning was necessary in order to meet public needs effectively, the President has advocated decentralization as a means of better dealing with a large number of our problems. There is no doubt that all three of these proposals would bring about unprecedented changes in existing programs that must be fully and carefully analyzed. On the other hand, it is clear that the present programs are leading us toward disaster, and that Congress should address itself to the positive proposals put forward by the President.

#### POSTAL REFORM

The Post Office is in a race with catastrophe and, as President Nixon stated in his message to Congress last May, "Total reform of the nation's postal system is absolutely essential." This year the postal service is expected to run a budget deficit of more than \$1.2 billion and this red ink is being underwritten by the taxpayers, rather than by the users of the postal service who should rightly bear this cost. The Post Office Department is badly in need of modernization and improved management techniques. After a careful analysis of the problems besetting the postal service, the Administration proposed a comprehensive reorganization of the Department aimed at removing it from 18th century politics and establishing a government-owned corporation to provide prompt and efficient mail service to all Americans. Despite the broad support that this measure has, the Democratic Congress has not acted favorably upon it and has indicated that it does not intend to do so.

#### DRAFT REFORM

President Nixon recognized that the draft law presented an intolerable situation which imposed a needless uncertainty on the lives of young Americans. Last May he forwarded a message to the Congress calling for authority to institute a lottery and change to the "youngest first" method of selection. After the House had passed the measure the Senate Democratic Leadership declared that no action would be taken on it this year. Fortunately, the full impact of this callous disregard for the interests of young Americans for political considerations was brought to bear, with the result that the draft reform law is one of the few pieces of major legislation to have passed the Congress this year.

#### CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

There are, of course, a number of other important proposals comprising "The Nixon Legislative Program." The Administration is sponsoring or endorsing around 120 bills supporting its position in such diverse areas as the merchant marine, hunger and malnutrition, the population explosion, and unemployment insurance reforms. The unfortunate fact is that of all the measures submitted to it, the 91st Congress has completed action on only two major bills—draft reform and an increase in the limit on the national debt (the interest on which is now running in excess of \$45 million a day!).

With regard to money bills, we are almost at the half-way point in the current fiscal year and the Congress has completed action on only 4 of some 13 regular appropriations bills. Since last July 1, the Congress has kept the Federal government in business by passing emergency resolutions providing temporary funds to the various government agencies to continue their day-to-day operations. If it were not for these so-called "continuing resolutions" the government would simply not be able to pay its bills. Needless to say, it is both bad business and bad government when Congress abandons its function of closely regulating government expenditures by simply providing funds to the government at last year's levels.

At this writing, Congress has yet to pass appropriations for Defense; the District of Columbia; Foreign Aid; Labor, Health, Education and Welfare; Military Construction; the Legislative Branch; Public Works; State, Justice and Commerce Departments and Transportation. The delay is so serious that President Nixon warned Democratic leaders last week that he may have to call Congress back into special session on December 26 unless it acts on all the appropriations measures before adjourning.

The simple fact remains that while the President can propose legislation, the Congress must enact it into law. Many persons do not realize the importance of the Leadership of the Congress. The majority party controls the flow of legislation to the Congress and determines what legislation will be acted upon. Its members chair all of the standing committees and subcommittees in the House and the Senate and hold hearings on subjects of their choosing. To date, the Democrat-controlled Congress has been quite remiss in bringing important measures to the floor so that the House and Senate may work their will upon them. The fact is clear that if the 91st Congress is to rid itself of the "do-nothing" label, it must stop dragging its feet in the next session beginning in January.

#### CHANGE OF ADDRESS

In a large mailing such as this, it is sometimes difficult to correctly indicate everyone's name and address. If there are any changes that should be made in your mailing address, I would appreciate it if you would tear off the address on the brown envelope and return it to me with the applicable changes indicated thereon. (2312 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515)

## BIG-TRUCK BILL

## HON. FRED SCHWENDEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. SCHWENDEL. Mr. Speaker, my editorial for today is from the Casper Star-Tribune, in the State of Wyoming. The editorial follows:

CONTROVERSY OVER TRUCK LEGISLATION  
(By James J. Kilpatrick)

WASHINGTON.—At one time or another, every motorist has known the miserable experience—sometimes the terrifying experience—of trying to pass a tractor-trailer truck in foul weather conditions. The box-car profile blocks the road ahead. One gropes through rain and flying spume, hands gripping the wheel. Just a couple of feet to the side, 35 tons of steel are rolling along at 60 miles an hour. At last you get around; and behold: Another truck ahead.

A House subcommittee resumes hearings this week on a bill that brings these recollections vividly to mind. The bill would set new permissible maximum width, weight, and length limits for the interstate highway system. Truck and bus companies are ardently supporting the bill; the American Automobile Association, representing passenger car drivers, is just as dead set against it. For my own part, I wish there were some way to find a compromise down a middle lane.

Proponents of the bill make an excellent case—up to a point. The present interstate width and load limits were fixed 13 years ago, according to standards laid down in 1946. Since then, the interstate highways have come into being. It is a plausible contention that these magnificent freeways are capable of handling wider and heavier loads than the old primary highways could take.

The bill would permit the States to authorize an increase in single-axle loads from 18,000 to 20,000 pounds; an increase in tandem-axle loads from 32,000 to 34,000 pounds; and an increase in the gross load limit from 73,280 pounds to a higher figure obtained from a length and axle formula. The maximum permissible width would be increased from 96 to 102 inches.

These changes are recommended by the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads. They are not opposed by the American Association of State Highway Officials (AASHO). The point is made that roughly half the States already permit these higher load limits, under a grandfather clause inserted in the basic Federal act of 1956. The proposed increase in maximum width would make it possible for trucks to carry cargoes (such as plywood) that come in multiples of eight feet; the extra six inches, it is said, also would contribute to greater stability and to greater safety.

So far, so good. The ordinary motorist may wince at the greater width, but it is hard to object to the proposed new limits on weight. At about this point in the debate, however, the proponents run out of gas; the remainder of their case is much less impressive.

The bill proposes a Federal length limit of 70 feet. It's too much. Oregon now allows up to 75 feet on designated highways, and Nevada has a 70-foot limit, but 27 States hold to 65 feet, Iowa limits length to 60 feet, and 20 States have a 55-foot limit. Both the Bureau of Public Roads and AASHO recommend 65 feet. In asking for this added length, the truckers are getting grabby.

Proponents of the bill emphasize that the bill is "only permissive"—no State would have to approve the higher limits; and they point out that the new dimensions would apply to the interstate highways only. The answer to this is, unh-hunn, or who's kidding whom? Once the higher limits were

authorized, the truckers' lobby would roll into high gear; few legislatures would resist. And as spokesmen for counties and cities have observed, the new behemoth trucks would have to get on and come off the interstate system by way of old highways and bridges not meant for the mastodon size.

The truckers say that larger trucks will produce economies in freight expenses, which economies in turn will be passed along to consumers. It seems doubtful. Consumers have not seen many such economies lately. The truth is that this bill would benefit truck and bus companies. Okay, but let's leave it at that.

Substantially this same bill passed the Senate last year, but died in the House when the 90th Congress ran out of time. On balance, the better arguments still lie against the bill. Unless a reasonable compromise can be found, the resurrected measure ought to be interred again.

TRIBUTE TO DR. ROBERT LEE JACKSON

## HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I recently came across a copy of the December 1968 edition of the Journal of the Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, which contains a biographical sketch of Dr. Robert Lee Jackson of Baltimore, Md.

Dr. Jackson is one of Baltimore's distinguished citizens, and a man whom I have been proud to call my friend for many years. Throughout his career, both as a physician and as a public servant, Dr. Jackson has made a habit of overcoming obstacles, which I am sure would have discouraged a lesser man. His refusal to accept anything less than the best has motivated him through a lifetime, which has brought him personal success and prestige, and during which he has made a long series of significant contributions to the health and welfare of his community and his fellow citizens.

I believe my colleagues will be interested in and encouraged by this heartwarming story of one Negro American who stayed with the fight when the going was tough and who by his efforts, has enriched the lives of thousands of people.

I include the article on Dr. Robert Lee Jackson at this point in the RECORD:  
DR. ROBERT LEE JACKSON, BELOVED VETERAN  
MEDIC

(By G. James Fleming)

He was there when Kappa Chapter was founded at Meharry Medical College in 1919. He was a co-founder of Baltimore Alumni Chapter. He has been active in both the fraternity and in medicine most of his life, and—at age 74—he still practices medicine. He is Robert Lee Jackson.

With due respect, he is "The Grand Old Man of Medicine" in Baltimore.

Brother Jackson was born in Birmingham in 1894; was graduated from Walden University in 1917, and received the M.D. degree from Meharry in 1921. After a postgraduate year at Meharry and the taking of a bride (Clara V. Cleveland), he headed for Baltimore ("up North") where he set himself up in the practice of medicine.

But he did more.

At once he began trying to establish Kappa Alpha Psi in Baltimore; at once he started

trying to secure more professional opportunities for Negro physicians; at once he began trying to enlarge and upgrade Provident Hospital.

Before long, Brother Jackson found three Lincoln (Pa.) Kappamen—Drs. Newman, Scott and Harris (their first names escape him) and, in 1923, the Baltimore Alumni Chapter was chartered, when George F. David was Grand Polemarch and C. Leon Wilson was Grand Keeper of Records.

The chapter met in members' homes, but Kappa was also much alive at Provident Hospital, since most of the Kappa physicians were also on the hospital's staff. The chapter observed the fraternity's programs but, according to Brother Jackson, "it also became noted for grand social affairs with finely printed invitations. This was the period when there was great competition among the Greek-letter societies."

"The chapter brought the first Grand Chapter to Baltimore in 1920 or 1921 and we also were the leading spirits in establishing Alpha Iota Chapter at Morgan State College," according to Brother Jackson.

Brother Jackson received the 18th Distinguished Medal, highest award of the National Medical Association, at its 68th annual convention in Los Angeles, in 1963. The award was in recognition of Brother Jackson's contributions to the founding and maintenance of Provident Hospital in Baltimore, as a recognized and accredited training institution, his efforts in the actions which resulted in the acceptance of Negro physicians into membership by the Baltimore City Medical Society and the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of the State of Maryland, and his role in securing the admission of Negro surgeons as Fellows in the American College of Surgeons. The award acknowledged also the wider influence he had exerted through the men trained at Provident and his activities in stimulating others to make contributions to medical literature.

He was honored for becoming the first Negro physician to serve in the chest clinics of the Maryland Tuberculosis Association. In those early days, when the walls of segregation were thick and high, the established hospitals of the city were closed to Negro physicians. The dream of a hospital where Negro physicians could practice and train continually inspired Brother Jackson. He succeeded in interesting Dr. J. M. T. Finney, Sr., Dr. Richard TeLinde and many other leading Baltimore surgeons and physicians from the Johns Hopkins and the University of Maryland Hospitals and Medical Schools to begin a campaign to remodel the Union Protestant Infirmary on Division Street to accommodate the Provident Hospital, which was then located in small, inadequate quarters on Biddle Street.

In 1925 these men recommended his appointment as the first resident in surgery at the Provident Hospital. They served as consultants and continued to support the effort to transfer the hospital to the building on Division Street. This was accomplished in 1928 and Brother Jackson was named medical director.

In these relatively early days of postgraduate training in medicine, when racial barriers seemed immovable, the new Provident assumed important significance as an institution in which Negro doctors might practice and take supervised training in the specialties of surgery, medicine, and obstetrics and gynecology. A new resource for the training of Negro nurses was also provided.

Brother Jackson completed his residency training in 1930 and was appointed junior consultant in surgery at Provident in 1931. In 1935, he was made associate chief of surgery with Dr. George G. Finney, son of the late Dr. J. M. T. Finney. When Dr. George Finney entered the armed forces in 1941, Brother Jackson remained associate chief of surgery with Dr. Samuel McLanahan.

In 1940, Brother Jackson became chief of

staff at Provident. Under his leadership, the hospital developed a training program in the major services, particularly general surgery, which attracted many young Negro men and women of medicine. Through the years they have gone on to become certified in their specialties, Fellows in the respective national and international clinical colleges, heads of departments, teachers, and contributors to medical literature and research. These physicians, too numerous to mention, may be found in almost every state in the Union, and some foreign countries. In 1950 Brother Jackson, appointed chief of surgical service, Provident Hospital, continued to carry on a service recognized by the American Board of Surgery for resident training.

In 1957, many of the Jackson-trained doctors returned to Baltimore when the former House Officers of Provident Hospital paid tribute to him at the hospital's annual banquet, which was specifically designated as in his honor. Here they joined with the Governor of Maryland, the Mayor of Baltimore, prominent civic leaders, patients and friends in hailing the contributions "Dr. Jackson" had made to the advancement of medical care and training under difficult circumstances.

In semi-retirement now, Brother Jackson still continues his interest in Provident Hospital, is helping to make possible the new (\$12,000,000) Provident now being built.

Brother Jackson has served as a member of the Baltimore City Relief Commission, the Department of Public Welfare, the Baltimore City Criminal Justice Commission, the Baltimore City Planning Commission, and the Selective Service Board.

Brother Jackson has pursued many post-graduate courses. These include: Intestinal surgery at the Cook County Graduate School of Medicine, 1930; rectal surgery at Cook County, 1935; general surgery, Presbyterian, and Mount Sinai hospitals, New York, 1937; blood banks, New York University Postgraduate School of Medicine, 1944; female urology, New York University Postgraduate School of Medicine, 1946; male urology, Cook County, 1947; gall bladder surgery, Cook County, 1949; general surgery, George Washington Postgraduate School of Medicine, 1952. He has attended all the clinical congresses of the American College of Surgeons since his inclusion in 1948.

Brother Jackson has been a member of the National Medical Association since 1924. He also belongs to the Monumental City Medical Society, Maryland Medical Society, Baltimore City Medical Society, Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of the State of Maryland, and is a Fellow of the American College of Surgeons. He also belongs to the Masons, the Elks, and the Presbyterian Church.

Certainly Robert Lee Jackson is Kappaman of the month; certainly, too, a Kappaman of the Year; and—by his life—Kappaman of two centuries.

#### GLASS TARIFFS

### HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, the following is the text of a letter I sent to the president of the Kiwanis Club, of New Kensington, Pa., located in my congressional district. He expressed his vital concern over the lowering of glass tariffs, and their effect on our community. I think my letter to him should be read by all

Members of Congress so they may be further alerted to the danger of lowering glass tariffs.

KARL P. KARSTEN,  
President, Kiwanis Club,  
New Kensington, Pa.

DEAR MR. KARSTEN: I have been receiving a number of letters from Arnold, Lower Burrell, and New Kensington concerning the very serious problem of glass imports. Since many of the letters have been coming in from Kiwanis members please feel free to make my letter public by publishing it in your newsletter.

The glass industry has suffered for a long time from increasing pressure from low-wage produced glass from almost every country in the world, especially Europe, Japan, and the Red Curtain countries.

The problem has become so serious that the American-St. Gobain Company has closed their Arnold plant, and reduced its production in its remaining plants. Unless relief is forthcoming they may well close one or all of its remaining facilities. This fact was brought to the attention of the Tariff Commission by industry, the worker's union, and your Congressman acting for and in behalf of Arnold, Lower Burrell, New Kensington, and surrounding areas that are seriously affected by the closing of this facility.

The mayors of these three cities have been very co-operative and helpful. The citizens were, also, helpful, and rendered substance by sending me thousands of petitions which were signed and presented to the Commission.

For the first time since President Kennedy gave some relief to the Industry, by ruling back tariffs to the pre-Smoot-Hawley days, the Tariff Commission has called a halt to any further decreases in glass tariff.

The Chairman of the Commission, in his opinion on the matter of glass, states that excessive damage is being done in the glass industry. This puts the matter on the shoulders of the President of the United States. His hand is fortified with the Tariff Commission's report on exactly the action taken by President Kennedy. We can be assured that, if the President does put the tariff back to the Kennedy level, we at least will be able to hold off complete destruction of the industry.

I believe more should be done. We cannot sustain our economy if we are going to allow nations, where their highest wage is only 10-50% of our minimum wage, to use this country as a dumping ground.

As you know my hearings start soon on a new wage bill under the F.L.S.A., which may further depreciate American manufacturer's opportunity to hold on to their own market. Many of us intend to fight, as we have in the past, but it can not be done unless the local communities, and citizens finally realize buying foreign products is not always the most economical way to live. Consumers are only fighting themselves when they buy foreign products made by low-wage workers in foreign countries. In most instances consumers who buy foreign products are the producers of American goods competing with the foreign countries' low-waged producers.

I want you to stress the following information: While it is known, of course, to the companies and workers' representatives, there are many citizens who do not know of a certain feature in the trade agreements. It was put in as a sop to Labor, but may well be the greatest single item of relief expenditures in the Federal Government. Under the Foreign Trade law any worker who can show that his job has been taken by imports is entitled to 65% of his weekly wage for a period of one year, or if he is in training for another job—an additional 6 months, or if he is 60 years of age—an additional 3 months of entitlement.

They have not yet decided what to do after this period is over, but it is pretty easy to see that these private workers will end up in dire economic straits.

Here is the most important part of this information. After many attempts by Labor to seek to have this relief granted, the Tariff Commission and the Labor Department have agreed to pay these damages to approximately 500 steelworkers in two Armco plants.

While this may be of some relief to the workers it must not be accepted in lieu of jobs when jobs would be available if the imports were not glutting the American market. It has been estimated that this very small award to less than 500 men will cost \$2,232,000 the first year, and this is without counting the loss to local tax authorities, Social Security, and other charges against a worker's payroll.

In face of this situation it is recommended that the 650 workers who have lost their jobs at the Arnold plant make a claim for the import damages which caused the loss of their jobs. That would at least give them a breathing spell during the transition period when they are seeking new employment.

In a very rough calculation I have figured the loss of jobs in the difference between exports and imports of steel, textile products, shoes and leather goods, etc., and find that, giving the imports every benefit of the doubt, there are at least a *minimum* of 400,000 jobs lost by the exchange of goods in exports and imports. This number of jobs would cost the taxpayers in damage relief, if awarded as the law prescribes, better than 2 billion dollars a year. This does not take into consideration the thousands of jobs that have been lost in mushrooms, men and women clothing, cast iron pipes, radios, T.V., automobiles, and every other consumer commodity that has a serious share of the shelves in the American market.

I have given you this information to show that some of us have been aware of this problem and have been like voices in the wilderness in trying to arouse the Congress of the United States to the dangers of this economy.

I do not believe in isolationism, a closed door policy, or a high tariff wall economy. I believe that all goods should flow according to the needs of all nations and not at the cost of our jobs and economy.

The serious thing we have to face is that nations, and oft-times American enterprises, situated in foreign countries, are producing goods solely to export to the U.S. at prices that do not even meet the cost of our labor at the minimum wage level. I believe that nations must work inward for their salvation economically. I do not believe that every nation can sell more than it buys. In a free trade economy, this is the only way a nation can stay solvent in the exchange of money.

No nation should deprive its workers of an opportunity to earn a living simply to make multi-millionaires out of the export-import fraternity, which is international in concept and practice.

Recently, the Sanitary Water Authority of Allegheny County wrote specifications which gave orders for compressors to a foreign producer with one of the finest compressor manufacturers in the Pittsburgh area placing number two on the list of bidders. I have new legislation for the next session dealing with this phase of government financed purchases.

This is just another instance of contracts being given to foreign bidders when our own companies can and should have had the bid. Here is another example of why we should be "buying American".

The only way we can hope to survive and to salvage jobs of our workers, and the welfare of our industries is for the American people to buy their own products.

THE LATE HONORABLE JOHN JANAS

**HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, last week in Lowell, Mass., an outstanding citizen and public servant, State Representative John Janas, succumbed to a heart attack and died. He was 59 and still a vigorous and energetic man who had made a career out of giving of himself to his community and to his State.

I was privileged to know John Janas well. He began his public service when he was elected to the Lowell school committee in 1945. Following that he was elected to the city council in 1947 and subsequently was reelected for eight terms. In 1954, demonstrating the high esteem in which he was held by his colleagues on the city council, he was elected by them to serve as mayor of Lowell—the first Polish American to hold that post.

In 1962, John Janas was elected to the Massachusetts State Legislature from the 15th Middlesex District—the first Republican to be sent from that district in its history. He served with distinction in the State House from that time until his death last week. His dedicated work will surely be missed by his colleagues there.

Throughout his life, John Janas lent his efforts to helping others—through his membership in the Benefit Society of the Polish National Catholic Church, the American National Red Cross, and numerous other groups. In recognition of that service, he was named the "Man of the Year" in 1961, by the Greater Lowell Civic Committee.

Mrs. Morse joins me in extending our deepest sympathy to Nellie Janas and their three sons.

A recent article in the Lowell Sun detailed Representative Janas' many accomplishments and contributions and I insert it at this point in the RECORD:

REPRESENTATIVE JOHN JANAS SUCCEEDS AT 59  
LOWELL—State Rep. John Janas, 59, of 4 Viles Ave. was dead on arrival yesterday at St. Joseph's Hospital.

Born in Lowell he was the son of the late Frank and the late Bridget Janas.

He was a graduate of Lowell High School and was a Carney Medal winner. He also was a graduate of the Lowell Technological Institute.

"He, at one time, served as safety director for the American Hide & Leather Co.

For many years he was active in many civic and social affairs throughout the city and state.

In the year 1945 he was elected to the school committee in Lowell for a two-year term. He was elected to the city council in 1947 and was re-elected for eight terms. Out of the eight terms he was elected he was the highest voted candidate for five times. In 1954 Councilor Janas was honored by his colleagues when they elected him mayor, the first Polish American mayor of Lowell.

In April of 1962 a special state election for the 15th Middlesex representative district was held to fill a vacancy which was created when Rep. Cornelius Desmond Jr. was elected City Manager, the then Councilor John Janas was elected to represent the district, the first

Republican to ever be elected from that district.

In 1963 he was re-elected to the General Court also in 1966. In 1963 he was also re-elected but this time, because of the redistricting, he represented the 29th Middlesex District, consisting of Ward 9 in Lowell and all of Dracut.

In the State House Legislature, he served on three committees, taxation, payroll and banking.

Rep. Janas was a parishoner of St. Casimir's Polish National Catholic Church and held membership in St. Casimir's Benefit society, also the East End Social Club, board member of the American National Red Cross, Greater Lowell Chapter, the B.P.O.E. Lodge 87 of Elks, the Passe Temps club of Lowell, C.C.A. club of Lowell, Pawtucketville Social Club, the Polish National Home Association, (Dom Polski) an Honorary member of the Polish American Veterans of Lowell Inc., the Pulaski Club, Polish National Alliance Group 944, ZNP. Honorary member of the National Army Navy Union, Lowell Heart Association, Lowell Diabetes Association, United Fund, Centralville-Social Club.

He received the "Man of the Year" award in 1961 from Greater-Lowell Civic Committee.

He is survived by his wife, Nellie (Cuipa) Janas; three sons, Dr. John J. Janas Jr. on the staff of St. Joseph's Hospital; Frank Janas, loan officer at the National Shaumut Bank of Boston; and Edward Janas, student at the Mass. College of Pharmacy in Boston; a sister, Mrs. James (Mary) Joyce of Lowell; also six grandchildren.

**ALL AMERICAN SOLDIERS ARE NOT TRIGGER-HAPPY KILLERS****HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Frank H. Taylor, 318 Grove Avenue, Falls Church, Va., has forwarded to me a copy of a letter written by his son, a lieutenant in Vietnam, to the editor of the Northern Virginia Sun.

This letter was written and published before the release of the alleged massacre of Vietnamese civilians in the village of Mylai 4, and because of this fact it has a bearing on the conduct of our soldiers in the most vexing war ever fought by Americans. I insert the letter from Second Lieutenant Taylor at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Northern Virginia Sun,  
Nov. 18, 1969]

YOUNG OFFICER DOES WHAT HE MUST

Editor, the Sun:

I have been in recent contact by mail during my tour in Vietnam with my grandfather, a veteran of World War I. Perhaps we don't share the "same" combat experiences for this is a different kind of war. My father and uncle are veterans of a more recent struggle, World War II. Now I am doing my part and my duty to my country in Vietnam. I accepted the responsibilities of a commission as a second lieutenant before I volunteered for duty in Vietnam.

This is a different kind of war than anything my grandfather or father have ever seen. It's a war for hearts and minds, not for a military victory. We can't just attack an enemy; we've got to convince him logically that our way is correct and offers more opportunity. Our goals aren't as clear-cut as

"take that objective." They are so complex that they are almost unimaginable. We're here to build a strong vibrant nation that can stand on its own two feet and say "here I am in spite of you." It's a crazy war of inactivity and positive action. A war not of destruction, but of instruction, a war to build as fast as the VC (Viet Cong) destroy. For example, Charlie blew a bridge on a main roadway, and two days later we were using it again—people on their way to the market and town, soldiers on the move.

It is a very different type of war but we're winning, that's for sure. ARVN (South Vietnamese) troops are doing a fine job. They wouldn't stand up to a German army of 1918 or 1939, but they can hold their own against NVA and VC forces here in IV Corps.

But where we're winning is with the people. Many women died as a result of childbirth, but that number is constantly decreasing. It's a war against ignorance, disease and stupidity. We MENEVAC see more people suffering from disease or injury than we do from gunshot wounds. But I'm not a medic, yet I help as a medical advisor.

Not only are we medics, but engineers, repairmen, mechanics and teachers. It takes a diversified person to win this kind of war. And thank God, Americans are that. We deliver babies, build bridges, or fire a weapon with the same hands.

Many people, especially of my generation, want to protest this war. That's fine with me; I respect their right to do so, but I'm afraid they don't know what it is really like over here. They're afraid to do something positive. They are content to criticize, yet not to react positively. They don't realize it takes more to fight this kind of war than just the ability to pull a trigger or kill. It takes people who care about people to win. It takes a person willing to work 24 hours a day, seven days a week for what he believe in.

I can't complain; I enjoy myself here. But I enjoy it because I love people. I'm beginning to understand them as persons, what makes them react. I guess you call it insight. Understanding people are people no matter what the color of their skin or the shape of their eyes.

This is a war we can win with the youth and energy of America. It's the chance of America to prove to the rest of the world the quality of leadership that we have and that the rest of the other generation feels we lack. If you want to protest, protest positively.

Involvement is something that too few people in our country want to do. We don't want to "get involved" but it doesn't work that way in life. I do what I must; I stand for what I believe in.

2d Lt. PETER TAYLOR,  
ADV Team 85.

APO SF 96215.

**WHITHER THE PASSENGER TRAIN?****HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN**

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday of this week the Providence Journal carried an article by Sylvia Porter entitled, "Whither the Passenger Train?" The article is notable in that it underscores the dire straits in which U.S. passenger train service finds itself today. Miss Porter ends her article on the note:

As congestion on our highways and airways intensifies, top-notch trains could have a real appeal to millions of us, even if they take considerably longer. Let's find out how this service can be integrated into our future transportation network.

I concur with Miss Porter's views. It is up to us to find the solutions and put them into practice. At this point I place Miss Porter's timely comments in the RECORD:

[From the Providence Journal, Dec. 9, 1969]

WHITHER THE PASSENGER TRAIN?

(By Sylvia Porter)

Young parents I know living in San Francisco are planning to bring their three children East for a visit next summer. They want to come by Pullman train (do you remember Pullman trains?) because this might be the last chance the children have for a long-distance overnight train ride.

Even so, my friends cannot go directly from California to New York without changing trains in Chicago or flying the last leg of their trip. The last through California-New York sleeping car, in fact, was discontinued back in 1958.

Today you cannot get a direct train between such major cities as Pittsburgh and Cleveland, Memphis and Nashville, Tulsa and Oklahoma City, Boston and Portland, Maine.

The blunt fact is that you and I are abandoning the passenger train in 1969:

We cut our long-haul train travel 20 per cent—the biggest drop in passenger miles for any post-War War II year.

The number of passengers carried by the long distance lines dropped to 296 million—one third the number carried in 1944.

Railroad passenger revenue on long-haul lines dropped to \$291 million, against \$1.7 billion a quarter century before.

The number of sleeping cars dwindled to 1,037 vs. 6,223 in 1948 and the number of dining cars to 627 from 1,730.

In 1929 there were 20,000 passenger trains. There are now fewer than 500.

Enough of the figures: so complete is our abandonment of the railroad that today only 1 per cent of long-distance travelers in the U.S. go via trains. In contrast, the number of miles we travel on car trips each year has soared past one trillion and the number of miles we travel by plane each year is over 100 billion.

A major factor in this, to be sure, has been the railroads' utter contempt for our convenience and comfort. Frequently, the dirt and discomfort, lack of dining cars, filthy bathrooms, etc. are enough to turn even the most sympathetic into a train hater.

But whatever the causes, the big long-haul trains are losing huge amounts today on passenger service—at a time when mail revenues, which for years have helped subsidize passenger trains, have also been dropping sharply.

Congress is now grappling with a half dozen different proposals for saving long-distance railroad passenger service. The key bill, introduced by Sen. Vance Hartke, D-Ind., would require the federal government to cover the deficits on any long-haul passenger service it requires the railroads to continue for the public good. In addition, it would authorize the Federal Transportation Department to invest in modern, new

equipment which would then be rented to the railroads for long-haul runs. The precedents are: Washington already has invested billions in highways for automobiles and now wants to invest more billions in airports.

The Transportation Department wants to set up a Comsat-type private corporation which would try to run good, profitable, high-speed trains in high density corridors such as San Francisco-Los Angeles, Chicago-Cleveland, Houston-New Orleans, Chicago-Indianapolis-Cincinnati, Milwaukee-Chicago.

But, despite the instant success of the fast trains running between New York and Washington and New York and Boston, an astonishing point is that neither government officials nor the railroads have undertaken a definitive nationwide market survey to find out what kind of service you really want.

As congestion on our highways and airways intensifies top-notch trains could have a real appeal to millions of us, even if they take considerably longer. Let's find out how this service can be integrated into our future transportation network.

#### EVENTS IN THE 10TH DISTRICT

### HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 12, 1969

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, as I look back over the months of a very active fall season in the 10th Congressional District, there are many outstanding events which it is indeed pleasant to recall. One of the foremost among these is the 275th Anniversary Celebration of the City of Attleboro, Mass. The weeklong observance began on Saturday, October 4, and featured many exciting and unusual events. There were numerous historical displays, a historic tour of the city was conducted, and a gala parade concluded the week of festivities in a climactic way.

A wonderful historical pageant given by the townspeople served to emphasize the historical meaning of the anniversary celebration. The four phases of the community's development were stressed. The pageant was not only an enjoyable form of entertainment for all, but it was a vivid means of educating citizens to their distinguished local heritage.

A most outstanding feature of the anniversary week was an educational exhibition entitled "Expo 275." The people of Attleboro were rightfully proud of this comprehensive presentation of more than 40 different industrial displays. The production required long

planning and patience as well as concerted community and individual effort. A special debt of gratitude is owed the Attleboro Chamber of Commerce, the organization underwriting Expo 275.

In developing a focus for the 275th anniversary celebration, the people of Attleboro took advantage of the wealth of skill and artistic workmanship which forms the economic lifetime of the city. But Expo 275 was more than the usual exhibition of industrial arts and handiwork; it was a living demonstration of craftsmen at their work. Seeing the creative process evolve—and in a festive but noncommercial atmosphere—was not only educational but also an effective means of inspiring youth to become interested in the work of their neighbors, interested in industrial processes, and interested in developing their own abilities.

The individual artisan, it is said, is fading away from the American scene. But in Attleboro, Mass., Expo 275 provided living evidence of man's importance in an industrial economy. Through exhibitions of this kind, the dignity of man and the beauty of craftsmanship are upheld in the finest traditions of the past.

Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to congratulate Attleboro for a most inventive way of commemorating the 275th anniversary and to compliment the many persons who contributed time and effort to develop the events of the celebration. A special salute goes to the anniversary committee chairman, Robert F. Collins, Jr., who was responsible for the comprehensive planning and execution of the celebration and to Mayor Thomas Piggott, who contributed endless enthusiasm and energy toward the realization of the 275th anniversary observance week.

It will be of further interest to my colleagues to note that the celebration was financed by the sale of a most attractive commemorative coin, struck by a local firm, the Robbins Co., to enable sponsorship of most of the week's events free of charge. The 275th Anniversary Celebration Week of Attleboro, Mass., was truly a wholehearted community effort in every sense. The local newspaper, the Attleboro Daily Sun, which provided comprehensive coverage of the week's festivities as well as a most enlightening special historical edition, quoted Chairman Collins as describing Attleboro participation, support, and enthusiasm as "phenomenal." I should like to add, Mr. Speaker, that I was there to enjoy this wonderful community-oriented celebration; and I, too, found it an absolutely "phenomenal" success.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Monday, December 15, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

*Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people.—Luke 2: 10.*

O Thou who art the source of light and life, whose glory is in all the world, without whom no one is good, no one is wise: we remember with joy that the universe is Thy creation, life is Thy gift, and Thy

love is offered to all the children of men. Lift our thoughts from the littleness of our own works to the greatness and the goodness of Thine and help us so to behold Thy glory that we may grow into the likeness of Christ. Help us to worthily celebrate His nativity this Advent season with hearts of compassion, deeds of kindly service, and the spirit of good will toward all mankind. In the name of Him who gives life to men, we pray. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Friday, December 12, 1969, was read and approved.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed, with amendments